

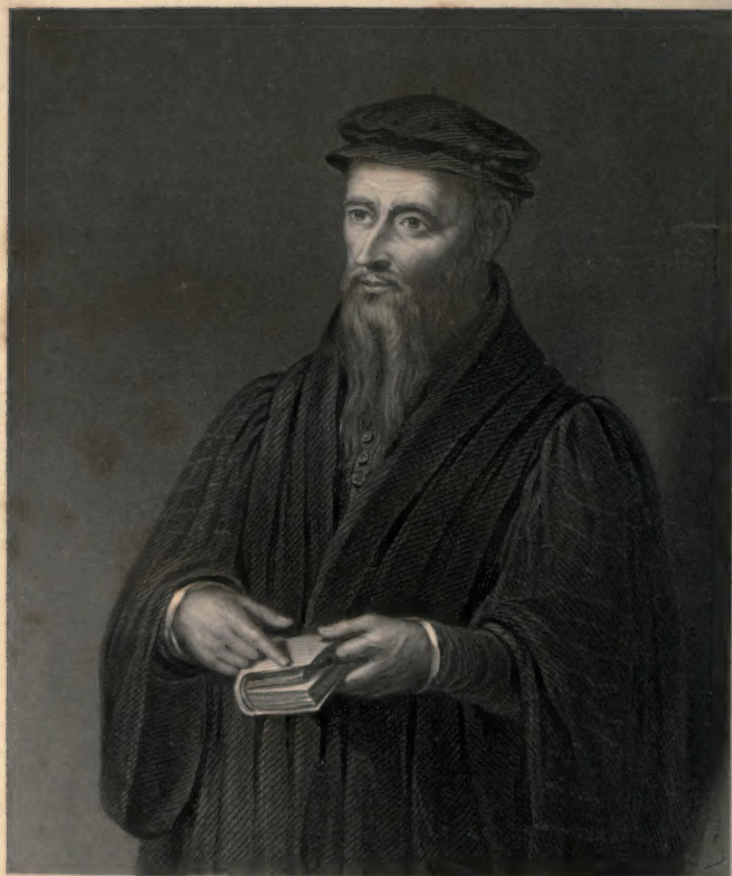
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BLACKIE & SON, GLASGOW, EDINBURGH & LONDON.

HISTORY
OF THE
REFORMATION

IN THE
SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

BY J. H. MERLE D'AUBIGNÉ,

PRESIDENT OF THE THEOLOGICAL SEMINARY, GENEVA, AND VICE-PRESIDENT OF THE SOCIÉTÉ ÉVANGÉLIQUE.

ASSISTED IN THE PREPARATION OF THE ENGLISH ORIGINAL

BY H. WHITE,

B.A. TRINITY COLLEGE CAMBRIDGE, M.A. AND PH. DR. HEIDELBERG.

WITH NOTES BY DAVID DUNDAS SCOTT, Esq.

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PREFACE

TO VOLUME IV., ORIGINAL EDITION.

WHEN a foreigner visits certain countries, as England, Scotland, or America, he is sometimes presented with the rights of citizenship. Such has been the privilege of the "History of the Reformation of the Sixteenth Century." From 150,000 to 200,000 copies are in circulation, in the English language, in the countries I have just mentioned; while in France the number hardly exceeds 4000. This is a real adoption,—naturalizing my Work in the countries that have received it with so much favour.

I accept this honour. Accordingly, while the former Volumes of my History were originally published in France; now that, after a lapse of five years, I think of issuing a continuation of it, I do so in Great Britain.

This is not the only change in the mode of publication. I did not think it right to leave to translators, as in the cases of the former Volumes, the task of expressing my ideas in English. The best translations are always faulty; and the Author alone can have the certainty of conveying his idea, his whole idea, and nothing but his idea. Without overlooking the merit that the several existing translations may possess, even the best of them is not free from inaccuracies, more or less important, of which I have given a specimen in my Preface to the First Volume of the Edition revised by me, and published by Messrs. Oliver & Boyd. These inaccuracies, no doubt most involuntary, gave rise to a very severe contest in America, on

the subject of this Work, between the Episcopalians and the Baptists on the one hand, and the Presbyterians on the other, —a contest that I hope is now terminated, but in which (as a New York correspondent informed me) one of the most beneficial and powerful Christian Societies of the United States had been on the brink of dissolution.

With such facts before me, I could no longer hesitate. It became necessary for me to publish, myself, in English; and this I accordingly do. But although that language is familiar to me, I was desirous of securing, to a certain extent, the co-operation of an English literary gentleman. Dr. HENRY WHITE, of Croydon, has had the great kindness to visit Switzerland for this purpose, although such a step exposed him to much inconvenience, and to pass with me at Geneva the time necessary for this labour. I could not have had a more enlightened coadjutor; and I here express my obligations to him for his very able assistance.

I therefore publish in English this Continuation of the History of the Reformation. I do not think that, as I publish, myself, in this language, any one will have the power, or will entertain the idea, of attempting another publication. It would be a very bad speculation on the part of any bookseller; for where is the reader that would not prefer the original text, as published by the Author himself, to a translation made by a stranger?

But there is a higher question—a question of morality. Of all property that a man can possess, there is none so essentially his own as the labours of his mind. He acquires the fruits of his fields by the sweat of his servants and of his beasts of burden; and the produce of his manufactures by the labour of his workmen and the movement of his machines; but it is by his own toils, by the exercise of his most exalted faculties, that he creates the productions of his mind. Accordingly, in putting this History under the protection of the laws, I place it at the same time under a no less secure safe-guard,—that of justice. I know that it is written in the consciences on the other side of the Channel and of the Atlantic: *Ye shall have one manner of law, as well for the stranger as for one of your own country:*

*for I am the Lord your God.*¹ To English honour I confide this work.

The first two Books of this Volume contain the most important epochs of the Reformation—the Protest of Spires and the Confession of Augsburg. The last two describe the establishment of Reform in most of the Swiss cantons, and the instructive and deplorable events that are connected with the catastrophe of Cappel.

It was my desire to narrate also the beginnings of the English Reformation; but my Volume is filled, and I am compelled to defer this subject to the next. It is true I might have omitted some matters here treated of, but I had strong reasons for doing the contrary. The Reformation in Great Britain is not very important before the period described in this volume; the order of time compelled me, therefore, to remain on the Continent; for whatever may be the historian's desire, he cannot change dates and the sequence that God has assigned to the events of the world. Besides, before turning more especially towards England, Scotland, France, and other countries, I determined on bringing the Reformation of Germany and German Switzerland to the decisive epochs of 1530 and 1531. The History of the Reformation, properly so called, is then, in my opinion, almost complete in those countries. The work of Faith has there attained its apogee: that of conferences, of interims, of diplomacy begins. I do not, however, entirely abandon Germany and German Switzerland, but henceforward they will occupy me less: the movement of the sixteenth century has there made its effort. I said from the very first: It is the History of the Reformation and not of Protestantism that I am relating.

I cannot, however, approach the History of the Reformation in England without some portion of fear; it is perhaps more difficult there than elsewhere. I have received communications from some of the most respectable men of the different ecclesiastical parties, who, each feeling convinced that their own point of view is the true one, desire me to present the history in this light. I hope to execute my task with impartiality and

¹ Levit. xxiv. 22.

truth; and thought it would be advantageous to study for some time longer the principles and the facts. In this task I am at present occupied and shall consecrate to it, with God's assistance, the first part of my next volume.

Should it be thought that I might have described the Reformation in Switzerland with greater brevity, I beg my readers will call to mind that, independently of the intrinsic importance of this history, Switzerland is the Author's birth-place.

I had at first thought of making arrangements for the present publication with the English and Scotch booksellers who had translated the former portions. Relations that I had maintained with some of these publishers, and which had gained my esteem for them, induced me to adopt this course. They were consequently informed by letter of my purpose, and several months later I had an interview with some of them at Glasgow. From circumstances which it is unnecessary to explain, no arrangement was entered into with these gentlemen. But at the same time, one of the first houses in Great Britain, Messrs. OLIVER & BOYD of Edinburgh, who were introduced to me by my highly respected friend Dr. CHALMERS, made me a suitable and precise offer. I could wait no longer; and on the very eve of my departure from London for the Continent, after a sojourn of three months in Scotland and in England, I made arrangements with them, which have since been definitively settled, and the Work is now their property.

The French laws are positive to protect literary property in France, even if it belongs to a foreigner. I am less familiar with the English laws; but I will not do England the injustice of believing that its legislation is surpassed by that of France in justice and morality.

EAUX-VIVES, GENEVA, *January, 1846.*



JOHN BUCKENBAGEN

1791

NEW-YORK



JUSTUS JONAS.





JOHN THE STEADFAST

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MARTIN BUCER.



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Messrs. BLACKIE & SON have the pleasure of now offering to their numerous Subscribers the *Third* Volume of their ILLUSTRATED AND ANNOTATED EDITION of D'Aubigné's History of the Reformation, corresponding with the FOURTH Volume of the original work.

They are enabled to do this by an arrangement entered into with Messrs. Oliver & Boyd, the proprietors of the original manuscript, and of whose *English edition* the text of this volume is a reprint. In order to obtain the privilege of publishing the fourth volume, Messrs. Blackie & Son have paid Messrs. Oliver & Boyd upwards of £1100; a sum that will absorb the entire profits arising from the sale of this volume. The Publishers, however, have made this sacrifice to enable them to complete the copies of their edition in the hands of their subscribers, and thus to implement their engagements to them at the very earliest period.

Messrs. B. & Son are sorry some little delay has occurred in publishing this volume. They feel assured, however, their subscribers will be perfectly satisfied, when they learn that the delay has been caused by the preparation of the valuable Notes added to this Volume, by the able translator of the former volumes, DAVID DUNDAS SCOTT, Esq., and also by the time necessary to procure and engrave the interesting series of Portraits, which, along with the Notes referred to, are published *exclusively* with THIS EDITION. The Notes, which have been drawn from the first historical sources, convey much valuable information, additional to what is given by the learned Author. In particular, the Publishers would advert to the notes on the Diet of Augsburg, and to those on the Swiss Reformation, as interesting and instructive, and throwing much new light upon the portions of the Work to which they are attached. Believing that Portraits of the Actors in the events recorded, would greatly enhance the interest of the narrative, the Publishers have been solicitous to supply a series perfectly authentic. Of those given with this volume, the portraits of John the Steadfast, Bugenhagen, and Jonas, are from originals of the celebrated contemporaneous painter, Lucas Cranach; the portrait of Bucer has been re-drawn from a print published a few years after his death; while, for the portrait of Farel, a painting has been made expressly for this Work, by William Bonar, Esq., from authentic materials, of the period of the Reformation.

DIRECTIONS FOR PLACING THE PORTRAITS

IN VOLUME THIRD.

WILLIAM FAREL,	Frontispiece.
JOHN BUGHENHAGEN,	To face page 48.
JUSTUS JONAS,	Ditto. 102.
JOHN THE STEADFAST,	Ditto. 247.
MARTIN BUCER,	Ditto. 330.

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION

IN THE

SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

BOOK THIRTEENTH.—1526—1529.

THE PROTEST AND THE CONFERENCE.

CHAPTER I.

Twofold Movement of Reform—Reform the Work of God—First Diet of Spires—Palladium of Reform—Firmness of the Reformers—Proceedings of the Diet—Report of the Commissioners—The Papacy painted and described by Luther—The Destruction of Jerusalem—Instructions of Seville—Change of Policy—Holy League—Religious Liberty proposed—Crisis of the Reformation.

WE have witnessed the commencement, the struggles, the reverses, and the progress of the Reformation; but the conflicts hitherto described have been only partial; we are entering upon a new period,—that of general battles. Spires (1529) and Augsburg (1530) are names that shine forth with more immortal glory than Marathon, Pavia, or Marengo. Forces that up to the present time were separate, are now uniting into one energetic band; and the power of God is at work in those brilliant actions, which open a new era in the history of nations, and communicate an irresistible impulse to mankind. The passage from the middle ages to modern times has arrived.¹

¹ The different nations of Europe differ remarkably in their manner of relating past events, and as the author writes here in English as he would have done in French, we find the present used instead of the past tense, and even a period spoken of as "the present time," which in point of fact must be referred to the early part of the sixteenth century. The great mass of readers, accordingly, for whom the present popular edition is published, will probably find themselves a little puzzled. They know that Dr. M. d'A. is a man of their own times, and when he speaks of "forces now waiting," "the power of God now working," &c., they may find it difficult to keep out the idea that the nineteenth century is not meant. To prevent such a confusion of ideas they must fancy themselves living in the sixteenth century.—D. D. S.

A great protest is about to be accomplished; and although there have been protestants in the Church from the very beginning of Christianity, since liberty and truth could not be maintained here below, save by protesting continually against despotism and error, Protestantism is about to take a new step. It is about to become a body, and thus attack with greater energy that "mystery of iniquity" which for ages has taken a bodily shape at Rome, in the very temple of God.¹

But although we have to treat of protests, it must not however be imagined that the Reformation is a negative work. In every sphere in which anything great is evolved, whether in nature or society, there is a principle of life at work,—a seed that God fertilizes.² The Reformation, when it appeared in the sixteenth century, did not, indeed, perform a new work, for a reformation is not a formation; but it turned its face toward the beginnings of Christianity; it seized upon them with affection, and embraced them with adoration. Yet it was not satisfied with this return to primitive times. Laden with its precious burden, it again crossed the interval of ages, and brought back to fallen and lifeless Christendom the sacred fire that was destined to restore it to light and life. In this twofold movement consisted its action and its strength. Afterwards, no doubt, it rejected superannuated forms, and combated error; but this was, so to speak, only the least of its works, and its third movement. Even the protest of which we have to speak had for its end and aim the re-establishment of truth and of life, and was essentially a positive act.

This powerful and rapid twofold action of reform, by which the apostolic times were re-established at the opening of modern history, proceeded not from man. A reformation is not arbitrarily made, as charters and revolutions are in some countries. A real reformation, prepared during many ages, is the work of the Spirit of God. Before the appointed hour, the greatest geniuses and even the most faithful of God's servants cannot

¹ 2 Thess. ii.

² Let us beware, however, of imagining that when, as often happens, a great evil is evolved, the principle of life at work in it, is from God. One of the worst delusions of our own days is that sort of fatalism which leads men to acquiesce in great moral evils in the political and social sphere under the convenient but false idea that they are from God, and therefore irresistible.—*ib. ib. s.*

produce it; but when the reforming time is come, when it is God's pleasure to renovate the affairs of the world, the divine life must clear a passage, and it is able to create of itself the humble instruments by which this life is communicated to the human race. Then, if men are silent, the very stones will cry out.¹

It is to the protest of Spires (1529) that we are now about to turn our eyes; but the way to this protest was prepared by years of peace, and followed by attempts at concord that we shall have also to describe. Nevertheless the formal establishment of Protestantism remains the great fact that prevails in the history of the Reformation from 1526 to 1529.

The duke of Brunswick had brought into Germany the threatening message of Charles V. That emperor was about to repair from Spain to Rome to come to an understanding with the pope, and from thence to pass into Germany to constrain the heretics. The last summons was to be addressed to them by the diet of Spires, 1526.² The decisive hour for the Reformation was on the point of striking.³

On the 25th June, 1526, the diet opened. In the instructions, dated at Seville, 23d March, the emperor ordered that the Church customs should be maintained entire, and called upon the diet to punish those who refused to carry out the

¹ Luke xix. 40.

² See vol. ii. book x. chap. xiv. The diet of Spires, held in 1526, must not be confounded with that of 1529, at which the protest took place.

³ The Rev. John Scott, in his continuation of Milner, speaking of the diets before which the religious differences in Germany had been brought, recapitulates them thus for the assistance of the reader's memory. "The first was that of Worms, in 1521, which proscribed Luther as an excommunicated heretic; forbade all persons to harbour him, under the penalties of high treason; and declared all his adherents obnoxious to the same punishments with himself. The second, that of Nuremberg, in 1522-23, at which the pope acknowledged the need of reformation, and the German princes presented their list of "a hundred grievances" which the empire suffered from the court of Rome. The decree of this diet virtually abrogated the edict of Worms. The third again held at Nuremberg, 1523-4, when Clement VII. had succeeded to the papal chair. The members resolved to observe the edict of Worms "as far as they could." The fourth convoked at Augsburg, 1525, and afterwards adjourned to Spires, in 1526. Here a general council was demanded, and all left at liberty till it should be held. The fifth, that of Spires, in 1529, after peace had been concluded between the emperor and the pope. Here the indulgence granted at the preceding diet was rescinded; which produced the protest, whence the *Protestants* derived their name, and led to a league among them for mutual defence. See Scott's Hist. of the Ch. of Christ, vol. i. p. 4.—D. D. S.

edict of Worms.¹ Ferdinand himself was at Spire, and his presence rendered these orders more formidable. Never had the hostility which the Romish partisans entertained against the evangelical princes, appeared in so striking a manner. "The Pharisees," said Spalatin, "are inveterate in their hatred against Jesus Christ."²

Never also had the evangelical princes showed so much hope. Instead of coming forward frightened and trembling, like guilty men, they were seen advancing, surrounded by the ministers of the Word, with uplifted heads and cheerful looks. Their first step was to ask for a place of worship. The bishop of Spire, count-palatine of the Rhine, having indignantly refused this strange request,³ the princes complained of it as an act of injustice, and ordered their ministers to preach daily in the halls of their palaces, which were immediately filled by an immense crowd from the city and the country, amounting to many thousands.⁴ In vain on the feast days did Ferdinand, the ultra-montane princes, and the bishops assist in the pomps of the Roman worship in the beautiful cathedral of Spire; the unadorned Word of God, preached in the protestant vestibules, engrossed all hearers, and the mass was celebrated in an empty church.⁵

It was not only the ministers, but the knights and the grooms, "mere idiots,"⁶ who, unable to control their zeal, everywhere eagerly extolled the Word of the Lord.⁷ All the followers of the evangelical princes wore these letters embroidered on their right sleeves: V. D. M. I. Æ., that is to say, "The Word of the Lord endureth for ever."⁸ The same in-

¹ Sleidan, Hist. Ref. book vi.

² Christum phariseis vehementer fuisse invisum. Seckend. ii. 46.

³ Fortiter interdixit. Cochläus, p. 138.

⁴ Ingens concursus plebis et rusticorum. Cochläus. Multis millibus hominum accurrentibus. Seckend. ii. 48.

⁵ Populum a sacris avertabant. Cochläus, p. 138.

⁶ "Mere simpletons" would be a better translation of the *idiote* of Cochläus's Latin quoted below. Idiot in English, generally means a fatuous person; *idiota* in Latin, a simple person, without genius or learning. It is no compliment to the doctrines of the Reformers to say that they were acceptable to idiots, but it was almost admitting their identity with the Gospel, for a papist, like Cochläus, to say that they were cried up by the simple-minded.—D. N. S.

⁷ Ministri eorum, equites et stabularii, idiotæ, petulanter jactabant verbum Domini. Ibid.

⁸ Verbum Domini manet in æternum. Ibid.

scription might be read on the escutcheons of the princes, suspended over their hotels. The Word of God—such from this moment was the palladium of the Reformation.

This was not all. The Protestants knew that the mere worship would not suffice: the landgrave had therefore called upon the elector to abolish certain “court customs” which dishonoured the Gospel. These two princes had consequently drawn up an order of living which forbade drunkenness, debauchery, and other vicious customs prevalent during a diet.¹²

Perhaps the Protestant princes sometimes put forward their dissent beyond what prudence would have required. Not only they did not go to mass, and did not observe the prescribed fasts, but still further, on the fast days, their attendants were seen publicly bearing dishes of meat and game, destined for their masters’ tables, and crossing, says Cochlæus, in the presence of the whole auditory, the halls in which the worship was celebrating. “It was,” says this writer, “with the intent of attracting the catholics by the savour of the meats and of the wines.”^{3 4}

¹ Adversus inveteratos illos et impios usus nitendum esse. Seck. ii. 46.

² La philosophie d’aucun siècle n’est fille d’elle-même; les systèmes naissent des mœurs, et la direction des intelligences s’explique par l’état de la société. [The philosophy of no age is its own daughter; systems spring from manners, and the direction of men’s minds is explained by the state of society.] See *Le Semeur* of Jan., 1836. At this day, as in the 16th century, an attachment to papal doctrine springs as naturally from dissipation and a sickly pietism, as does an attachment to the Gospel from purity of social manners and unsophisticated godliness.—D. D. S.

³ Ut complures allicerentur ad eorum sectam, in ferculis portabantur carnes coctæ in diebus jejunii, aperte in conspectu totius auditorii. Cochlæus, p. 138.

⁴ The landgrave of Hesse about a week before the meeting of the diet, represented to John Frederick, the son of the elector, how necessary it was, that those who pretended to be advocates for reformation of doctrine, should themselves be careful to exhibit examples of good moral conduct in their own families. He entreated the young prince to state this matter seriously to his father, and thereby prevent the debauchery, and drinking, and other vices which usually took place at such public seasons, among the domestics and servants of the great. “How dreadfully scandalous,” said he, “and how injurious are such practices to the cause of the Gospel and of the word of God! The princes ought to set their faces most earnestly against these inveterate and most impious abuses; and by so doing, they would acquire most signal advantage and honour. Nay,” added he, “they must do so, unless they mean to bring upon themselves the worst of evils, and even the loss of their own souls. The elector received the admonition like a good Christian, and enjoined his whole retinue to observe the most laudable regulations. And thus these good Protestants and their families who have been reviled by papal historians for breaking the Roman catholic rules concerning fasts and meats and drinks, during their residence at Spire, were, in fact, adorning their profession, by temperance, soberness, and chastity.” Milner, vol. v., p. 448-449. The holy horror expressed by Cochlæus for savoury meats on

The elector in effect had a numerous court: seven hundred persons formed his retinue. One day he gave a banquet at which twenty-six princes with their gentlemen and councillors were present. They continued playing until a very late hour—ten at night. Everything in duke John announced the most powerful prince of the empire.¹ The youthful landgrave of Hesse, full of zeal and knowledge, and in the strength of a first Christian love, made a still deeper impression on those who approached him. He would frequently dispute with the bishops, and owing to his acquaintance with the holy Scriptures, easily stopped their mouths.²

This firmness in the friends of the Reformation produced results that surpassed their expectation. It was no longer possible to be deceived: the spirit that was manifested in these men was the spirit of the Bible. Everywhere the sceptre was falling from the hands of Rome. "The leaven of Luther," said a zealous papist, "sets all the people of Germany in a ferment, and foreign nations themselves are agitated by formidable movements."³

It was immediately seen how great is the strength of deep convictions. The states that were well disposed towards the reform, but which had not ventured to give their adhesion publicly, became emboldened. The neutral states, demanding the repose of the empire, formed the resolution of opposing the edict of Worms, the execution of which would have spread trouble through all Germany; and the papist states lost their boldness. The bow of the mighty was broken.⁴

Ferdinand did not think proper, at so critical a moment, to communicate to the diet the severe instructions he had received from Seville.⁵ He substituted a proposition calculated to satisfy both parties.

meagre days, hardly deserved notice, and, taken alone, must be considered as a calumny.—D. D. S.

¹ "This year (1526) the Reformation lost its first protector, Frederic, elector of Saxony; but the blow was less sensibly felt, as he was succeeded by his brother John, a more avowed and zealous, though less able, patron of Luther and his doctrines." Robertson's Charles V. book iv.—D. D. S.

² Annales Spalatini.

³ Germanie populi Lutherico fermento incescati, et in externis quoque nationibus, gravissimi erant motus. Cochleus, p. 133.

⁴ 1 Samuel ii. 4.

⁵ Some historians appear to think that these instructions were communicated

The laymen immediately recovered the influence of which the clergy had dispossessed them. The ecclesiastics resisted a proposal in the college of princes that the diet should occupy itself with church abuses, but their exertions were unavailing. Undoubtedly a non-political assembly would have been preferable to the diet, but it was already a point gained that religious matters were no longer to be regulated solely by the priests.

As soon as this resolution was communicated to the deputies from the cities, they called for the abolition of every usage contrary to the faith in Jesus Christ. In vain did the bishops exclaim that, instead of doing away with pretended abuses, they would do much better to burn all the books with which Germany had been inundated during the last eight years. "You desire," was the reply, "to bury all wisdom and knowledge."¹ The request of the cities was agreed to,² and the diet was divided into committees for the abolition of abuses.

Then was manifested the profound disgust inspired by the priests of Rome. "The clergy," said the deputy for Frankfort, "make a jest of the public good, and look after their own interests only." "The laymen," said the deputy from duke George, "have the salvation of Christendom much more at heart than the clergy."

The commissioners made their report: people were astonished at it. Never had men spoken out so freely against the pope and the bishops. The commission of the princes,³ in which the ecclesiastics and laymen were in equal numbers, proposed a fusion of popery and reform. "The priests would do better to marry," said they, than to keep women of ill fame in

in reality at the very opening of the diet. Ranke shows that this was not the case; but adds, that he sees no reason why the commissaries should have thought themselves authorized to make any other proposition. The motives that I have assigned appear to me the true ones. I shall state below why the commissaries returned afterwards to the imperial instructions.

¹ *Omnes libros esse comburendos. Sed rejectum est quia sic omnis doctrina et eruditio theologica interitura esset.* Seckend. ii. 45.

² *Civitatum suffragia multum valuerunt.* Ibid.

³ That the reader may have some idea of the component parts of the diet and not, like Paul Sarpi, misapprehend its constitution, I may state that Sleidan, speaking of the votes upon the Interim, mentions three colleges: 1, the electoral, consisting of the electoral princes spiritual and secular: 2, the colleges of princes not electors, consisting mainly of bishops: 3, the representatives of the free cities of the empire. See Ranke's elaborate criticism of the respective merits of Sarpi and Pallavicini, as historians of the Council of Trent, Appendix, vol. ii. p. 489. Glasgow edition of Ranke's *Popes of Rome*.—D. D. S.

their houses; every man should be at liberty to communicate under one or both forms; German and Latin may be equally employed in the Lord's Supper and in Baptism; as for the other sacraments, let them be preserved, but let them be administered gratuitously. Finally, let the Word of God be preached according to the interpretation of the Church (this was the demand of Rome), but always explaining Scripture by Scripture" (this was the great principle of the Reformation). Thus the first step was taken towards a national union. Still a few more efforts, and the whole German race would be walking in the direction of the Gospel.

The evangelical Christians, at the sight of this glorious prospect, redoubled their exertions. "Stand fast in the doctrine," said the elector of Saxony to his councillors.¹ At the same time hawkers in every part of the city were selling Christian pamphlets, short and easy to read, written in Latin and in German, and ornamented with engravings, in which the errors of Rome were vigorously attacked.² One of these books was entitled, *The Papacy with its Members painted and described by Doctor Luther*. In it figured the pope, the cardinals, and all the religious orders, exceeding sixty, each with their costumes and description in verse. Under the picture of one of these orders were the following lines:

Greedy priests, see, roll in gold,
Forgetful of the humble Jesu:

under another:

We forbid you to behold
The Bible, lest it should mislead you!

and under a third:

We can fast and pray the harder
With an overflowing larder.⁴

"Not one of these orders," said Luther to the reader, "thinks either of faith or charity. This one wears the tonsure, the other

¹ Elector Saxonie conciliarios suos exhortatus est, in doctrina evangelica firmi. Seckend. ii. 48.

² Circumferebantur item libri Lutherani venales per totam civitatem. Cochleus, p. 138.

³ Dass die Schrift sie nicht verführe.

Durft ihr keinen nicht studir. L. Opp. xix. p. 536.

⁴ Doch war ihr Kuch nimmer leer. Ibid.

a hood; this a cloak, that a robe. One is white, another black, a third gray, and a fourth blue. Here is one holding a looking-glass, there one with a pair of scissors. Each has his play-things . . . Ah! these are the palmer-worms, the locusts, the canker-worms, and the caterpillars, which, as Joel saith, have eaten up all the earth."¹

But if Luther employed the scourges of sarcasm, he also blew the trumpet of the prophets; and this he did in a work entitled *The Destruction of Jerusalem*. Shedding tears like Jeremiah, he denounced to the German people a ruin similar to that of the holy city, if like it they rejected the Gospel.² "God has imparted to us all his treasures," exclaimed he; "he became man, he has served us,³ he died for us, he has risen again, and he has so opened the gates of heaven, that all may enter . . . The hour of grace is come . . . The glad tidings are proclaimed . . . But where is the city, where is the prince that has received them? They insult the Gospel: they draw the sword, and daringly seize God by the beard."⁴ . . . But wait . . . He will turn round; with one blow will he break their jaws, and all Germany will be one vast ruin."

These works had a very great sale.⁵ They were read not only by the peasants and townspeople, but also by the nobles and princes. Leaving the priests alone at the foot of the altar, they threw themselves into the arms of the new Gospel.⁶ The necessity of a reform of abuses was proclaimed on the 1st of August by a general committee.

Then Rome, which had appeared to slumber, awoke. Fanatical priests, monks, ecclesiastical princes, all gathered round Ferdinand. Cunning, bribery, nothing was spared. Did not Ferdinand possess the instructions of Seville? To refuse their

¹ Doch war ihr Kuch nimmer leer, L. Opp. xix. p. 535. Joel i. 4.

² Libelli, parvuli quidem mole, sed virulentia perquam grandes, sermo Lutheri Teuthonicus de destructione Jerusalem. Cochleus, p. 138.

³ Wird Mensch, dienet uns, stirbt fur uns. Luth. Opp. xiv. (L.) 226.

⁴ Greiffen Gott zu frech in den Bart. Ibid. Deo nimis ferociter barbam vellicant. Cochleus.

⁵ Perquam plurima vendebantur exemplaria, Ibid. p. 139.

⁶ Non solum plebs et rustica turba, verum etiam plerique optimatum et nobilium trahebantur in favorem novi Evangelii, atque in odium antiquæ religionis. Cochleus, p. 100.

publication was to effect the ruin of the Church and of the empire. Let the voice of Charles, said they, oppose its powerful *reto* to the dizziness that is hurrying Germany along, and the empire will be saved! Ferdinand made up his mind, and at length, on the 3d August, published the decree drawn up more than four months previously in favour of the edict of Worms.¹

The persecution was about to begin; the reformers would be thrown into dungeons, and the sword drawn on the banks of the Guadalquiver would at last pierce the bosom of the Reformation.

The effect of the imperial ordinance was immense. The breaking of an axletree does not more violently check the velocity of a railway train. The elector and the landgrave announced that they were about to quit the diet, and ordered their attendants to prepare for their departure. At the same time the deputies from the cities drew towards these two princes, and the Reformation appeared as if it would enter immediately upon a contest with the pope and Charles V.

But it was not yet prepared for a general struggle. The tree was destined to strike its roots deeper, before the Almighty unchained the stormy winds against it. A spirit of blindness, similar to that which in former times was sent out upon Saul and Herod,² then seized upon the great enemy of the Gospel; and thus was it that Divine Providence saved the Reformation in its cradle.

The first movement of trouble being over, the friends of the Gospel began to consider the date of the imperial instructions, and to weigh the new political combinations which seemed to announce to the world the most unlooked-for events. "When the emperor wrote these letters," said the cities of Upper Germany, "he was on good terms with the pope, but now everything is changed. It is even asserted that he told Margaret, his representative in the Low Countries, to proceed *gently* with respect to the Gospel. Let us send him a deputation." That was not necessary. Charles had not waited until now to form a different resolution. The course of public affairs, taking a

¹ Sleidan, *Hist. de la Réf.* vi. 229.

² 1 Sam. xvi. 14-23; Matth. ii.

sudden turn, had rushed into an entirely new pain. Years of peace were about to be granted to the Reformation.

Clement VII., whom Charles was about to visit, according to the instructions of Seville, in order to receive the imperial crown in Rome itself and from his sacred hands, and in return to give up to the pontiff the Gospel and the Reformation,—Clement VII., seized with a strange infatuation, had suddenly turned against this powerful monarch. The emperor, unwilling to favour his ambition in every point, had opposed his claims on the states of the duke of Ferrara. Clement immediately became exasperated, and cried out that Charles wished to enslave the peninsula, but that the time was come for re-establishing the independence of Italy. This great idea of Italian independence, entertained at that period by a few literary men, had not, as in our days, penetrated the mass of the nation. Clement therefore hastened to have recourse to political combinations. The pope, the Venetians, and the king of France, who had scarcely recovered his liberty, formed a *holy league*, of which the king of England was by a bull nominated the preserver and protector.¹ In June 1526, the emperor caused the most favourable propositions to be presented to the pope; but his advances were ineffectual, and the duke of Sessa, Charles's ambassador at Rome, returning on horseback from his last audience, placed a court-fool behind him, who, by a thousand monkey tricks, gave the Roman people to understand how little they cared for the pope and his projects. Clement responded to these bravadoes by a brief, in which he threatened the emperor with excommunication, and without loss of time pushed his troops into Lombardy, whilst Milan, Florence, and Piedmont declared for the holy league. Thus was Europe preparing to be avenged for the triumph of Pavia.

Charles did not hesitate. He wheeled to the right as quickly as the pope had done to the left, and turned abruptly towards the evangelical princes. "Let us suspend the edict of Worms," wrote he to his brother; "let us bring back Luther's partisans by mildness, and by a good council cause the triumph of evangelical truth." At the same time he demanded that the elec-

¹ Sleidan. Hist. de la Réf. vi. ; Bullar. Mag. roman. x.

tor, the landgrave, and their allies should march with him against the Turks—or against Italy, for the common good of Christendom.

Ferdinand hesitated. To gain the friendship of the Lutherans was to forfeit that of the other princes, who were already beginning to utter violent threats.¹ The Protestants themselves were not very eager to take the emperor's hand. "It is God, God himself," they said, "who will save his churches."²

What was to be done? The edict of Worms could neither be repealed nor carried into execution.

So strange a situation led of necessity to the desired solution: religious liberty. The first idea of this occurred to the deputies of the cities. "In one place," said they, "the ancient ceremonies have been preserved; in another they have been abolished; and both think they are right. Let us allow every man to do as he thinks fit, until a council shall re-establish the desired unity by the Word of God." This idea gained favour, and the *recess* (edict) of the diet, dated the 27th August, decreed that a universal or at the least a national free council should be convoked within a year, that they should request the emperor to return speedily to Germany, and that, until then, each state should behave in its own territory in such a manner as to be able to render an account to God and to the emperor.³

Thus they escaped from their difficulty by a middle course; and this time it was really the true path. Each one maintained his rights, while recognising another's. The diet of 1526 forms an important epoch in history: an ancient power, that of the middle ages, is shaken; a new power, that of modern times, is advancing; religious liberty boldly takes its stand in front of Romish despotism; a lay spirit prevails over the sacerdotal spirit. In this single step there is a complete victory: the cause of the reform is won.

Yet it was little suspected. Luther, on the morrow of the day on which the *recess* (edict) was published, wrote to a friend:

¹ Ferdinandus, ut audio, graviter minatur. Corp. Ref. i. §01.

² Imperator pollicetur.....sed nemo his promissis movetur. Spero Deum defensurum esse suam Ecclesiam. Ibid.

³ Unusquisque in sua ditione ita se gereret ut rationem Deo et imperatori reddere posset. Seckend. ii. 41.

"The diet is sitting at Spires in the German fashion. They drink and gamble, and there is nothing done except that."¹
 "Le congrès danse et ne marche pas,"² has been said in our days. Great things are often transacted under an appearance of frivolity, and God accomplishes his designs unknown even to those whom he employs as his instruments. In this diet a gravity and love of liberty of conscience were manifested, which are the fruits of Christianity, and which in the sixteenth century had its earliest if not its most energetic development among the German nations.

Yet Ferdinand still hesitated. Mahomet himself came to the aid of the Gospel. Louis, king of Hungary and Bohemia, drowned at Mohacz on the 29th August, 1526, as he was fleeing from before Soliman II., had bequeathed the crown of these two kingdoms to Ferdinand. But the duke of Bavaria, the waywode of Transylvania, and, above all, the terrible Soliman, contested it against him. This was sufficient to occupy Charles's brother: he left Luther, and hastened to dispute two thrones.⁴

¹ Potatur et luditur, præterea nihil. L. Epp. iii. 126.

² Luther could hardly have had so little suspicion of what was passing. But the "middle course" which our author thinks was the true one, was not likely to satisfy the Reformer. How could he approve of each state being left to behave in its own territory as it might think pleasing to God and the emperor? It was not "the new power, that of modern times," but the kingdom of God that he wished to see advancing; nor could he have possibly seen "a complete victory," where in all the Romanist states of the empire, persecution must have been allowed its full swing. He might have referred, also, to the fact stated by Milner (vol. v. p. 442), that the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse thought they should serve the Lutheran cause more effectually by strengthening their treaty of defence which they had sought to form among the more moderate members of the empire, such as the elector Palatine, the elector of Treves, the margraves of Brandenburg, the dukes of Lunenburg, Pomerania, and Mecklenburg, the princes of Anhalt, the imperial cities of Nuremberg, Strasburg, Augsburg, and of Ulm, and Magdeburg, than by long debates in an assembly where there was so much bigotry and selfishness. This would allow more time for frivolity and dissipation, in a very full diet.—D. D. S.

³ The congress dances but does not move forward.

⁴ Dr. Robertson, with his usual shrewdness, observes that the emperor's own example emboldened the Germans, at this diet, to treat the papal authority with little reverence. During the heat of his resentment against Clement, he had published a long reply to an angry brief intended by the pope as an apology for his own conduct, and took occasion in it to enumerate many instances of that pontiff's ingratitude, deceit, and ambition. See end of book iv. in Hist. of the reign of Charles V. No doubt, the remonstrances of the deputies also, as succinctly stated by Milner, Hist. of the Church, vol. v. p. 444, produced a powerful impression on all but the most bigoted members of the diet, and even on Ferdinand. But the new position in which the emperor stood to the pope, must be regarded as the grand providential circumstance that now so far defeated the

CHAPTER II.

Italian War—The Emperor's Manifesto—March on Rome—Revolt of the Troops—The Sack of Rome—German Humours—Violence of the Spaniards—Clement VII. capitulates.

THE emperor immediately reaped the fruits of his new policy. No longer having his hands tied by Germany, he turned them against Rome. The Reformation was to be exalted and the Papacy abased. The blows aimed at its pitiless enemy were about to open a new career to the evangelical work.

Ferdinand, who was detained by his Hungarian affairs, gave the charge of the Italian expedition to Freundsberg, that old general who had in so friendly a manner patted Luther on the shoulder, as the reformer was about to appear before the diet of Worms.¹ This veteran, who, as a contemporary observes,² "bore in his chivalrous heart God's holy Gospel, well fortified and flanked by a strong wall," pledged his wife's jewels, sent recruiting parties into all the towns of Upper Germany, and, owing to the magic idea of a war against the pope, soon witnessed crowds of soldiers flocking to his standard. "Announce," Charles had said to his brother,—“announce that the army is

papacy and its partisans. Ranke takes this view, remarking that whatever had previously been contemplated, or might have been proclaimed (as in the emperor's threatening instructions of the preceding March), all regard for the pope must have been dissipated by the emperor's open hostilities with him. The same historian assigns a like high importance with Dr. Merle D'Aubigné to the diet of 1526. "Ferdinand," says he, "put his signature to an imperial decree, in virtue of which the different orders were left free to act in religious matters, as each could best answer for, to God and the emperor; that is, to proceed according to their own judgment. A decision in which the pope is left altogether out of view, may be considered as the commencement of the Reformation and the establishment of a new Church in Germany. This regulation was practically adopted, without further delay, in Saxony, Hesse, and the neighbouring states. The legal existence of the Protestant party in the empire, mainly rests on the edict of Spires in 1526." See Ranke's *Popes*. Glasgow edition, vol. i. p. 88. Milner calls "the resolution of THE RECESS" "evasive" and "ambiguous," but admits that "a truce of this sort answered all the purposes which the most zealous friends of the Reformation could desire." He also emphatically notices how much the beauty and excellence of pure evangelical principles showed themselves at the diet of Spires, in the exterior conduct of the Lutheran princes, particularly of the landgrave of Hesse, as related in Note, p. 6.

¹ See vol. i. book vii. chap. viii.

² Haug marschallk, surnamed Zeller.

to march against the Turks; every one will know what Turks are meant."

Thus the puissant Charles, instead of marching with the pope against the Reformation, as he had threatened at Seville, marches with the Reformation against the pope. A few days had sufficed to produce this change of direction: there are few periods in history in which the hand of God is more plainly manifested. Charles immediately assumed all the airs of a reformer. On the 17th September, he addressed a manifesto to the pope,¹ in which he reproaches him for behaving not like the father of the faithful, but like an insolent and haughty man;² and declares his astonishment that he, Christ's vicar, should dare shed blood to acquire earthly possessions, "which," added he, "is quite contrary to the evangelical doctrine."³ Luther could not have spoken better. "Let your holiness," continued Charles V., "return the sword of St. Peter into the scabbard, and convoke a holy and universal council." But the sword was much more to the pontiff's taste than the council. Is not the papacy, according to the Romish doctors, the source of the two powers? Can it not depose kings, and consequently fight against them?⁴ Charles prepared to requite "eye for eye, and tooth for tooth."⁵

Now began that terrible campaign during which the storm burst on Rome and on the Papacy that had been destined to fall on Germany and the Gospel. By the violence of the blows inflicted on the pontifical city, we may judge of the severity of those that would have dashed in pieces the reformed churches. While retracing such scenes of horror, we have constant need of calling to mind that the chastisement of the seven-hilled city had been predicted by the Holy Scriptures.⁶

In the month of November, Freundsberg at the head of fifteen thousand men was at the foot of the Alps. The old

¹ Caroli Imperat. Rescriptum ad Clementis Septimi criminationes. (Goldasti, *Constitut. Imperiales*, i. 479.)

² Non jam pastoris seu communis patris laudem, sed superbi et insolentis nomen. (Ibid. 487.)

³ Cum id ab evangelica doctrina, prorsus alienum videtur. (Ibid. 489.)

⁴ Utriusque potestatis apicem Papa tenet. (*Turrecremata de Potestate Papali*.)

⁵ Exod. xxi. 24.

⁶ Rev. xviii. We should not however restrict this prediction to the incomplete sack of 1527, from which the city recovered.

general, avoiding the military roads, that were well guarded by the enemy, flung himself into a narrow path, over frightful precipices, that a few blows of the mattock would have rendered impassable. The soldiers were forbidden to look behind them; nevertheless their heads turned, their feet slipped, and horse and foot rolled from time to time into the abyss. In the most difficult passes, the surest-footed of the infantry lowered their long pikes to the right and left of their aged chief, by way of barrier, and Freundsberg advanced clinging to the lansquenet in front, and pushed on by the one behind. In three days the Alps were crossed, and on the 19th November the army reached the territory of Brescia.

The constable of Bourbon, who succeeded to the chief command of the imperial army after the death of Pescara, had just taken possession of the duchy of Milan.¹ The emperor having promised him this conquest for a recompense, Bourbon was compelled to remain there some time to consolidate his power. At length, on the 12th February, he and his Spanish troops joined the army of Freundsberg, which was becoming impatient at his delays. The constable had many men, but no money; he resolved therefore to follow the advice of the duke of Ferrara, that inveterate enemy of the princes of the Church, and proceed straight to Rome.² The whole army received this news with a shout of joy. The Spaniards were filled with the desire of avenging Charles V., and the Germans were overflowing with hatred against the pope: all exulted in the hope of receiving their pay and of having their labours richly repaid at last by those treasures of Christendom that Rome

¹ Charles duke of Bourbon, lord high constable of France, is spoken of by Robertson as a man "whose noble birth, vast fortune, and high office, raised him to be the most powerful subject in France, as his great talents equally suited to the field or the council, and his signal services to the crown, rendered him the most illustrious and deserving." That historian then accounts for the extraordinary step Bourbon took in becoming a traitor to France by passing into the service of the emperor, by detailing numerous disgusts received by him at the French court. These the president Henault confines to the lawsuit commenced against the constable for the greater part of his estates, by Louise, the king's mother, who on the death of the duchess of Bourbon, passing from deadly hatred to a passionate attachment to the now widowed constable, and not finding her passion returned, revenged herself by consulting the infamous chancellor Du Prat, who both advised the lawsuit and prevailed on the judges to pronounce an unjust decision in her favour.—D. D. S.

² Guicciardini, *History of the Wars in Italy*, xviii. 698.

had been accumulating for ages. Their shouts re-echoed beyond the Alps. Every man in Germany thought that the last hour of the papacy had arrived, and prepared to contemplate its fall. "The emperor's forces are triumphing in Italy," wrote Luther; "the pope is visited from every quarter. His destruction draweth nigh: his hour and his end are come."¹

A few slight advantages gained by the papal soldiers in the kingdom of Naples, led to the conclusion of a truce that was to be ratified by the pope and by the emperor. As soon as this was known, a frightful tumult broke out in the constable's army. The Spanish troops revolted, compelled him to flee, and pillaged his tent. Then approaching the lansquenets, they began to shout as loudly as they could, the only German words they knew: *Lance! lance! money! money!*² Such cries found an echo in the bosoms of the imperialists: they were moved in their turn, and also began to shout with all their might: *Lance! lance! money! money!* Friendsberg beat to muster, and having drawn up the soldiers around him and his principal officers, calmly demanded if he had ever deserted them. All was useless. The old affection which the lansquenets bore to their leader seemed extinct. One chord alone vibrated in their hearts: they must have pay and war. Accordingly, lowering their lances, they presented them, as if they would slay their officers, and again began to shout, "Lance! lance! money! money!" When Friendsberg, whom no army however large had ever frightened,—Friendsberg, who was accustomed to say, "the more enemies, the greater honour," saw these lansquenets, at whose head he had grown gray, aiming their murderous steel against him, he lost all power of utterance, and fell senseless upon a drum, as if struck with a thunderbolt.³ The strength of the veteran general was broken for ever. But the sight of their dying captain produced on the lansquenets an effect that no speech could have made. All the lances were upraised, and the agitated soldiers retired with downcast eyes.

¹ Papa ubique visitatur, ut destruat: venit enim finis et hora ejus. (Luther to Haussmann, 10th January 1527. Epp. iii. 156.)

² Lanz, lanz, gelt, gelt.

³ Cum vero hastas ducibus obverterent indignatione et aegritudine animi oppressus, Fronsbergius subito in deliquium incidit, ita ut in tympano quod adstabat desidere cogeretur, nullumque verbum proloqui amplius posset. (Seckend. ii. 79.)

Four days later, Freundsberg recovered his speech. "Forward," said he to the constable; "God himself will bring us to the mark." Forward! forward! repeated the lansquenets. Bourbon had no alternative: besides, neither Charles nor Clement would listen to any proposals of peace. Freundsberg was carried to Ferrara, and afterwards to his castle of Mindelheim, where he died after an illness of eighteen months; and on the 18th April, Bourbon took that highroad to Rome, which so many formidable armies coming from the north had already trodden.

Whilst the storm descending from the Alps was approaching the eternal city, the pope lost his presence of mind, sent away his troops, and kept only his body-guard. More than thirty thousand Romans, capable of bearing arms, paraded their bravery in the streets, dragging their long swords after them, quarrelling and fighting; but these citizens, eager in the pursuit of gain, had little thought of defending the pope, and hoping to derive great profit from his stay, they desired on the contrary that the magnificent Charles would come and settle in Rome.

On the evening of the 5th May, Bourbon arrived under the walls of the capital; and he would have begun the assault at that very moment had he been provided with ladders. On the morning of the 6th, the army, concealed by a thick fog which hid their movements,¹ was put in motion, the Spaniards marching to their station above the gate of the Holy Ghost, and the Germans below.² The constable, wishing to encourage his soldiers, seized a scaling ladder, mounted the wall, and called on them to follow him. At this moment a ball struck him: he fell, and expired an hour after. Such was the end of this unhappy man, a traitor to his king and to his country, and suspected even by his new friends.³

His death, far from checking, served only to excite the army.

¹ Guicciardini, ii. 721.

² Since the new wall built by Urban VIII. on the top of the Janiculum, the gates of the Holy Ghost and of Seltimiana have become useless.

³ Bourbon would no doubt have repelled the charge of treason, not only on the feudal ground that Francis had violated the respect he owed him, as a high vassal and his peer, but also when the crown sanctions the gross violation of law by the very guardians of the laws, allegiance is rightfully forfeited.—D. D. S.

Claudius Seidenstucker, grasping his long sword, first cleared the wall; he was followed by Michael Hartmann, and these two reformed Germans exclaimed that God himself was marching before them in the clouds. The gates were opened, the army poured in, the suburbs were taken, and the pope, surrounded by thirteen cardinals, fled to the castle of St. Angelo. The Imperialists, at whose head was now the Prince of Orange,¹ offered him peace on condition of his paying three hundred thousand crowns. But Clement, who thought that the holy league was on the point of delivering him, and fancied he already saw their leading horsemen, rejected every proposition.² After four hours' repose, the attack was renewed, and by sunset the army was master of all the city. It remained under arms and in good order until midnight, the Spaniards in the Piazza Navona, and the Germans in the Campofiore. At last, seeing no demonstrations either of war or of peace, the soldiers disbanded and ran to pillage.

Then began the famous "Sack of Rome." The papacy had for centuries put Christendom in the press. Prebends, annates, jubilees, pilgrimages, ecclesiastical graces,—she had made money of them all. These greedy troops, that for months had lived in wretchedness, determined to make her disgorge. No one was spared, the imperial not more than the ultramontane

¹ It is singular that Bourbon's successor in command was also a malcontent subject of the crown of France. The Prince of Orange here mentioned was Philibert of Chalons, who having declared for the emperor Charles V. against Francis I. had his property confiscated in 1520, and the principality of Orange given to Anne of Montmorency, widow of the Marechal de Chastillon, and mother of the celebrated de Coligny. The families thus opposed afterwards became connected, probably from strong Protestant leanings on both sides. Philibert dying without issue, made his nephew René, by his only sister the countess of Nassau, his heir. René, dying without issue, left his claims and possessions to his cousin by the father's side, William of Nassau, who thus became prince of Orange-Nassau, the "Father William" who did so much, under God, in establishing the independence of Holland, and whose fourth wife was Louise de Coligny, daughter of the Admiral de Coligny, and grand-daughter of the above Anne de Montmorency who had got the principality of Orange, on its being taken from Philibert.—D. D. S.

² While Clement had exasperated the Germans by making it a clause in all his treaties that those he called heretics should be rooted out, he had no enthusiasm in favour of the popedom to oppose to that exasperation even in Rome. Guicciardini relates that while Bourbon was approaching the city, the pope "called together the people of Rome, and entreated them that in so great a hazard of their country, they would readily take arms to defend it, and that the richest of them would lend money for the pay of soldiers, whereunto no man would hearken,—" But if he had no money to pay troops, as little was he likely to have wherewithal to pay a large ransom.—D. D. S.

party, the Ghibellines not more than the Guelfs. Churches, palaces, convents, private houses, basilics, banks, tombs—every thing was pillaged, even to the golden ring that the corpse of Julius II. still wore on its finger. The Spaniards displayed the greatest skill, scenting out and discovering treasures in the most mysterious hiding-places; but the Neapolitans were the most outrageous.¹ “On every side were heard,” says Guicciardini, “the piteous shrieks of the Roman women and of the nuns whom the soldiers dragged away by companies to satiate their lust.”²

At first the Germans found a certain pleasure in making the papists feel the weight of their swords. But ere long, happy at procuring victuals and drink, they were more pacific than their allies. It was upon those things which the Romans called “holy” that the anger of the Lutherans was especially discharged. They took away the chalices, the pyxes, the silver remonstrances, and clothed their servants and camp-boys with the sacerdotal garments.³ The Campofiore was changed into an immense gambling-house. The soldiers brought thither golden vessels and bags full of crowns, staked them upon one throw of the dice, and after losing them went in search of others. A certain Simon Baptista, who had foretold the sack of the city, had been thrown into prison by the pope; the Germans liberated him, and made him drink with them. But, like Jeremiah, he prophesied against all. “Rob, plunder,” cried he to his liberators; “you shall however give back all; the money of the soldiers and the gold of the priests will follow the same road.”

Nothing pleased the Germans more than to mock the papal court. “Many prelates,” says Guicciardini, “were paraded on asses through all the city of Rome.”⁴ After this procession, the bishops paid their ransom; but they fell into the hands of the Spaniards, who made them pay it a second time.⁵

One day a lansquenet named Guillaume de Sainte Celle put

¹ Jovius Vita Pompeii Colonnæ, p. 191; Ranke, Deutsche Gesch. ii. 398.

² Guicciardini, li. 724.

³ Sacras vestes profanis induebant lixis. (Cochlæus, p. 156.)

⁴ Wars of Italy, li. 723.

⁵ Eundem civem seu curialem haud raro, nunc ab Hispanis, nunc a Germanis ære mutuo redimi. (Cochlæus, p. 156.)

on the pope's robes, and placed the triple crown upon his head; others gathered round him, adorning themselves with the red hats and long robes of the cardinals; and going in procession upon asses through the streets of the city, they all arrived at last before the castle of St. Angelo, to which Clement VII. had retired. Here the soldier-cardinals alighted, and lifting up the front of their robes, kissed the feet of the pretended pontiff. The latter drank to the health of Clement VII., the cardinals kneeling did the same, and exclaimed that henceforward they would be pious popes and good cardinals, careful not to excite wars as their predecessors had done. They then formed a conclave, and the pope having announced to his consistory that it was his intention to resign the papacy, all hands were immediately raised for the election, and they cried out, "Luther is pope! Luther is pope!"¹ Never had pontiff been proclaimed with such perfect unanimity. Such were the humours of the Germans.

The Spaniards did not let the Romans off so easily. Clement VII. had called them "Moors," and had published a plenary indulgence for whoever should kill any of them. Nothing, therefore, could restrain their fury. These faithful Catholics put the prelates to death in the midst of horrible cruelties, destined to extort their treasures from them: they spared neither rank, sex, nor age. It was not until the sack had lasted ten days, and a booty of ten millions of golden crowns had been collected, and from five to eight thousand victims had perished, that quiet began to be in some degree restored.

Thus did the pontifical city decline in the midst of a long and cruel pillage, and that splendour with which Rome from the beginning of the sixteenth century had filled the world faded in a few hours. Nothing could preserve this haughty capital from chastisement, not even the prayers of its enemies. "I would not have Rome burnt," Luther had exclaimed; "it would be a monstrous deed."² The fears of Melanchthon were still keener: "I tremble for the libraries," said he: "we know

¹ *Milites itaque levassent manum ac exclamassent: Lutherus Papa! Lutherus Papa!* (Cochlæus, p. 156.)

² *Romam nollem exustam, magnum enim portentum esset.* (Epp. iii. 221.)

how hateful books are to Mars."¹ But in despite of these wishes of the reformers, the city of Leo X. fell under the judgment of God.

Clement VII., besieged in the castle of St. Angelo, and fearful that the enemy would blow his asylum into the air with their mines, at last capitulated. He renounced every alliance against Charles V., and bound himself to remain a prisoner until he had paid the army four hundred thousand ducats. The evangelical Christians gazed with astonishment on this judgment of the Lord. "Such," said they, "is the empire of Jesus Christ, that the emperor, pursuing Luther on behalf of the pope, is constrained to ruin the pope instead of Luther. All things minister unto the Lord, and turn against his adversaries."²

CHAPTER III.

Profitable Calm—Constitution of the Church—Philip of Hesse—The Monk of Marburg—Lambert's Paradoxes—Friar Boniface—Disputation at Hamburg—Triumph of the Gospel in Hesse—Constitution of the Church—Bishops—Synods—Two Elements of the Church—Luther on the Ministry—Organization of the Church—Luther's Contradictions on State Interference—Luther to the Elector—German Mass—Melancthon's Instructions—Disaffection—Visitation of the Reformed Churches—Results—The Reformation advances—Elizabeth of Brandenburg.

THE Reformation needed some years of repose that it might increase and gain strength; and it could not enjoy peace, unless its great enemies were at war with each other. The madness of Clement VII. was as it were the *lightning-conductor* of the Reformation, and the ruins of Rome built up the Gospel. It was not only a few months' gain; from 1526 to 1529 there was a calm in Germany, by which the Reformation profited to organize and extend itself. A constitution was now to be given to the renovated Church.

As the papal yoke had been broken, the ecclesiastical order

¹ Metuo bibliothecis. (Corp. Ref. i. 869.)

² Ut Caesar pro papa Lutherum persequens, pro Luthero papam cogatur vastare. (L. Epp. iii. 198.)

required to be re-established. It was impossible to restore their ancient jurisdiction to the bishops; for these continental prelates maintained that they were, in an especial manner, the pope's servants. A new state of things was therefore called for, under pain of seeing the Church fall into anarchy. This was immediately provided against. It was then that the evangelical nations separated definitely from that despotic dominion which had for ages kept all the West in bondage.

The diet had already on two occasions wished to make the reform of the Church a national work; the emperor, the pope, and a few princes were opposed to it; the diet of Spires had therefore resigned to each state the task that it could not accomplish itself.

But what constitution were they about to substitute for the papal hierarchy?

They could, while suppressing the pope, preserve the Episcopal order: it was the form nearest approximating that which was on the point of being destroyed. This was done in England, where we have an Episcopalian Church; but, as we have just observed, it could not be realized on the continent. There were no Latimers, no Cranmers among the continental bishops.

They might, on the contrary, reconstruct the ecclesiastical order, by having recourse to the sovereignty of God's Word, and by re-establishing the rights of the Christian people. This form was the most remote from the Roman hierarchy. Between these two extremes there were several middle courses.

The latter plan was Zwingli's: but the reformer of Zurich had not fully carried it out. He had not called upon the Christian people to exercise the sovereignty, and had stopped at the Council of Two Hundred as representing the Church.¹

The step before which Zwingli had hesitated might be taken, and it was so. A prince did not shrink from what had alarmed even republicans. Evangelical Germany, at the moment when she began to try her hand on ecclesiastical constitutions, began with that which trenched deepest on the papal monarchy.

¹ *Supra*, Vol. II. b. xi. p. 450.

It was not, however, from Germany that such a system could proceed. If aristocratic England was destined to cling to the episcopal form, docile Germany was destined the rather to stop in a governmental medium. The democratic extreme issued from Switzerland and France.¹ One of Calvin's predecessors now hoisted that flag which the powerful arm of the Genevese Reformer was to lift again in after-years and plant in France, Switzerland, Holland, Scotland, and even in England, whence it was a century later to cross the Atlantic and summon North America to take its rank among the nations.

Philip of Hesse, who has been compared to Philip of Macedon in subtlety, and to his son Alexander in courage, was the most enterprising of all the evangelical princes. Philip comprehended that religion was at length acquiring its due importance; and far from opposing the great development that was agitating the people, he put himself in harmony with the new ideas.

The morning-star had risen for Hesse almost at the same time as for Saxony. In 1517, when Luther in Wittenberg was preaching the gratuitous remission of sins, men and women in Marburg were seen repairing secretly to one of the ditches of the city, and there, collected round a solitary loophole, listening eagerly to the words of consolation that issued from within. It was the voice of the Franciscan, James Limburg, who having declared that for fifteen centuries the priests had falsified the Gospel of Christ, had been thrown into this gloomy dungeon. These mysterious assemblies lasted a fortnight. On a sudden the voice was silent; these lonely meetings had been discovered, and the Franciscan, torn from his cell, had been

¹ This seems a fitting place for pointing to a very important distinction, which the author seems to overlook. No Christian church can be democratic in its constitution according to the sense in which we speak of a civil democracy. A civil democracy implies absolute power in the people to make what laws, create what forms of government, and administer government in what manner, they please. But this cannot possibly apply to a church in which, to use the author's own expression, the "sovereignty of God's word" is recognised—an expression, by the by, inconsistent with what occurs in the very next paragraph to that in which it occurs, where he speaks of the Christian people not being called upon to exercise "the sovereignty," but of that being confined to a council of two hundred as representing the Church. "Sovereignty" and "democracy" must ever be used in a very limited sense, where applied to a body having a chief, laws, and at least the first lines of a constitution, all placed beyond its control.—D. D. S.

hurried away across the Lahnberg towards some unknown spot. Not far from the Ziegenberg, some weeping citizens of Marburg came up with him, and hastily pulling aside the awning that covered his car, they asked him, "Whither are you going?" "Where God wills," calmly replied the friar.¹ He was never heard of again, and it is not known what became of him. These disappearances are usual in the papacy.

No sooner had Philip prevailed in the diet of Spires, than he resolved on devoting himself to the reformation of his hereditary states.

His resolute character made him incline towards the Swiss reform: it was not therefore one of the moderates that he wanted. He had formed a connection at Spires with James Sturm, the deputy from Strasburg, who spoke to him of Francis Lambert of Avignon, who was then at Strasburg. Of a pleasing exterior and decided character, Lambert combined with the fire of the south all the perseverance of the north. He was the first in France to throw off the cowl, and from that time he had never ceased to call for a thorough reform in the Church. "Formerly," said he, "when I was a hypocrite, I lived in abundance; now I consume frugally my daily bread with my small family;² but I had rather be poor in Christ's kingdom, than possess abundance of gold in the dissolute dwellings of the pope." The landgrave saw that Lambert was just the man he required, and invited him to his court.

Lambert, desiring to clear the way for the Reformation of Hesse, drew up one hundred and fifty-eight theses, which he entitled "paradoxes," and posted them, according to the custom of the times, on the church doors.

Friends and enemies immediately crowded round them. Some Roman catholics would have torn them down, but the reformed townspeople kept watch, and holding a synod in the public square, discussed, developed, and proved these propositions, ridiculing at the same time the anger of the papists.

Boniface Dornemann, a young priest, full of self-conceit, whom the bishop, on the day of his consecration, had extolled

¹ Rommel, *Phil. von Hesse*, i. 128.

² Nunc cum familiola mea panem manduco et potum capio in mensura. (*Lamberti Commentarii de Sacro Conjugio.*)

above Paul for his learning, and above the Virgin for his chastity, finding himself too short to reach Lambert's placard, borrowed a stool, and, surrounded by a numerous audience, began to read the propositions aloud.¹

"All that is deformed ought to be reformed. The Word of God alone teaches us what ought to be so, and all reform that is effected otherwise is vain."²

This was the first thesis. "Hem!" said the young priest, "I shall not attack that." He continued.

"It belongs to the Church to judge on matters of faith. Now the Church is the congregation of those who are united by the same spirit, the same faith, the same God, the same Mediator, the same Word, by which alone they are governed, and in which alone they have life."³

"I cannot attack that proposition," said the priest.⁴ He continued reading from his stool.

"The Word is the true key. The kingdom of heaven is open to him who believes the Word, and shut against him who believes it not. Whoever, therefore, truly possesses the Word of God, has the power of the keys. All other keys, all the decrees of the councils and popes, and all the rules of the monks, are valueless."

Friar Boniface shook his head and continued.

"Since the priesthood of the law has been abolished, Christ is the only immortal and eternal priest, and he does not, like men, need a successor. Neither the Bishop of Rome nor any other person in the world is his representative here below. But all Christians, since the commencement of the Church, have been and are participators in his priesthood."

This proposition smelt of heresy. Dornemann, however, was not discouraged; and whether it was from weakness of mind, or from the dawning of light, at each proposition that did

¹ Cum statura hominis hujusmodi esset ut inter Pygmaeos internosci difficulter posset, scabellum sibi dari postulabat, eoque consensu, coepit, &c. (Othon. Melandri Jocorum Cent.)

² Vana est omnis Reformatio que alioqui fit. (Paradoxa Lamberti: Scuiteti Annal.)

³ Ecclesia est congregatio eorum quos unit idem spiritus. (Ibid.)

⁴ Hanc equidem haud impugnaverim. Illam ne quidem attigerim. (Othon. Mil. Joe. Cent.)

not too much shock his prejudices, he repeated: "Certainly, I shall not attack that one!" The people listened in astonishment, when one of them—whether he was a fanatical Romanist, a fanatical reformer, or a mischievous wag, I cannot tell—tired with these continual repetitions, exclaimed: "Get down, you knave, who cannot find a word to impugn." Then rudely pulling away the stool, he threw the unfortunate clerk flat in the mud.¹

On the 21st October, at seven in the morning, the gates of the principal church at Homburg were thrown open, and prelates, abbots, priests, counts, knights, and deputies of the towns, entered in succession, and among them was Philip, in his quality of first member of the church.

After Lambert had explained and proved his theses, he added: Let him stand forth who has anything to say against them." At first there was a profound silence; but at length Nicholas Ferber, superior of the Franciscans of Marburg, who in 1524, applying to Rome's favourite argument, had entreated the landgrave to employ the sword against the heretics, began to speak with drooping head and downcast eyes. As he invoked Augustin, Peter Lombard, and other doctors to his assistance, the landgrave observed to him: "Do not put forward the wavering opinions of men, but the Word of God, which alone fortifies and strengthens our hearts. The Franciscan sat down in confusion, saying, "This is not the place for replying." The disputation, however, recommenced, and Lambert, showing all the power of truth, so astonished his adversary, that the superior, alarmed at what he called "thunders of blasphemy and lightnings of impiety,"² sat down again, observing a second time, "This is not the place for replying."

In vain did the Chancellor Feige declare to him that each man had the right of maintaining his opinion with full liberty; in vain did the landgrave himself exclaim that the Church was sighing after truth: silence had become Rome's refuge. "I will defend the doctrine of purgatory," a priest had said prior

¹ *Apagesis, nebulo! qui quod impugnes infirmesque invenire haud possis! hisque dictis scabellum ei mox subtrahit, ut miser ille præceps in lutum ageretur.* (Othon. Mil. Joc. Cent.)

² *Fulgura impietatum, tonitrua blasphemiarum.*

to the discussion; "I will attack the paradoxes under the sixth head (on the true priesthood)," had said another;¹ and a third had exclaimed, "I will overthrow those under the tenth head (on images);" but now they were all dumb.

Upon this Lambert, clasping his hands, exclaimed with Zacharias: *Blessed be the Lord God of Israel; for he hath visited and redeemed his people.*

After three days of discussion, which had been a continual triumph for the evangelical doctrine, men were selected and commissioned to constitute the churches of Hesse in accordance with the Word of God. They were more than three days occupied in the task, and their new constitution was then published in the name of the synod.

The first ecclesiastical constitution produced by the Reformation should have a place in history, and the more so as it was then put forward as a model for the new churches of Christendom.²

The autonomy or self-government of the Church is its fundamental principle: it is from the Church, from its representatives assembled in the name of the Lord, that this legislation emanates: there is no mention in the prologue either of state or of landgrave.³ Philip, content with having broken for himself and for his people the yoke of a foreign priest, had no desire to put himself in his place, and was satisfied with that external superintendence which is necessary for the maintenance of order.

A second distinctive feature in this constitution is its simplicity both of government and worship. The assembly conjures all future synods not to load the churches with a multitude of ordinances, "seeing that where orders abound, disorder superabounds." They would not even continue the organs in the churches, because, said they, "men should understand what they hear."⁴ The more the human mind has been bent

¹ Erant enim prius qui dicerent: Ego asseram purgatorium; alius, Ego impugnabo paradoxa tituli sexti, etc. (Lamberti Epistola ad Colon.)

² This constitution will be found in Schminke, *Monumenta Hassiaca*, vol. ii. p. 588: "Pro Hassie Ecclesiis, et si deinde nonnullæ aliæ ad idem nostrum exemplum provocarentur."

³ Synodus in nomine Domini congregata. (Ibid.)

⁴ Ne homines non intelligent. (Ibid. cap. 3.)

in one direction, the more violent is the re-action when it is unbent. The Church passed at that time from the extreme of symbols to the extreme of simplicity. These are the principal features of this constitution:—

“The Church can only be taught and governed by the Word of its Sovereign Pastor. Whoever has recourse to any other word shall be deposed and excommunicated.¹

“Every pious man, learned in the Word of God, whatever be his condition, may be elected bishop if he desire it, for he is called inwardly of God.²

“Let no one believe that by a bishop we understand anything else than a simple minister of the Word of God.³

“The ministers are servants, and consequently they ought not to be lords, princes, or governors.

“Let the faithful assemble and choose their bishops and deacons. Each church should elect its own pastor.⁴

“Let those who are elected bishops be consecrated to their office by the imposition of the hands of three bishops; and as for the deacons, if there are no ministers present, let them receive the laying on of hands from the elders of the Church.⁵

“If a bishop cause any scandal to the Church by his effeminacy, by the splendour of his garments, or by levity of conduct, and if, on being warned, he persists, let him be deposed by the Church.⁶

“Let each church place its bishop in a condition to live with his family, and to be hospitable, as St. Paul enjoins; but let the bishops exact nothing for their casual duties.⁷

“On every Sunday let there be in some suitable place an assembly of all the men who are in the number of the saints, to regulate with the bishop, according to God’s Word, all the

¹ Non admittimus verbum aliud quam ipsius pastoris nostri. (Monumenta Hassiaca, cap. 2.)

² Si quis pius, in verbo sancto et exercitatus, docere petit verbum sanctum, non repellatur, a Deo enim interne mittitur. (Ibid. cap. 23.)

³ Ne quis putet, nos hic per episcopos, alios intelligere, quam ministros Dei verbi. (Ibid.)

⁴ Eligat quævis ecclesia episcopum suum. (Ibid. cap. 23.)

⁵ Manus imponant duo ex senioribus, nisi alii episcopi intersint. (Ibid. cap. 21.)

⁶ Deponat ecclesia episcopum suum, quod ad eam spectet judicare de voce pastorem. (Ibid. cap. 23.)

⁷ Alat quævis ecclesia episcopum suum sicque illi administret ut cum sua familia vivere possit. (Ibid. cap. 23.)

affairs of the Church, and to excommunicate whoever gives occasion of scandal to the Church; for the Church of Christ has never existed without exercising the power of excommunication.¹

"As a weekly assembly is necessary for the direction of the particular churches, so a general synod should be held annually for the direction of all the churches in the country."²

"All the pastors are its natural members; but each church shall further elect from its body a man full of the Spirit and of faith, to whom it shall intrust its powers for all that is in the jurisdiction of the synod."³

"Three visiters shall be elected yearly, with commission to go through all the churches, to examine those who have been elected bishops, to confirm those who have been approved of, and to provide for the execution of the decrees of the synod."

It will no doubt be found that this first evangelical constitution went in some points to the extreme of ecclesiastical democracy; but certain institutions had crept in that were capable of increase and of changing its nature. Six superintendents for life were afterwards substituted for the three annual visiters (who, according to the primitive institution, might be simple members of the church); and, as has been remarked,⁴ the encroachments, whether of these superintendents or of the state, gradually paralyzed the activity and independence of the churches of Hesse. This constitution fared like that of the Abbé Sièyes, in the year 8 (A. D. 1799), which, although intended to be republican, served through the influence of Napoleon Bonaparte to establish the despotism of the empire.

It was not the less a remarkable work. Romish doctors have reproached the Reformation for making the Church a too interior institution.⁵ In effect, the Reformation and Popery re-

¹ Fiat conventus fidelium in congruo loco, ad quem quotquot ex viris in sanctorum numero habentur.....Christi ecclesiam nunquam fuisse sine excommunicatione. (Monumenta Hassiæna, cap. 15.)

² Ut semel pro toto Hesiâ celebretur synodus apud Marpurgum tertia dominica post pascha. (Ibid. cap. 18.)

³ Universi episcopi.....Qualibet ecclesia congregetur et eligat ex se ipsa unum plenum fide et Spiritu Dei. (Ibid. cap. 18.)

⁴ Rettig, Die Freie Kirche.

⁵ This is the opinion set forth in the *Symbolik* of Dr. Mohler, the most celebrated defender of the Romish doctrine among our contemporaries.

cognise two elements in the Church,—the one exterior, the other interior; but while Popery gives precedence to the former, the Reformation assigns it to the latter. If however it be a reproach against the Reformation for having an inward Church only, and for not creating an external one, the remarkable constitution of which we have just exhibited a few features, will save us the trouble of replying. The exterior ecclesiastical order, which then sprang from the very heart of the Reformation, is far more perfect than that of Popery.

One great question presented itself: Will these principles be adopted by all the Churches of the Reformation?

Everything seemed to indicate that they would. At that time the most pious men were of opinion, that the ecclesiastical power proceeded from the members of the Church. On withdrawing from the hierarchical extreme, they flung themselves into a democratical one.¹ Luther himself had professed this doctrine as early as 1523. When the Calixtins of Bohemia found that the bishops of their country refused them ministers, they had gone so far as to take the first vagabond priest. "If you have no other means of procuring pastors," wrote Luther to them, "rather do without them, and let each head of a family read the Gospel in his own house, and baptize his children, sighing after the sacrament of the altar as the Jews at Babylon did for Jerusalem."² The consecration of the pope creates priests—not of God, but of the devil, ordained solely to trample Jesus Christ under foot, to bring his sacrifice to naught, and to sell imaginary holocausts to the world in his name.³

¹ Here again let the reader beware of being misled by giving a civil sense to the term "democratical." The aim of every Scriptural church must be to give the utmost possible effect to the will of its sole supreme head, by making that will, as revealed in the Bible, universally and distinctly known, and by giving the utmost force to the motives and principles that produce obedience to it. Now, what the author calls democratical forms of church government, may possibly be the least democratical in their origin, for, if prescribed in the New Testament, they flow from an absolute authority; and they may also be the least democratical in their result, by making the church members far more absolutely subject to their supreme head, Jesus Christ, than what are called aristocratical forms do. Implicit submission to the absolute authority of God being the grand aim of every Scriptural church, the term democracy seems inapplicable to any.—D. D. S.

² Tutius enim et salubrius esset, quemlibet patrem-familias suæ domui legere Evangelium. (L. Opp. Lat. ii. 363.)

³ Per ordines papisticos non sacerdotes Dei sed sacerdotes Satanae, tantum ut Christum conculcent. (Ibid. 364.)

Men become ministers only by election and calling, and that ought to be effected in the following manner:—

“First, seek God by prayer;¹ then being assembled together with all those whose hearts God has touched, choose in the Lord’s name him or them whom you shall have acknowledged to be fitted for this ministry. After that, let the chief men among you lay their hands on them, and recommend them to the people and to the Church.”²

Luther, in thus calling upon the people alone to nominate their pastors, submitted to the necessities of the times in Bohemia. It was requisite to constitute the ministry; and as the ministry had no existence, it could not then have the legitimate part that belongs to it in the choice of God’s ministers.

But another necessity, proceeding in like manner from the state of affairs, was to incline Luther to deviate in Saxony from the principles he had formerly laid down.

It can hardly be said that the German Reformation began with the lower classes, as in Switzerland and France; and Luther could scarcely find anywhere that Christian people, which should have played so great a part in his new constitution. Ignorant men, conceited townspeople, who would not even maintain their ministers—these were the members of the Church. Now what could be done with such elements?

But if the people were indifferent, the princes were not so. They stood in the foremost rank of the great battle of the Reformation, and sat on the first bench in the council. The democratic organization was therefore compelled to give way to an organization conformable to the civil government. The Church is composed of Christians, and they are taken wherever they are found—high or low. It was particularly in high stations that Luther found them. He admitted the princes (as Zwingli did the Council of Two Hundred) as representatives of the people, and henceforward the influence of the State became one of the principal elements in the constitution of the evangelical Church in Germany.

¹ *Orationibus tum privatis tum publicis.* (L. Opp. Lat. ii. 370.)

² *Eligite quem et quos volueritis. Tum impositis super eos manibus, sint hec ipso vestri episcopi, vestri ministri, seu pastores.* (Ibid.)

Thus Luther, setting out in principle from the democratic, arrived in fact at the Erastian extreme. Never perhaps was there so immense a space between the premises laid down by any man and the conduct he adopted. If Luther crossed that wide interval without hesitation, it was not from mere inconsistency on his part; he yielded to the necessities of the times. The rules of Church government are not, like the doctrines of the Gospel, of an absolute nature; their application depends in a measure on the state of the Church. Nevertheless there was some inconsistency in Luther: he often expressed himself in a contradictory manner on what princes ought and ought not to do in the Church. This is a point upon which the reformer and his age had no very settled opinions: there were other questions to be cleared up.

In the mind of the reformer the tutelage of the princes was only to be provisional. The faithful being still in their minority, they had need of a guardian: but the era of the Church's majority might arrive, and then would come its emancipation.

As we said in another place,¹ we will not decide on this great controversy of Church and State. But there are certain ideas which can never be forgotten. God is the principle from which every being emanates, and who ought to govern the whole world—societies as well as individuals—the State not less than the Church. God has to do with governments, and governments with God. The great truths of which the Church is the depository are given from above to exert their influence on the whole nation,—on him who is seated on the throne, as well as on the peasant in his cottage: and it is not only as an individual that the prince must be partaker of this heavenly light; it is also that he may receive a Divine wisdom as governor of his people. God must be in the State. To place nations, governments, social and political life on one side,—and God, his Word, and his Church on the other, as if there were a great gulf between them, and that these two orders of things should never meet,—would be at once high treason against man and against God.

¹ Vol. ii. p. 80.

But if there ought to be a close union between these two spheres (the Church and State), we ought to seek the means best calculated to obtain it. Now, if the direction of the Church is intrusted to the civil government, as was the case in Saxony, there is great reason to fear lest the reality of this union should be compromised, and the infiltration of heavenly strength into the body of the nation be obstructed. The Church administered by a civil department will often be sacrificed to political ends, and, gradually becoming secularized, will lose its pristine vigour. This at least has taken place in Germany, where in some places religion has sunk to the rank of a temporal administration. In order that any created being may exercise all the influence of which it is capable, it ought to have a free development. Let a tree grow unconfined in the open fields, you will better enjoy its cool shade, and gather more abundant fruits, than if you planted it in a vase and shut it up in your chamber. Such a tree is the Church of Christ.

The recourse to the civil power, which was perhaps at that time necessary in Germany, had still another consequence; when Protestantism became an affair of governments it ceased to be universal. The new spirit was capable of creating a new earth. But instead of opening new roads and of purposing the regeneration of all Christendom and the conversion of the whole world, Protestantism shrank back, and Protestants sought to settle themselves as comfortably as possible in a few German duchies. This timidity, which has been called prudence, did immense injury to the Reformation.

The organizing power being once discovered in the councils of the princes, the reformers thought of organization, and Luther applied to the task; for although he was in an especial manner an assailant and Calvin an organizer, these two qualities, as necessary to the reformers of the Church as to the founders of empires, were not wanting in either of these great servants of God.

It was necessary to compose a new ministry, for most of the priests who had quitted the papacy were content to receive the watchword of Reform without having personally experienced the sanctifying virtue of the truth. There was even one parish

in which the priest preached the Gospel in his principal church, and sang mass in its succursal.¹

But something more was wanting: a Christian people had to be created. "Alas!" said Luther of some of the adherents of the Reform, "they have abandoned their Romish doctrines and rites, and they scoff at ours."²

Luther did not shrink from before this double necessity; and he made provision for it. Convinced that a general visitation of the churches was necessary, he addressed the elector on this subject, on the 22d October, 1526. "Your highness, in your quality of guardian of youth, and of all those who know not how to take care of themselves," said he, "should compel the inhabitants, who desire neither pastors nor schools, to receive these means of grace, as they are compelled to work on the roads, on bridges, and such like services."³ The papal order being abolished, it is your duty to regulate these things: no other person cares about them, no other can, and no other ought to do so. Commission, therefore, four persons to visit all the country; let two of them inquire into the tithes and church property; and let two take charge of the doctrine, schools, churches, and pastors." It may be asked, on reading these words, whether the Church which was formed in the first century without the support of princes, could not in the sixteenth be reformed without them?⁴

Luther was not content with soliciting in writing the intervention of the prince. He was indignant at seeing the courtiers, who in the time of the elector Frederick had shown themselves the inveterate enemies of the Reformation, now rushing, "sporting, laughing, skipping," as he said, on the spoils of the Church. Accordingly, at the end of this year,

¹ In æde parochiali evangelico more docebat, in filiali missificabat. (Seeck. p. 102.)

² Sie enim sua papistica neglexerunt, et nostra contemnunt. (L. Epp. iii. 224.)

³ Als oberster vormund der Jugend und aller die es bedürfen, soll sie mit Gewalt dazu halten. (L. Epp. iii. 136.)

⁴ The difference between the two cases was immense. Heathen governors could not be expected in the first century to feel or exercise Christian responsibility. Not so a Christian prince in the sixteenth century. To him the question was not what could be done, but what *ought* he to do. Now if public property had been perverted to the propagation of antichristian errors, surely his first duty was in a lawful and regular way to turn it to the propagation of Christian truth. The same with respect to public education, &c.—D. D. S.

the elector having come to Wittenberg, the reformer repaired immediately to the palace, made his complaint to the prince-electoral, whom he met at the gate, and then, without caring about those who would have stopped him, forced his way into the elector's bedchamber, and addressing this prince, who was surprised at so unexpected a visit, begged him to remedy the evils of the Church. The visitation of the churches was resolved upon, and Melanchthon was commissioned to draw up the necessary instructions.

In 1526, Luther published his "German Mass," by which he signified the order of church service in general. "The real evangelical assemblies," he said, "do not take place publicly, pell-mell, admitting people of every sort;¹ but they are formed of serious Christians, who confess the Gospel by their words and by their lives,² and in the midst of whom we may reprove and excommunicate those who do not live according to the rule of Christ Jesus.³ I cannot institute such assemblies, for I have no one to place in them;⁴ but if the thing becomes possible, I shall not be wanting in this duty."

It was with a conviction that he must give the Church, not the best form of worship imaginable, but the best possible, that Melanchthon, like Luther, laboured at his Instructions.

The German Reformation at that time tacked about, as it were. If Lambert in Hesse had gone to the extreme of a democratical system, Melanchthon in Saxony was approximating the contrary extreme of traditional principles. A conservative principle was substituted for a reforming one. Melanchthon wrote to one of the inspectors:⁵ "All the old ceremonies that you can preserve, pray do so.⁶ Do not innovate much, for every innovation is injurious to the people."⁷

They retained, therefore, the Latin liturgy, a few German

¹ Non publice, sive promiscue et admissa omnis generis plebe. (De Missa Germ.)

² Qui nomina sua in catalogum referrent, adds he. (Ibid.)

³ Excommunicari qui Christiano more se non gererent. (Ibid.)

⁴ Neque enim habeo qui sint idonei. (Ibid.)

⁵ Dr. Dewette thinks this letter is Luther's, L. Epp. iii. 352. It appears clear to me, as also to Dr. Bretschneider, that it is Melanchthon's. Luther never went so far in the way of concession.

⁶ Observo quantum ex veteribus ceremoniis retineri potest, retineas. (Corp. Ref. ii. 990.)

⁷ Omnis novitas nocet in vulgo. (Ibid.)

hymns being mingled with it;¹ the communion in one kind for those only who scrupled from habit to take it in both; a confession made to the priest without being in any way obligatory; many saints' days, the sacred vestments,² and other rites, "in which," said Melanchthon, "there is no harm, whatever Zwingli may say."³ And at the same time they set forth with reserve the doctrines of the Reformation.

It is but right to confess the dominion of facts and circumstances upon these ecclesiastical organizations; but there is a dominion which rises higher still—that of the Word of God.⁴

Perhaps Melanchthon did all that could be effected at that time; but it was necessary for the work to be one day resumed and re-established on its primitive plan, and this was Calvin's glory.

A cry of astonishment was heard both from the camp of Rome and from that of the Reformation. "Our cause is betrayed," exclaimed some of the evangelical Christians: "the liberty is taken away that Jesus Christ had given us."⁵

On their part the Ultramontanists triumphed in Melanchthon's moderation: they called it a retractation, and took advantage of it to insult the Reform. Cochleus published a "horrible" engraving, as he styles it himself, in which, from beneath the same hood was seen issuing a seven-headed monster representing Luther. Each of these heads had different features, and all, uttering together the most frightful and contradictory words, kept disputing, tearing, and devouring each other.⁶

The astonished Elector resolved to communicate Melanchthon's paper to Luther. But never did the reformer's respect for his friend show itself in a more striking manner. He made only one or two unimportant additions to this plan, and sent it back accompanied with the highest eulogiums. The Romanists

¹ Non aboleas eam totam (the Latin mass): satis est alicubi miscere Germanicas cantationes. (Corp. Ref. ii. 990.)

² Ut retineantur vestes usitatæ in sacris. (Corp. Ref. ad Jonam, 20th December 1527.)

³ Vel si Zwinglius ipse prædicaturus sit. (Corp. Ref. ii. 910.)

⁴ Here the author seems to retract the approbation formerly bestowed on such compromises. See vol. ii. of this Edition, page 138, and Note ¹.—D. D. S.

⁵ Alii dicerent prodi causam. (Camer. Vita Melanchthon. p. 107.)

⁶ Monstruosus ille Germaniæ partus, Lutherus septiceps. (Cochleus, p. 160.)

said that the tiger caught in a net was licking the hands that clipped his talons. But it was not so. Luther knew that the aim of Melancthon's labours was to strengthen the very soul of the Reformation in all the churches of Saxony. That was sufficient for him. He thought besides, that in every thing there must be a transition; and being justly convinced that his friend was more than himself a man of transition, he frankly accepted his views.¹

The general visitation began. Luther in Saxony, Spalatin in the districts of Altenburg and Zwickau, Melancthon in Thuringia, and Thuring in Franconia, with ecclesiastical deputies and several lay colleagues, commenced the work in October and November 1528.

They purified the clergy by dismissing every priest of scandalous life;² assigned a portion of the church property to the maintenance of public worship, and placed the remainder beyond the reach of plunder. They continued the suppression of the convents, and everywhere established unity of instruction. "Luther's greater and smaller catechisms," which appeared in 1529, contributed more perhaps than any other writings to propagate throughout the new churches the ancient faith of the apostles. The visitors commissioned the pastors of the great towns, under the title of superintendents, to watch over the churches and the schools; they maintained the abolition of celibacy; and the ministers of the Word, become husbands

¹ In this sentence the word "transition" seems to be a misprint for "transaction," and "transaction" a misrendering in English of the French word *transaction*, which means "compromise." The sentence then becomes intelligible: "He thought besides that in every thing there must be a compromise; and being rightly convinced that his friend was more than himself a man of compromise, he frankly accepted his views." The truth is, both Luther and Melancthon seem to have thought that, provided the doctrine of justification by faith was not compromised, almost anything else might be, a course to which they may have been farther impelled by a still extant leaven of superstitious feelings in both. But they forgot the immense force which retaining the old ceremonies, vestments, &c., must ever have in perpetuating the erroneous doctrines with which they had been for ages, and sometimes very significantly associated. To veil the transition from Popery to Protestantism by retaining so many of the forms and practices of the former, in the hope of thereby recommending the faith of the latter, was a sure way to impress shallow minds with the idea that the difference between them was after all not worth suffering for. Hence the readiness to relapse into popery in all such cases down to this day.—D. D. S.

² Viginti fere rudes et inepti, multique concubinarii et potatores deprehensi sunt. (Seekend. p. 102.)

and fathers, formed the germ of a third estate, whence in after years were diffused in all ranks of society learning, activity, and light. This is one of the truest causes of that intellectual and moral superiority which indisputably distinguishes the evangelical nations.

The organization of the churches in Saxony, notwithstanding its imperfections, produced for a time at least the most important results. It was because the Word of God prevailed; and because, wherever this Word exercises its power, secondary errors and abuses are paralyzed. The very discretion that was employed really originated in a good principle. The reformers, unlike the enthusiasts, did not utterly reject an institution because it was corrupted. They did not say, for example, "The sacraments are disfigured, let us do without them! the ministry is corrupt, let us reject it!"—but they rejected the abuse, and restored the use. This prudence is the mark of a work of God; and if Luther sometimes permitted the chaff to remain along with the wheat, Calvin appeared later, and more thoroughly purged the Christian threshing-floor.

The organization which was at that time going on in Saxony, exerted a strong reaction on all the German empire, and the doctrine of the Gospel advanced with gigantic strides. God's design in turning aside from the reformed states of Germany the thunderbolt that he caused to fall upon the seven-hilled city, was clearly manifest. Never were years more usefully employed; and it was not only to framing a constitution that the Reformation devoted itself, it was also to extend its doctrine.

The duchies of Luneburg and Brunswick, many of the most important imperial cities, as Nuremberg, Augsburg, Ulm, Strasburg, Göttingen, Gosslar, Nordhausen, Lubeck, Bremen, and Hamburg, removed the tapers from the chapels, and substituted in their place the brighter torch of the Word of God.

In vain did the frightened canons allege the authority of the Church. "The authority of the Church," replied Kempe and Zeehenhaden, the reformer of Hamburg, "cannot be acknowledged unless the Church herself obeys her pastor Jesus Christ."¹

¹ Evangelici auctoritatem Ecclesie non aliter agnoscendam esse contendebant quam si vocem pastoris Christi sequeretur. (Seekend. i. 245.)

Pomeranius visited many places to put a finishing hand to the Reform.

In Franconia, the margrave George of Brandenburg, having reformed Anspach and Bayreuth, wrote to his ancient protector, Ferdinand of Austria, who had knit his brows on being informed of these proceedings: "I have acted thus by God's order; for he commands princes to take care not only of the bodies of their subjects, but also of their souls."¹

In East Friesland, on new-year's day 1527, a Dominican named Resius, having put on his hood,² ascended the pulpit at Noorden, and declared himself ready to maintain certain theses according to the tenor of the Gospel. After silencing the abbot of Noorden by the soundness of his arguments, Resius took off his cowl, left it on the pulpit, and was received in the nave by the acclamations of the faithful. Erelong the whole of Friesland laid aside the uniform of popery, as Resius had done.

At Berlin, Elizabeth, electress of Brandenburg, having read Luther's works, felt a desire to receive the Lord's Supper in conformity with Christ's institution. A minister secretly administered it at the festival of Easter, 1528; but one of her children informed the elector. Joachim was greatly exasperated, and ordered his wife to keep her room for several days;³ it was even rumoured that he intended shutting her up.⁴ This princess, being deprived of all religious support, and mistrusting the perfidious manœuvres of the Romish priests, resolved to escape by flight; and claimed the assistance of her brother, Christian II. of Denmark, then residing at Torgau. Taking advantage of a dark night, she quitted the castle in a peasant's dress, and got into a rude country-waggon that was waiting for her at the gate of the city. Elizabeth urged on the driver, when, in a bad road, the wain broke down. The electress, hastily unfastening a handkerchief she wore round her head, flung it to the man, who employed it in repairing the damage, and erelong Elizabeth arrived at Torgau. "If I should expose

¹ Non modo quoad corpus, sed etiam quoad animam. (Seckend. i. 245.)

² Resius, cucullum indutus, suggestum ascendit. (Scultet. Ann. p. 93.)

³ Aliquot diebus a marito in cubiculo detenta fuisse. (Seckend. ii. 122.)

⁴ Marchio statuerat eam immurare. (L. Epp. ad Lenkium, iii. 296.)

you to any risk," said she to her uncle, the elector of Saxony, "I am ready to go wherever Providence may lead me." But John assigned her a residence in the castle of Lichtenberg, on the Elbe, near Wittenberg. Without taking upon us to approve of Elizabeth's flight, let us acknowledge the good that God's providence derived from it. This amiable lady, who lived at Lichtenberg in the study of His Word, seldom appearing at court, frequently going to hear Luther's sermons, and exercising a salutary influence over her children, who sometimes had permission to see her, was the first of those pious princesses whom the house of Brandenburg has counted, and even still counts, among its members.

At the same time, Holstein, Sleswick, and Silesia decided in favour of the Reformation: and Hungary, as well as Bohemia, saw the number of its adherents increase.

In every place, instead of a hierarchy seeking its righteousness in the works of man, its glory in external pomp, its strength in a material power, the Church of the Apostles reappeared, humble as in primitive times, and like the ancient Christians, looking for its righteousness, its glory, and its power solely in the blood of the Lamb and in the Word of God.¹

CHAPTER IV.

Edict of Ofen—Persecutions—Winkler, Carpenter, and Keyser—Alarm in Germany—Pack's Forgery—League of the Reformed Princes—Advice of the Reformers—Luther's Pacific Counsel—Surprise of the Papist Princes—Pack's Scheme not improbable—Vigour of the Reformation.

THESE triumphs of the Gospel could not pass unperceived; there was a powerful reaction, and until political circumstances should permit a grand attack upon the Reformation on the very soil where it was established, and of fighting against it by means of diets, and if necessary by armies, the adversaries began to persecute it in detail in the Romish countries with tortures and the scaffold.

¹ Revelation xii. 11.

On the 20th August, 1527, king Ferdinand, by the edict of Ofen in Hungary, published a tariff of crimes and penalties, in which he threatened death by the sword, by fire, or by water,¹ against whoever should say that Mary was like other women; or partake of the sacrament in an heretical manner; or consecrate the bread and wine, not being a Romish priest; and further, in the second case, the house in which the sacrament should have been administered was to be confiscated or rased to the ground.

Such was not the legislation of Luther. Link having asked him if it were lawful for the magistrate to put the false prophets to death, meaning the Sacramentarians, whose doctrines Luther had so violently attacked,² the reformer replied: "I am slow whenever life is concerned, even if the offender is exceedingly guilty.³ I can by no means admit that the false teachers should be put to death:⁴ it is sufficient to remove them." For ages the Romish church has bathed in blood. Luther was the first to profess the great principles of humanity and religious liberty.

Recourse was sometimes had to more expeditious means than the scaffold itself. George Winkler, pastor of Halle, having been summoned before archbishop Albert in the spring of 1527, for having administered the sacrament in both kinds, had been acquitted. As this minister was returning home along an unfrequented road in the midst of the woods, he was suddenly attacked by a number of horsemen, who murdered him, and immediately fled through the thickets without taking anything from his person.⁵ "The world," exclaimed Luther, "is a cavern of assassins under the command of the devil; an inn, whose landlord is a brigand, and which bears this sign, *Lies and Murder*: and none are more readily put to death therein than those who proclaim Jesus Christ."

¹ Die sollen mit dem Feuer, Schwerdt oder Wasser gestraft werden. (Ferd. Mandat. L. Opp. xix. 596.)

² Contra hostes sacramentarios strenue nobiscum certare. (Epp. to Lenk, July 14, 1528.)

³ Ego ad judicium sanguinis tardus sum, etiam ubi meritum abundat. (Ibid.)

⁴ Nullo modo possum admittere falsos doctores occidi. (Ibid.)

⁵ Mox enim ut interfecerunt, aufugerunt per avia loca, nihil prædæ aut pecuniæ capientes. (Cochl. p. 152.)

At Munich, George Carpenter was led to the scaffold for having denied that the baptism of water is able by its own virtue to save a man. "When you are thrown into the fire," said some of his brethren, "give us a sign by which we may know that you persevere in the faith." "As long as I can open my mouth, I will confess the name of the Lord Jesus."¹ The executioner stretched him on a ladder, tied a small bag of gunpowder round his neck, and then flung him into the flames. Carpenter immediately cried out, "Jesus! Jesus!" and while the executioner was turning him again and again with his hooks, the martyr several times repeated the word Jesus, and expired.

At Landsberg nine persons were consigned to the flames, and at Munich twenty-nine were thrown into the water. At Scherding, Leonard Keyser, a friend and disciple of Luther, having been condemned by the bishop, had his head shaved, and being dressed in a smock-frock, was placed on horseback. As the executioners were cursing and swearing, because they could not disentangle the ropes with which his limbs were to be tied, he said to them mildly: "Dear friends, your bonds are not necessary; my Lord Christ has already bound me." When he drew near the stake, Keyser looked at the crowd and exclaimed: "Behold the harvest! O Master, send forth thy labourers!" He then ascended the scaffold and said: "O Jesu, save me! I am thine." These were his last words.² "Who am I, a wordy preacher," cried Luther, when he received the news of his death, "in comparison with this great doer!"^{3 4}

¹ Dum os aperire licebit, servatoris nostri nomen profiteri nunquam intermittam. (Seultet, ii. 110.)

² Incenso jam igne, clara voce proclamavit: *Tuus sum Jesu! Salva me!* (Seckend. ii. 85.)

³ Tam impar verbosus prædicator, illi tam potenti verbi operator. (L. Epp. iii. 1214.)

⁴ This Leonard Keyser is the Leonhard Cæsar whose sufferings are more minutely detailed by Milner, vol. v. p. 468. A native of Bavaria, and summoned to Passau, to answer for having preached the Gospel, he was there frightened into a recantation, and allowed to officiate in his parish again. But in about six months, his conscience upbraiding him for what he had done, he fled to Wittenberg and other places where the Gospel was free. After two years' absence, affection for a dying father led him to steal back to his home, where the parish priest betrayed him, and after having been greatly reduced by a ten weeks' imprisonment, which it was hoped, no doubt, would prostrate his moral courage as well as his physical strength, he was called on to answer at once various questions put to him by the famous Dr. Eck, who had been sent for to confound and overawe

Thus the Reformation manifested by such striking works the truth that it had come to re-establish; namely, that faith is not, as Rome maintains, an historical, vain, dead knowledge,¹ but a lively faith, the work of the Holy Ghost, the channel by which Christ fills the heart with new desires and with new affections, the true worship of the living God.

These martyrdoms filled Germany with horror, and gloomy forebodings descended from the thrones among the ranks of the people. Around the domestic hearth, in the long winter evenings, the conversation wholly turned on prisons, tortures, scaffolds, and martyrs; the slightest noise alarmed the old men, women, and children. Such narratives gathered strength as they passed from mouth to mouth; the rumour of a universal conspiracy against the Gospel spread through all the empire. Its adversaries, taking advantage of this terror, announced with a mysterious air that they must look during this year (1528) for some decisive measure against the reform.² One scoundrel (Pack) resolved to profit by this state of mind to satisfy his avarice.

No blows are more terrible to a cause than those which it inflicts upon itself. The Reformation, seized with a dizziness, was on the verge of self-destruction. There is a spirit of error that conspires against the cause of truth, beguiling by subtlety;³ the Reformation was about to experience its attacks, and to stagger under the most formidable assault,—perturbation of thought, and estrangement from the ways of wisdom and of truth.

him. Solicited in vain by his relations to retract anew, refused an advocate, denied even a little respite for the recovery of his health, he was sisted before the bishop and chapter, attended by Dr. Eck. The public were admitted, in order that the expected triumph over their victim might produce the more effect. But "then it was," says Milner, "that the persecuted prisoner, armed with Divine strength, rose more formidable to the powers of darkness, than if through infirmity he had never been guilty of a former lapse." He defended the doctrines for which he was arraigned with prodigious spirit, speaking repeatedly in German, in the face of a peremptory order that the proceedings should be confined to Latin, so that the multitude might be kept in ignorance of what passed. Noblemen of the first distinction interceded for him in vain.—D. D. S.

¹ Si quis dixerit fidem non esse veram fidem, licet non sit viva, aut eum qui fidem sine charitate habet, non esse christianum, anathema sit. (Conc. Frid. Sess. 6, p. 28.)

² Nescio quid mirari quod hoc anno contra reformationem expectandum sit. (Seckend. ii. 101.)

³ 2 Corinthians xi. 3

Otho Pack, vice-chancellor to duke George of Saxony, was a crafty and dissipated man,¹ who took advantage of his office, and had recourse to all sorts of practices to procure money. The duke having on one occasion sent him to the diet of Nuremberg as his representative, the bishop of Merseburg confided to him his contribution towards the imperial government. The bishop having been afterwards called upon for this money, Pack declared that he had paid it to a citizen of Nuremberg, whose seal and signature he produced. This paper was a forgery; Pack himself was the author of it.² The wretch, however, put an impudent face on the matter, and having escaped conviction, preserved the confidence of his master. Erelong an opportunity presented itself of exercising his criminal talents on a larger scale.

No one entertained greater suspicions with regard to the Papists than the landgrave of Hesse. Young, susceptible, and restless, he was always on the alert. In the month of February, 1528, Pack happening to be at Cassel to assist Philip in some difficult business, the landgrave imparted to him his fears. If any one could have had any knowledge of the designs of the Papists, it must have been the vice-chancellor of one of the greatest enemies to the Reformation. The crafty Pack heaved a sigh, bent down his eyes, and was silent. Philip immediately became uneasy, entreated him, and promised to do nothing that would injure the duke. Then Pack, as if he had allowed an important secret to be torn from him with regret, confessed that a league against the Lutherans had been concluded at Breslau on the Wednesday following *Jubilate* Sunday, 12th May, 1527; and engaged to procure the original of this act for the landgrave, who offered him for this service a remuneration of ten thousand florins. This was the greatest transaction that the wretched man had ever undertaken; but it tended to nothing less than the utter overthrow of the empire.³

¹ Homo erat versutus, et præterea prodigus, quo vitio ad alia inductus est. (Seekend. ii. 94.)

² It is still to be seen in the records at Dresden.

³ Nothing could be more natural than Philip's believing Pack. What says Milner of the grounds the Protestants had at this time for suspecting the Papists? "So embittered was the court of Rome against what they called the Lutheran heresy, that in every treaty which the pope had of late concluded with foreign

The landgrave was amazed: he restrained himself, however, wishing to see the act with his own eyes before informing his allies. He therefore repaired to Dresden. "I cannot," said Pack, "furnish you with the original: the duke always carries it about his person to read it to other princes whom he hopes to gain over. Recently at Leipsic, he showed it to duke Henry of Brunswick. But here is a copy made by his highness's order." The landgrave took the document, which bore all the marks of the most perfect authenticity. It was crossed by a cord of black silk, and fastened at both ends by the seal of the ducal chancery.¹ Above was an impression from the ring duke George always wore on his finger, with the three quarterings that Philip had so often seen; at the top, the coronet, and at the bottom, the two lions. He had no more doubts as to its authenticity. But how can we describe his indignation as he read this guilty document? King Ferdinand, the electors of Mentz and of Brandenburg, duke George of Saxony, the dukes of Bavaria, the bishops of Salzburg, Wurtzburg, and Bamberg, had entered into a coalition to call upon

powers, the absolute destruction and extirpation of all Lutherans was a specific article. For example, the ninth article of the treaty made by Clement VII. with the emperor after the battle of Pavia and the capture of Francis I. runs thus:— 'Because religion, much more than any temporal concern, is near the heart of the Roman pontiff, and because the good faith of his holiness has been called in question, the emperor, the king of England, and the archduke Ferdinand, engage to take up arms with all their might against all disturbers of the Catholic faith, and against all persons who shall revile or injure the pontiff, &c.'—(Milner, v. v. ch. xiv. § 3.) In the autumn of the same year, the pope deserted Charles V., and made a treaty with England and France, by which the parties to it engaged to withstand the ferocity of the Turks, and to suppress the most pestilential heresy of the Lutherans. Again, in the treaty of Madrid, by which Francis I. recovered his liberty, it is expressly stated that the emperor and the king are induced to make peace that they may be able to extirpate all the enemies of religion, and especially the heresies of the Lutheran sect. The pope, they say, had often admonished and much solicited them to attend seriously to this important duty.—(1b.) In short, never was there a time in which the popedom sought to give fuller effect to the doctrine that all princes are bound to extirpate heresy. But the question remains: What could have influenced Pack to act as he did? One or other conclusion seems irresistible—either that Pack had betrayed his papal friends by revealing a real intrigue among the papist princes for the extirpation of the Lutherans, or that he had been employed by papal intriguers, not necessarily however by the princes, to fabricate a pretended document, exhibiting the articles of a league written out, in order that the landgrave might be induced to declare war prematurely, and thus furnish a plausible pretext for attacking him and the Protestants as aggressors. It is hardly conceivable that any man could have fabricated such a story from mere love of mischief making.—D. D. S.

¹ Cui filum sericum circumligatum, et sigillum cancellarie impressum erat. (Seck. ii. 94.)

the elector of Saxony to deliver up the arch-heretic Luther, with all the apostate priests, monks, and nuns, and to re-establish the ancient worship. If he made default, his states were to be invaded, and this prince and his descendants for ever dispossessed. The same measure was next to be applied to the landgrave, only ("it was your father-in-law, duke George," said Pack to Philip, "who got this clause inserted,") his states were to be restored to him in consideration of his youth, if he became fully reconciled to the holy Church. The document stated moreover the contingents of men and money to be provided by the confederates, and the share they were to have in the spoils of the two heretical princes.¹

Many circumstances tended to confirm the authenticity of this paper. Ferdinand, Joachim of Brandenburg, and George of Saxony, had in fact met at Breslau on the day indicated, and an evangelical prince, the margrave George, had seen Joachim leave Ferdinand's apartments, holding in his hand a large parchment to which several seals were attached. The agitated landgrave caused a copy to be taken of this document, promised secrecy for a time, paid Pack four thousand florins, and engaged to make up the sum agreed upon, if he would procure him the original. And then, wishing to prevent the storm, he hastened to Weimar to inform the elector of this unprecedented conspiracy.

"I have seen," said he to John and his son, "nay more—I have had in my hands, a duplicate of this horrible treaty. Signatures, seals—nothing was wanting.² Here is a copy, and I bind myself to place the original before your eyes. The most frightful danger threatens us—ourselves, our faithful subjects, and the Word of God."

The elector had no reason to doubt the account the landgrave had just given him: he was stunned, confounded, and overpowered. The promptest measures alone could avert such unprecedented disasters: everything must be risked to extricate them from certain destruction. The impetuous Philip

¹ Hortleber, *De Bello Germanico*, ii. 579.

² Nam is affirmabat se archetypum vidisse, commemorabat *σφεδρόνως*. (Corp. Ref. i. 986.)

breathed fire and flames;¹ his plan of defence was already prepared. He presented it, and in the first moment of consternation carried the consent of his ally, as it were by assault. On the 9th March, 1528, the two princes agreed to employ all their forces to defend themselves, and even to take the offensive, and sacrifice life, honour, rank, subjects, and states, that they might preserve the Word of God. The dukes of Prussia, Mecklenburg, Luneburg, and Pomerania, the kings of Denmark and Poland, and the margrave of Brandenburg, were to be invited to enter into this alliance. Six hundred thousand florins were destined for the expenses of the war; and to procure them, they would raise loans, pledge their cities, and sell the offerings in the churches.² They had already begun to raise a powerful army.³ The landgrave set out in person for Nuremberg and Anspach. The alarm was general in those countries; the commotion was felt throughout all Germany,⁴ and even beyond it. John Zapolya, king of Hungary, at that time a refugee at Cracow, promised a hundred thousand florins to raise an army, and twenty thousand florins a-month for its maintenance. Thus a spirit of error was misleading the princes; if it should carry away the reformers also, the destruction of the Reformation would not be far distant.

But God was watching over them. Supported on the rock of the Word, Melanchthon and Luther replied: "It is written, Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God." As soon as these two men whom the danger threatened (for it was they who were to be delivered up to the papal power) saw the youthful landgrave drawing the sword, and the aged elector himself putting his hand on the hilt, they uttered a cry, and this cry, which was heard in heaven, saved the Reformation.

Luther, Pomeranus, and Melanchthon immediately forwarded the following advice to the elector: "Above all things, let not the attack proceed from our side, and let no blood be shed through our fault. Let us wait for the enemy, and seek

¹ *Mirabiliter incensus erat.* (Corp. Ref. i. 986.)

² *Venditisque templorum donariis.* (Seekend. ii. 95.)

³ *Magno studio validum comparaverunt ambo exercitum.* (Cochleus, p. 171.)

⁴ *Non leviter commotos esse nostrorum animos.* (Corp. Ref. ii. 986.)

after peace. Send an ambassador to the emperor to make him acquainted with this hateful plot."

Thus it was that the faith of the children of God, which is so despised by politicians, conducted them aright, at the very moment when the diplomatists were going astray. The elector and his son declared to the landgrave that they would not assume the offensive. Philip was in amazement. "Are not the preparations of the papists worthy an attack?" asked he.¹ "What! we will threaten war, and yet not make it! We will inflame the hatred of our antagonists, and leave them time to prepare their forces! No, no; forward! It is thus we shall secure the means of an honourable peace."—"If the landgrave desires to begin the war," replied the reformer, "the elector is not obliged to observe the treaty; for we must obey God rather than men. God and the right are above every alliance. Let us beware of painting the devil on our doors, and inviting him as godfather."² But if the landgrave is attacked, the elector ought to go to his assistance; for it is God's will that we preserve our faith." This advice which the reformers gave, cost them dear. Never did man, condemned to the torture, endure a punishment like theirs. The fears excited by the landgrave, were succeeded by the terrors inspired by the papist princes. This cruel trial left them in great distress. "I am worn away with sorrow," cried Melancthon; "and this anguish puts me to the most horrible torture."³ The issue," added he, "will be found on our knees before God."⁴

The elector, drawn in different directions by the theologians and the politicians, at last took a middle course: he resolved to assemble an army, "but only," said he, "to obtain peace." Philip of Hesse at length gave way, and forthwith sent copies of the famous treaty to duke George, to the dukes of Bavaria, and to the emperor's representatives, calling upon them to renounce such cruel designs. "I would rather have a limb cut

¹ Landgravius præparamenta adversariorum pro aggressionem habebat. (Sæck. ii. 95.)

² Man darf den Teufel nicht über die Thür malen, noch ihn zu gevatthern bitten. (L. Epp. iii. 321.)

³ Curæ vehementer cruciarunt. (Corp. Ref. i. 988.)

⁴ Εἰς γόνατα σταύ. (Ibid.)

off," said he to his father-in-law, "than know you to be a member of such an alliance."

The surprise of the German courts, when they read this document, is beyond description. Duke George immediately replied to the landgrave, that he had allowed himself to be deceived by unmeaning absurdities; that he who pretended to have seen the original of this act was an infamous liar, and an incorrigible scoundrel; and called upon the landgrave to give up his authority, or else it might well be thought that he was himself the inventor of this impudent fabrication. King Ferdinand, the elector of Brandenburg, and all the pretended conspirators, made similar replies.

Philip of Hesse saw that he had been deceived;¹ his confusion was only exceeded by his anger. He had in this affair justified the accusations of his adversaries who called him a hot-headed young man, and had compromised to the highest degree the cause of the Reformation and that of his people. He said afterwards, "If that business had not happened, it would no more happen now. Nothing that I have done in all my life has caused me greater vexation."

Pack fled in alarm to the landgrave, who caused him to be arrested; and envoys from the several princes whom this scoundrel had compromised met at Cassel, and proceeded to examine him. He maintained that the original act of the alliance had really existed in the Dresden archives. In the following year the landgrave banished him from Hesse, proving by this action that he did not fear him. Pack was afterwards discovered in Belgium; and at the demand of duke George, who had never shown any pity towards him, he was seized, tortured, and finally beheaded.

The landgrave was unwilling to have taken up arms to no purpose. The archbishop-elect of Mentz was compelled, on the 11th June 1528, to renounce in the camp of Herzkirchen all spiritual jurisdiction in Saxony and Hesse.² This was no small advantage.

Scarcely had the arms been laid aside before Luther took

¹ Wir fühlten dass wir betrogen waren. (Hortleber, iv. 567.)

² Kopp. Hess. Gerichts.—Verf. i. 107.

up his pen and began a war of another kind. "Impious princes may deny this alliance as long as they please," wrote he to Link; "I am very certain that it is not a chimera. These insatiable leeches will take no repose until they see the whole of Germany flowing with blood."¹ This idea of Luther's was the one generally entertained. "The document presented to the landgrave may be," it was said, "Pack's invention; but all this fabric of lies is founded on some truth. If the alliance has not been concluded it has been conceived."²

Melancholy were the results of this affair. It inspired division in the bosom of the Reformation, and fanned the hatred between the two parties.³ The sparks from the piles of Keyser, Winkler, Carpenter, and so many other martyrs, added strength to the fire that was already threatening to set the empire in flames. It was under such critical circumstances, and with such menacing dispositions, that the famous diet of Spires was opened in March, 1529. The empire and the papacy were in reality preparing to annihilate the Reformation, although in a manner different from what Pack had pretended. It was still to be learnt whether more vital strength would be found in the revived Church than in so many sects that Rome had easily crushed. Happily the faith had increased, and the constitution given to the Church had imparted greater power to its adherents. All were resolved on defending a doctrine so pure, and a church government so superior to that of popery. During three years of tranquillity, the gospel tree had struck its roots deep; and if the storm should burst it would now be able to brave it.

¹ *Sanguisugæ insatiabiles quiescere nolunt, nisi Germaniam sanguine madere sentiant.* (14th June 1528.)

² *Non enim prorsus conficta res.* (Corp. Ref. i. 988.)

³ *Hæc minæ apud inimicos odia auxerint.* (Ibid. 985.)

CHAPTER V.

Alliance between Charles and Clement VII.—Omens—Hostility of the Papist—Arbitrary Proposition of Charles—Resolutions of the Diet—The Reformation in Danger—Decision of the Princes—Violence of Ferdinand—The Schism completed.

THE sack of Rome, by exasperating the adherents of the papacy, had given arms to all the enemies of Charles V. The French army under Lautrec had forced the imperial army, enervated by the delights of a new Capua, to hide itself within the walls of Naples. Doria, at the head of his Genoese galleys, had destroyed the Spanish fleet, and all the imperial power seemed drawing to an end in Italy. But Doria suddenly declared for the emperor; pestilence carried off Lautrec and half of his troops; and Charles, suffering only from alarm, had again grasped the power with a firm resolution to unite henceforward closely with the pontiff, whose humiliation had nearly cost him so dear. On his side Clement VII., hearing the Italians reproach him for his illegitimate birth, and even refuse him the title of pope, said aloud, that he would rather be the emperor's groom than the sport of his people. On the 29th June, 1528, a peace between the heads of the Empire and of the Church was concluded at Barcelona, based on the destruction of heresy; and in November a diet was convoked to meet at Spires on the 21st February, 1529. Charles was resolved to endeavour at first to destroy the Reform by a federal vote; but if this means did not suffice, to employ his whole power against it. The road being thus traced out, they were about to commence operations.

Germany felt the seriousness of the position. Mournful omens filled every mind. About the middle of January, a great brightness in the sky had suddenly dispersed the darkness of the night.¹ "What that forebodes," exclaimed Luther, "God only knows!" At the beginning of April there

¹ An aurora borealis. "Magnum chasma, quo nox tota illuminabatur." (L. Epp. iii. 420.)

was a rumour of an earthquake that had engulfed castles, cities, and whole districts in Carinthia and Istria, and split the tower of St. Mark at Venice into four parts. "If that is true," said the reformer, "these prodigies are the forerunners of the day of Jesus Christ."¹ The astrologers declared that the aspect of the quartiles of Saturn and Jupiter, and the general position of the stars, was ominous.² The waters of the Elbe rolled thick and stormy, and stones fell from the roofs of churches. "All these things," exclaimed the terrified Melanchthon, "excite me in no trifling degree."³

The letters of convocation issued by the imperial government agreed but too well with these prodigies. The emperor, writing from Toledo to the elector, accused him of sedition and revolt. Alarming whispers passed from mouth to mouth that were sufficient to cause the fall of the weak. Duke Henry of Mecklenburg and the elector-palatine hastily returned to the side of popery.

Never had the sacerdotal party appeared in the diet in such numbers, or so powerful and decided.⁴ On the 5th March, Ferdinand, the president of the diet, after him the dukes of Bavaria, and lastly the ecclesiastical electors of Mentz and Treves, had entered the gates of Spires surrounded by a numerous armed escort.⁵ On the 13th March, the elector of Saxony arrived, attended only by Melanchthon and Agricola. But Philip of Hesse, faithful to his character, entered the city on the 18th March to the sound of trumpets, and with two hundred horsemen.

The divergence of men's minds soon became manifest. A papist did not meet an evangelical in the street without casting angry glances upon him, and secretly threatening him with perfidious machinations.⁶ The elector-palatine passed the Saxons without appearing to know them;⁷ and although John

¹ Si vera sunt, diem Christi præcurrunt hæc monstra. (L. Epp. iii. 438.)

² Adspectum *παραβολῶν* Saturni et Jovis. (Corp. Ref. i. 1075.)

³ Ego non leviter commoveor his rebus. (Ibid. 1076.)

⁴ Nunquam fuit tanta frequentia ullis conciliis *ἀρχιεπίσκοπων* quanta in his est. (Ibid. 1039.)

⁵ Mogantinum et Trevirensem cum comitatu armato. (Seckend. ii. 129.)

⁶ Vultu significant quantum nos oderint, et quid machinentur. (Corp. Ref. i. 1040.)

⁷ Pfalz kennt kein Sachsen mehr. (Epp. Alberti Mansfeld.)

of Saxony was the most important of the electors, none of the chiefs of the opposite party visited him. Grouped around their tables, the Roman Catholic princes seemed absorbed in games of hazard.¹²

But ere long they gave positive marks of their hostile disposition. The elector and the landgrave were prohibited from having the Gospel preached in their mansions. It was asserted even at this early period that John was about to be turned out of Spire, and deprived of his electorate.³ "We are the execration and the sweepings of the world," said Melancthon; "but Christ will look down on his poor people, and will preserve them."⁴ In truth, God was with the witnesses to his Word. The people of Spire thirsted for the Gospel, and the elector wrote to his son on Palm Sunday: "About eight thousand persons were present to-day in my chapel at morning and evening worship."

The Roman party now quickened their proceedings: their plan was simple but energetic. It was necessary to put down the religious liberty that had existed for more than three years, and for this purpose they must abrogate the decree of 1526, and revive that of 1521.

On the 15th March the imperial commissaries announced to the diet that the last resolution of Spire, which left all the states free to act in conformity with the inspirations of their consciences, having given rise to great disorders, the emperor had annulled it by virtue of his supreme power. This arbitrary

¹ Adversæ partes proceres alea tempus perdere. (L. Epp. iii. 438.)

² Games of chance did not indicate on the part of the Papists much serious concern about the fate of the doctrines they professed, and it is singular that in respect of earnestness Luther considered himself to have been a far better Papist before he came to the knowledge of the truth than even Eck himself was now. "Non eram ita glacies et frigus ipsum in defendendo Papatu, sicut fuit Ecci'us et sui similes, qui mihi verius propter suum ventrem Papam defendere videbantur quam quod serio rem agerent. Imo ridere mihi Papam adhuc hodie videntur, velut Epicuræi. Ego serio rem agebam, ut qui diem extremum horribiliter timui et tamen salvus fieri ex intimis medullis cupiebam." [I was not so far ice and cold itself in defending the Papacy, as Eck and those like him were, who seemed to me to defend the pope rather for the sake of his own belly than because they had a serious matter in hand. Nay to this day they seem to me to laugh at the pope, like Epicureans. I went about the matter seriously, as one who was horribly afraid of the last day, and who from my inmost marrow desired to be saved.] See Luther's preface to his collected works, Jena edition, 1579, 3.—D. D. S.

³ Alii exclusum Spire, alii ademptum electoratum. (L. Epp. iii. 438.)

⁴ Sed Christus respiciet et salvabit populum pauperem. (Corp. Ref. i. 1040.)

act, which had no precedent in the empire, as well as the despotie tone in which it was notified, filled the evangelical Christians with indignation and alarm. "Christ," exclaimed Sturm, "has again fallen into the hands of Caiaphas and Pilate."¹

A commission was charged to examine the imperial proposition. The archbishop of Salzburg, Faber, and Eck, that is to say, the most violent enemies of the Reformation, were among its members. "The Turks are better than the Lutherans," said Faber, "for the Turks observe fast-days, and the Lutherans violate them."² If we must choose between the Holy Scriptures of God and the old errors of the Church, we should reject the former."³ "Every day in full assembly Faber casts some new stone at us Gospellers," says Melancthon.⁴ "Oh, what an Iliad I should have to compose," added he, "if I were to report all these blasphemies!"

The priests called for the execution of the edict of Worms, 1521, and the evangelical members of the commission, among whom were the elector of Saxony and Sturm, demanded on the contrary the maintenance of the edict of Spires, 1526. The latter thus remained within the bounds of legality, whilst their adversaries were driven to *coups d'état*. In fact, a new order of things having been legally established in the empire, no one could infringe it; and if the diet presumed to destroy by force what had been constitutionally established three years before, the evangelical states had the right of opposing it. The majority of the commission felt that the re-establishment of the ancient order of things would be a revolution no less complete than the Reformation itself. How could they subject anew to Rome and to her clergy those nations in whose bosom the Word of God had been so richly spread abroad? For this reason, equally rejecting the demands of the priests and of the evangelicals, the majority came to a resolution, on the 24th March, that every religious innovation should continue to be interdicted in the places where the edict of Worms had been carried out; and that in those where the people had deviated

¹ Christus est denuo in manibus Caiaphi et Pilati. (Jung Beyträge, p. 94.)

² Vociferatus est Turcos Lutheranis meliores esse. (Corp. Ref. p. 1041.)

³ Malle abjicere scripturam quam veteres errores Ecclesie. (Ibid. p. 1046.)

⁴ Faber lapidat nos quotidie pro concione. (Ibid.)

from it, and where they could not conform to it without danger of revolt, they should at least effect no new reform, they should touch upon no controverted point, they should not oppose the celebration of the mass, they should permit no Roman Catholic to embrace Lutheranism,¹ they should not decline the Episcopal jurisdiction, and should tolerate no anabaptists or sacramentarians. The *status-quo* and no proselytism—such were the essentials of this resolution.

The majority no longer voted as in 1526: the wind had turned against the Gospel. Accordingly this proposition, after having been delayed a few days by the festival of Easter, was laid before the diet on the 6th April, and passed on the 7th.²

If it became a law, the Reformation could neither be extended into those places where as yet it was unknown, nor be established on solid foundations in those where it already existed. The re-establishment of the Romish hierarchy, stipulated in the proposition, would infallibly bring back the ancient abuses; and the least deviation from so vexatious an ordinance would easily furnish the Romanists with a pretext for completing the destruction of a work already so violently shaken.

The elector, the landgrave, the margrave of Brandenburg, the prince of Anhalt, and the chancellor of Luneburg on one side, and the deputies for the cities on the other, consulted together. An entirely new order of things was to proceed from this council. If they had been animated by selfishness, they would perhaps have accepted this decree. In fact they were left free, in appearance at least, to profess their faith: ought they to demand more? could they do so? Were they bound to constitute themselves the champions of liberty of conscience in all the world? Never, perhaps, had there been a more critical situation; but these noble-minded men came victorious out of the trial. What! should they legalize by anticipation the scaffold and the torture! Should they oppose the Holy Ghost in its work of converting souls to Christ! Should they forget their Master's command, "*Go ye into all the world and*

¹ Nec catholicos a libero religionis exercitio impediri debere, neque cuiquam ex his licere Lutheranismum amplecti. (Seckend. ii. 127.)

² Sleidan, i. 261.

preach the Gospel to every creature?" If one of the states of the empire desired some day to follow their example and be reformed, should they take away its power of doing so? Having themselves entered the kingdom of heaven, should they shut the door after them? No! rather endure everything, sacrifice everything, even their states, their crowns, and their lives.¹

"Let us reject this decree," said the princes. "In matters of conscience the majority has no power."—"It is to the decree of 1526," added the cities, "that we are indebted for the peace that the empire enjoys: its abolition would fill Germany with troubles and divisions. The diet is incompetent to do more than preserve religious liberty until a council meets." Such in fact is the grand attribute of the state, and if in our days the Protestant powers should desire to influence the Romish governments, they should strive solely at obtaining for the subjects of the latter that religious liberty which the pope confiscates to his own advantage wherever he reigns alone, and by which he profits greatly in every evangelical state. Some of the deputies proposed refusing all assistance against the Turks, hoping thus to force the emperor to interfere in this religious question. But Sturm called upon them not to mix up political matters with the salvation of souls. They resolved therefore to reject the proposition, but without holding out any threats. It was this noble resolution that gained for modern times liberty of thought and independence of faith.

Ferdinand and the priests, who were no less resolute, determined, however, on vanquishing what they called a daring ob-

¹ It is to be lamented that the French Reformed in 1598 were not animated by a like spirit. The toleration granted by the edict of Nantes was accepted on conditions that necessarily limited all home missionary enterprises in France—all aggression on the domains of error, in a way that could not fail to lower the whole tone of the Reformed Church's zeal and piety, and to make it a melancholy example of the truth that with churches as well as individuals *non progredi est regredi*—not to advance is to retrograde. And much do we need at the present day, with respect to papal countries and papal populations, to eschew the compromising spirit that could accept the edict of Nantes, and to adopt the uncompromising fidelity of the Protestants at Spire. Already the Protestant government of the British empire, which would instantly resent any attempt to coerce the free agency of its subjects in papal states, in regard to trade, public amusements, and secular matters generally, and would insist on its subjects enjoying abroad the same liberty in these respects that foreigners enjoy here, has adopted a different principle in regard to religion, and accepts restraints for its subjects which it never dreams of imposing on foreigners in the British islands.—D. D. S.

stinacy; and they commenced with the weaker states. They began to frighten and divide the cities, which had hitherto pursued a common course. On the 12th April they were summoned before the diet: in vain did they allege the absence of some of their number, and ask for delay. It was refused, and the call was hurried on. Twenty-one free cities accepted the proposition of the diet, and fourteen rejected it. It was a bold act on the part of the latter, and was accomplished in the midst of the most painful sufferings. "This is the first trial," said Pfarrer, second deputy of Strasburg; "now will come the second: we must either deny the Word of God or—be burnt."¹

A violent proceeding of Ferdinand's immediately commenced the series of humiliations that were reserved for the evangelical cities. A deputy of Strasburg should, in conformity with the decree of Worms, have been a member of the imperial government from the commencement of April. He was declared excluded from his rights until the re-establishment of the mass in Strasburg. All the cities united in protesting against this arbitrary act.

At the same time, the elector-palatine and king Ferdinand himself begged the princes to accept the decree, assuring them that the emperor would be exceedingly pleased with them. "We will obey the emperor," replied they calmly, "in everything that may contribute to maintain peace and the honour of God."

It was time to put an end to this struggle. On the 18th April it was decreed that the evangelical states should not be heard again; and Ferdinand prepared to inflict the decisive blow on the morrow.

When the day came, the king appeared in the diet, surrounded by the other commissaries of the empire, and by several bishops. He thanked the Roman catholics for their fidelity, and declared that the resolution having been definitively agreed to, it was about to be drawn up in the form of an imperial decree. He then announced to the elector and his friends, that their only remaining course was to submit to the majority.

The evangelical princes, who had not expected so positive a

¹ Das Wort Gottes zu wiederrufen oder aber brennen. (Jung Beyträge, p. 37.)

declaration, were excited at this summons, and passed, according to custom, into an adjoining chamber to deliberate. But Ferdinand was not in a humour to wait for their answer. He rose, and the imperial commissaries with him. Vain were all endeavours to stop him. "I have received an order from his imperial majesty," replied he; "I have executed it. All is over."

Thus did Charles's brother notify an order to the Christian princes, and then retire without caring even if there was any reply to be made! To no purpose they sent a deputation entreating the king to return. "It is a settled affair," repeated Ferdinand; "submission is all that remains."¹ This refusal completed the schism: it separated Rome from the Gospel. Perhaps more justice on the part of the empire and of the papacy might have prevented the rupture that since then has divided the Western Church.

CHAPTER VI.

The Protest—Principles of the Protest—Supremacy of the Gospel—Christian Union—Ferdinand rejects the Protest—Attempt at Conciliation—Exultation of the Papists—Evangelical Appeal—Christian Unity a Reality—Dangers of the Protestants—The Protestants leave Spires—The Princes, the true Reformers—Germany and Reform.

IF the imperial party displayed such contempt, it was not without a cause. They felt that weakness was on the side of the Reformation, and strength with Charles and the pope. But the weak have also their strength; and of this the evangelical princes were aware. As Ferdinand paid no attention to their complaints, they ought to pay none to his absence, to appeal from the report of the diet to the Word of God, and from the emperor Charles to Jesus Christ, the King of kings and Lord of lords.

They resolved upon this step. A declaration was drawn up to that effect, and this was the famous *Protest* that hencefor-

¹ Die Artikel weren beschloessen. (Jung Beytr. p. 90.)

ward gave the name of *Protestant* to the renovated Church. The elector and his allies having returned to the common hall of the diet, thus addressed the assembled states:—¹

“Dear Lords, Cousins, Uncles, and Friends! Having repaired to this diet at the summons of his majesty, and for the common good of the empire and of Christendom, we have heard and learnt that the decisions of the last diet concerning our holy Christian faith are to be repealed, and that it is proposed to substitute for them certain restrictive and onerous resolutions.

“King Ferdinand and the other imperial commissaries, by affixing their seals to the last *Recess* of Spires, had promised, however, in the name of the emperor, to carry out sincerely and inviolably all that it contained, and to permit nothing that was contrary to it. In like manner, also, you and we electors, princes, prelates, lords, and deputies of the empire, bound ourselves to maintain always and with our whole might every article of that decree.

“We cannot therefore consent to its repeal:—

“Firstly, because we believe that his imperial majesty (as well as you and we), is called to maintain firmly what has been unanimously and solemnly resolved.

“Secondly, because it concerns the glory of God, and the salvation of our souls, and that in such matters we ought to have regard, above all, to the commandment of God, who is King of kings and Lord of lords; each of us rendering him account for himself, without caring the least in the world about majority or minority.²

“We form no judgment on that which concerns you, most dear lords; and we are content to pray God daily that he will bring us all to unity of faith, in truth, charity, and holiness through Jesus Christ, our throne of grace and our only mediator.

“But in what concerns ourselves, adhesion to your resolu-

¹ There are two copies of this act; one of them is brief, and the other, which is longer, was transmitted in writing to the imperial commissaries. It is from the latter we extract the passages in the text. They will both be found in Jung Beytrage, p. 91–105. See also Müller's *Historie der Protestation*, p. 52.

² Ein jeglicher für sich selbst vor Gott stehen. (Jung Beytrage, p. 96.)

tion (and let every honest man be judge!) would be acting against our conscience, condemning a doctrine that we maintain to be Christian, and pronouncing that it ought to be abolished in our states, if we could do so without trouble.

"This would be to deny our Lord Jesus Christ, to reject his holy Word, and thus give him just reason to deny us in turn before his Father, as he has threatened.

"What! we ratify this edict! We assert that when Almighty God calls a man to His knowledge, this man cannot however receive the knowledge of God! Oh! of what deadly backslidings should we not thus become the accomplices, not only among our own subjects, but also among yours!

"For this reason we reject the yoke that is imposed on us. And although it is universally known that in our states the holy sacrament of the body and blood of our Lord is becomingly administered, we cannot adhere to what the edict proposes against the sacramentarians, seeing that the imperial edict did not speak of them, that they have not been heard, and that we cannot resolve upon such important points before the next council.

"Moreover"—and this is the essential part of the protest—"the new edict declaring the ministers shall preach the Gospel, explaining it according to the writings accepted by the holy Christian Church; we think that, for this regulation to have any value, we should first agree on what is meant by the true and holy Church. Now, seeing that there is great diversity of opinion in this respect; that there is no sure doctrine but such as is conformable to the Word of God; that the Lord forbids the teaching of any other doctrine; that each text of the Holy Scriptures ought to be explained by other and clearer texts; that this holy book is in all things necessary for the Christian, easy of understanding, and calculated to scatter the darkness: we are resolved, with the grace of God, to maintain the pure and exclusive preaching of his only Word, such as it is contained in the biblical books of the Old and New Testament, without adding anything thereto that may be contrary to it.¹ This Word is the only truth; it is the sure rule of all

¹ Allein Gottes Wort, lauter und rein, und nichts das dawieder ist. (Jung Beyträge, p. 101.)

doctrine and of all life, and can never fail or deceive us. He who builds on this foundation shall stand against all the powers of hell, whilst all the human vanities that are set up against it shall fall before the face of God.

"For these reasons, most dear lords, uncles, cousins, and friends, we earnestly entreat you to weigh carefully our grievances and our motives. If you do not yield to our request, we PROTEST by these presents, before God, our only Creator, Preserver, Redeemer, and Saviour, and who will one day be our judge, as well as before all men and all creatures, that we, for us and for our people, neither consent nor adhere in any manner whatsoever to the proposed decree, in any thing that is contrary to God, to his holy Word, to our right conscience, to the salvation of our souls, and to the last decree of Spires.

"At the same time we are in expectation that his imperial majesty will behave towards us like a Christian prince who loves God above all things; and we declare ourselves ready to pay unto him, as well as unto you, gracious lords, all the affection and obedience that are our just and legitimate duty."

Thus, in presence of the diet, spoke out those courageous men whom Christendom will henceforward denominate THE PROTESTANTS.

They had barely finished when they announced their intention of quitting Spires on the morrow.¹

This protest and declaration produced a deep impression. The diet was rudely interrupted and broken into two hostile parties,—thus preluding war. The majority became the prey of the liveliest fears. As for the Protestants, relying, *jure humano*, upon the edict of Spires, and, *jure divino*, upon the Bible, they were full of courage and firmness.

The principles contained in this celebrated protest of the 19th April, 1529, constitute the very essence of Protestantism. Now this protest opposes two abuses of man in matters of faith: the first is the intrusion of the civil magistrate, and the second the arbitrary authority of the Church. Instead of these abuses, Protestantism sets the power of conscience above

¹ Also zu verritten Urlaub genommen. (Jung Beyträge, p. 52.)

the magistrate; and the authority of the Word of God above the visible Church.¹ In the first place, it rejects the civil power in divine things, and says with the prophets and apostles: *We must obey God rather than man*. In presence of the crown of Charles V., it uplifts the crown of Jesus Christ. But it goes farther: it lays down the principle, that all human teaching should be subordinate to the oracles of God. Even the primitive Church, by recognising the writings of the apostles, had performed an act of submission to this supreme authority, and not an act of authority, as Rome maintains; and the establishment of a tribunal charged with the interpretation of the Bible, had terminated only in slavishly subjecting man to man in what should be the most unfettered—conscience and faith. In this celebrated act of Spires no doctor appears, and the Word of God reigns alone. Never has man exalted himself like the pope; never have men kept in the background like the reformers.

A Romish historian maintains that the word *Protestant* signifies *enemy of the emperor and of the pope*.² If he means that Protestantism, in matters of faith, rejects the intervention

¹ Here there is an antithesis between "power of conscience," and "authority of the Word of God," which is certainly obscure. Protestantism never can set up above the magistrate the mere power of conscience; else it must blame the magistrate for punishing all those crimes to which men have been impelled by misguided consciences, such as the assassinations of the duke of Guise by Poltrot, of William of Orange, Henry IV. and others, and such conspiracies as the Gunpowder plot. Conscience, therefore, both in magistrate and subject, must have something more than power, it must have a rule and a sanction. This was felt and understood by the ancient heathen states when they sought, as in the twelve tables at Rome, to express certainly general rules of duty for magistrate and people, and to give them the highest, that is, the religious sanction, implied in the words *fas* and *nefas*. Those rules were drawn from the light of nature—now superseded by divine revelation. That then is now the rule of conscience for magistrate and people, and it is the common interest of both, as well as their common duty, that both should universally know this rule and feel the force of the sanction derived from its divine authority. Hence the necessity for a scriptural education. Thus only can that harmony between the action of civil government and the conscientious actions of the subject, be established, towards which it is the common duty and interest of both to tend. In reality, therefore, true Protestantism sets up the authority of the Word of God above both the magistrate and the visible Church, and by doing so, procures for all that mutual respect and forbearance in the case of conscientious differences which the dim light of nature never clearly inculcated and which modern infidelity, under the guise of police regulations, is perpetually infringing. So true is it, as the author says a few lines farther on, that in this celebrated act of Spires "*the Word of God reigns alone*."

—D. D. S.

² Perduelles in *Pontificem ac Cæsarem*. (Pallavicini, C. T. I. p. 217.)

both of the empire and of the papacy, it is well. But even this explanation does not exhaust the signification of the word, for Protestantism threw off man's authority solely to place Jesus Christ on the throne of the Church, and his word in the pulpit. There has never been anything more positive, and at the same time more aggressive, than the position of the Protestants at Spires. By maintaining that their faith alone is capable of saving the world, they defended with intrepid courage the rights of Christian proselytism. We cannot abandon this proselytism without deserting the Protestant principle.

The Protestants of Spires were not content to exalt the truth; they defended charity. Faber and the other papal partisans had endeavoured to separate the princes, who in general walked with Luther, from the cities that ranged themselves rather on the side of Zwingli. Œcolampadius had immediately written to Melancthon, and enlightened him on the doctrines of the Zurich reformer. He had indignantly rejected the idea that Christ was banished into a corner of heaven, and had energetically declared that, according to the Swiss Christians, Christ was in every place upholding all things by the Word of his power.¹ "With the visible symbols," he added, "we give and we receive the invisible grace, like all the faithful."²

These declarations were not useless. There were at Spires two men who from different motives opposed the efforts of Faber, and seconded those of Œcolampadius. The landgrave, ever revolving projects of alliance in his mind, felt clearly that if the Christians of Saxony and of Hesse allowed the condemnation of the churches of Switzerland and of Upper Germany, they would by that very means deprive themselves of powerful auxiliaries.³ Melancthon, who unlike the landgrave was far from desiring a diplomatic alliance, lest it should hasten on a war, defended the great principles of justice, and exclaimed: "To what just reproaches should we not be exposed, were we

¹ Ubique ut et portet omnia verbo virtutis auge. (Hospin. Hist. Sacr. ii. 112.)

² Χάριν γὰρ τὴν ἀόρατον μετὰ τῶν συμβόλων ἰσχυαται. (Ibid.)

³ Omni studio laborabat ut illos uniret. (Seck. ii. 127.)

to recognise in our adversaries the right of condemning a doctrine without having heard those who defend it!" The union of all evangelical Christians is therefore a principle of primitive Protestantism.

As Ferdinand had not heard the protest of the 19th April, a deputation of the evangelical states went the next day to present it to him. The brother of Charles V. received it at first, but immediately after desired to return it. Then was witnessed a strange scene—the king refusing to keep the protest, and the deputies to take it back. At last the latter, out of respect, received it from Ferdinand's hands; but they laid it boldly upon a table, and directly quitted the hall.

The king and the imperial commissaries remained in presence of this formidable writing. It was there—before their eyes—a significant monument of the courage and faith of the Protestants. Irritated against this silent but mighty witness, which accused his tyranny, and left him the responsibility of all the evils that were about to burst upon the empire, the brother of Charles V. called some of his councillors, and ordered them instantly to carry the important document back to the Protestants.

All this was unavailing; the protest had been registered in the annals of the world, and nothing could erase it. Liberty of thought and of conscience had been conquered for ages to come.¹ Thus all evangelical Germany, foreseeing these things, was moved at this courageous act, and adopted it as the expression of its will and of its faith. Men in every quarter beheld in it not a mere political event, but a Christian action, and the youthful electoral prince, John Frederick, in this respect the organ of his age, cried to the Protestants of Spire: "May the Almighty, who has given you grace to confess energetically, freely, and fearlessly, preserve you in that Christian firmness until the day of eternity!"²

While the Christians were filled with joy, their enemies

¹ This is rather an unguarded expression—perfectly safe if understood in the light of what the author has been urging as to the sole authority of the Word of God, but by itself capable of being appealed to by free-thinkers, as sanctioning an unlimited claim to think and feel as a man chooses.—D. D. S.

² In eo mansuros esse, nec passuros ut ulla hominum machinatione ab ea sententia divellerentur. (Seckend. ii. 121.)

were frightened at their own work. The very day on which Ferdinand had declined to receive the protest (Tuesday 20th April), at one in the afternoon, Henry of Brunswick and Philip of Baden presented themselves as mediators, announcing, however, that they were acting solely of their own authority. They proposed that there should be no more mention of the decree of Worms, and that the first decree of Spires should be maintained, but with a few modifications; that the two parties, while remaining free until the next council, should oppose every new sect, and tolerate no doctrine contrary to the sacrament of the Lord's body.¹

On Wednesday, 21st April, the evangelical states did not appear adverse to these propositions; and even those who had embraced the doctrines of Zwingli declared boldly that such a proposal would not compromise their existence. "Only let us call to mind," said they, "that in such difficult matters we must act, not with the sword, but with the sure Word of God."² For, as Saint Paul says: *What is not of faith is sin*. If therefore we constrain Christians to do what they believe unjust, instead of leading them by God's Word to acknowledge what is good, we force them to sin and incur a terrible responsibility."

The fanatics of the Roman party trembled as they saw the victory nearly escaping from them; they rejected all compromise, and desired purely and simply the re-establishment of the papacy. Their zeal overcame everything, and the negotiations were broken off.

On Thursday, 22d April, the diet re-assembled at seven in the morning, and the *Recess* was read precisely as it had been previously drawn up, without even mentioning the attempt at conciliation which had just failed.

Faber triumphed. Proud of having the ear of kings, he tossed himself furiously about, and, to look at him, one would have said (according to an eye-witness) that he was a Cyclops forging in his cavern the monstrous chains with which he was

¹ Vergleich Artikel. (Jung Beyträge, p. 55.)

² In diesen Schweren Sachen, nichts mit Gewalt noch Schwerdt, sondern mit Gottes gewissem Wort. (Ibid. p. 59.) This document is from the pen of Sturm.

about to bind the Reformation and the reformers.¹ The papist princes, carried away by the tumult, gave the spur, says Melanchthon, and flung themselves headlong into a path filled with dangers.² Nothing was left for the evangelical Christians but to fall on their knees and cry to the Lord. "All that remains for us to do," repeated Melanchthon, "is to call upon the Son of God."³

The last sitting of the diet took place on the 24th April. The princes renewed their protest, in which fourteen free and imperial cities joined; and they next thought of giving their appeal a legal form.⁴

On Sunday, 25th April, two notaries, Leonard Stetner of Freysingen and Pangrace Saltzmann of Bamberg, were seated before a small table in a narrow chamber on the ground-floor of a house situated in St. John's Lane, near the church of the same name in Spires, and around them were the chancellors of the princes and of the evangelical cities, with several witnesses.⁵

This little house belonged to an humble pastor, Peter Muterstatt, deacon of St. John's, who, taking the place of the elector or of the landgrave, had offered a domicile for the important act that was preparing. His name shall in consequence be transmitted to posterity. The document having been definitively drawn up, one of the notaries began reading it. "Since there is a natural communion between all men," said the Protestants, "and since even persons condemned to death are permitted to unite and appeal against their condemnation;

¹ Cyclops ille nunc ferozem se facit. (Corp. Ref. i. 1062.)

² Ut ingrediantur lubricum isti iter, impingendo stimulis calces. (Ibid.)

³ De quo reliquum est ut invocemus Filium Dei. (Ibid.)

⁴ The courage that dictated the Protest, and that nerved the Protestants to abide by it without flinching, cannot be duly estimated without steadily contemplating the blood character of those whose authority they had dared to impugn. Luther's testimony to that character is impressive: "Were there no other reason," says he, "for leaving the Church of Rome, this alone would suffice; they shed innocent blood, contrary not only to the divine, but even to the pontifical, law itself. They have no statute which makes it death to communicate in both kinds, yet they burn laymen who do so. They also burn their priests for marrying, when the penalty of their law is only degradation. I say then: THEY ARE MEN OF BLOOD; and were I at present a member of their communion, their savage barbarity would induce me to leave them for ever, even though I had no other fault to find with them." See Com. de Luth. ii. xl. 10, quoted by Milner, vol. v. p. 502.—D. D. H.

⁵ Unten in einem Kleinen Stublein. (Jung Beyträge, p. 78.) Instrumentum Appellationis.

how much more are we, who are members of the same spiritual body, the Church of the Son of God, children of the same Heavenly Father, and consequently brothers in the Spirit,¹ authorized to unite when our salvation and eternal condemnation are concerned."

After reviewing all that had passed in the diet, and after intercalating in their appeal the principal documents that had reference to it, the Protestants ended by saying: "We therefore appeal for ourselves, for our subjects, and for all who receive or who shall hereafter receive the Word of God, from all past, present, or future vexatious measures, to his imperial majesty, and to a free and universal assembly of holy Christendom." This document filled twelve sheets of parchment; the signatures and seals were affixed to the thirteenth.

Thus in the obscure dwelling of the chaplain of St. John's was made the first confession of the true Christian union. In presence of the wholly mechanical unity of the pope, these confessors of Jesus raised the banner of the living unity of Christ; and, as in the days of our Saviour, if there were many synagogues in Israel, there was at least but one temple. The Christians of Electoral Saxony, of Luneburg, of Anhalt, of Hesse and the Margravate, of Strasburg, Nuremberg, Ulm, Constance, Lindau, Memmingen, Kempten, Nordlingen, Heilbronn, Reutlingen, Isny, Saint Gall, Weissenburg, and Windsheim, took each other's hands on the 25th April, near the church of St. John, in the face of threatening persecutions. Among them might be found those who, like Zwingli, acknowledged in the Lord's Supper the entirely spiritual presence of Jesus Christ, as well as those who, with Luther, admitted his corporeal presence. There existed not at that time in the evangelical body any sects, hatred, or schism; Christian unity was a reality. That upper chamber in which, during the early days of Christianity, the apostles with the women and the brethren "continued with one accord in prayer and supplication,"² and that lower chamber where, in the first days of the

¹ *Membra unius corporis spiritualis Jesu Christi et filii unius patris cœlestis, ideoque fratres spirituales.* (Seekend. ii. 130.)

² Acts i. 14.

Reformation, the renewed disciples of Jesus Christ presented themselves to the pope and the emperor, to the world and to the scaffold, as forming but one body, are the two cradles of the Church; and it is in this its hour of weakness and humiliation that it shines forth with the brightest glory.

After this appeal each one returned in silence to his dwelling. Several tokens excited alarm for the safety of the Protestants. A short time previously Melanchthon hastily conducted through the streets of Spires toward the Rhine his friend Simon Grynæus, pressing him to cross the river. The latter was astonished at such precipitation.¹ "An old man of grave and solemn air, but who is unknown to me," said Melanchthon, "appeared before me and said: In a minute officers of justice will be sent by Ferdinand to arrest Grynæus." As he was intimate with Faber, and had been scandalized at one of his sermons, Grynæus went to him, and begged him no longer to make war against the truth. Faber dissembled his anger, but immediately after repaired to the king, from whom he had obtained an order against the importunate professor of Heidelberg.² Melanchthon doubted not that God had saved his friend by sending one of His holy angels to forewarn him. Motionless on the banks of the Rhine, he waited until the waters of that stream had rescued Grynæus from his persecutors. "At last," cried Melanchthon, as he saw him on the opposite side, "at last he is torn from the cruel jaws of those who thirst for innocent blood."³ When he returned to his house, Melanchthon was informed that officers in search of Grynæus had ransacked it from top to bottom.⁴

There was nothing to detain the Protestants longer in Spires, and accordingly, on the morning after their appeal (Monday, 26th April), the elector, the landgrave, and the dukes of Luneburg, quitted the city, reached Worms, and then returned by Hesse into their own states. The appeal of Spires was pub-

¹ *Miranti quæ esset tantæ festinationis causa.* (Camerarius Vita Mel. p. 113.)

² *Faber qui valde offenderetur oratione tali, dissimulare tamen omnia.* (Ibid.)

³ *Ereptus quasi e faucibus eorum qui sitiunt sanguinem innocentium.* (Mel. ad Camer. 23d April, Corp. Ref. i. 1062.)

⁴ *Affluit armata quedam manus ad comprehendendum Grynæum missa.* (Camer. Vit. Mel. p. 113.)

lished by the landgrave on the 5th, and by the elector on the 13th of May.

Melanchthon had returned to Wittenberg on the 6th of May, persuaded that the two parties were about to draw the sword. His friends were alarmed at seeing him agitated, exhausted, and like one dead.¹ "It is a great event that has just taken place at Spire," said he; "an event pregnant with dangers, not only to the empire, but to religion itself."² All the pains of hell oppress me."³

It was Melanchthon's greatest affliction, that these evils were attributed to him, as indeed he ascribed them himself. "One single thing has injured us," said he; "our not having approved, as was required of us, the edict against the Zwinglians." Luther did not take this gloomy view of affairs; but he was far from comprehending the force of the protest. "The diet," said he, "has come to an end almost without results, except that those who scourge Jesus Christ have not been able to satisfy their fury."⁴

Posterity has not ratified this decision, and, on the contrary, dating from this epoch the definitive formation of Protestantism, it has hailed in the protest of Spire one of the greatest movements recorded in history.

Let us see to whom the chief glory of this act belongs. The part taken by the princes, and especially by the elector of Saxony, in the German Reformation, must strike every impartial observer. These are the true reformers—the true martyrs. The Holy Ghost, that bloweth where it listeth, had inspired them with the courage of the ancient confessors of the Church; and the God of election was glorified in them. Somewhat later, perhaps, this great part played by the princes may have produced deplorable consequences: there is no grace of God that man cannot pervert. But nothing should prevent us from rendering honour to whom honour is due, and from adoring the work of the eternal Spirit in these eminent men who, under God, were in the sixteenth century the liberators of Christendom.

¹ Ita fuit perturbatus ut primis diebus pene extinctus sit. (Corp. Ref. i. 1067.)

² Non enim tantum imperium, sed religio etiam periclitantur. (Ibid.)

³ Omnes dolores inferni opprimerant me. (Ibid. 1067, 1069.)

⁴ Christo-mastiges et Psycho-tyranni suum furorem non potuerunt explere. (L. Epp. Linco, 6th May, 1520.)

The Reformation had taken a bodily form. It was Luther alone who had said No at the diet of Worms: but churches and ministers, princes and people, said No at the diet of Spires.

In no country had superstition, scholasticism, hierarchy, and popery, been so powerful as among the Germanic nations. These simple and candid people had humbly bent their neck to the yoke that came from the banks of the Tiber. But there was in them a depth, a life, a need of interior liberty, which, sanctified by the Word of God, might render them the most energetic organs of Christian truth.¹ It was from them that was destined to emanate the reaction against that material, external, and legal system, which had taken the place of Christianity; it was they who were called to shatter in pieces the skeleton which had been substituted for the spirit and the life, and restore to the heart of Christendom, ossified by the hierarchy, the generous beatings of which it had been deprived for so many ages. The universal Church will never forget the debt it owes to the princes of Spires and to Luther.

¹ In this respect Germany presented a striking contrast to Italy. "On both sides of the Alps," says Ranke, "did the development of the human mind in that age result in opposition to the Church. On the one side this opposition was associated with science and literature; on the other it sprang from metaphysical studies and a more profound theology. There it was negative and infidel; here it was positive and believing. There it utterly abandoned the foundation of the Church; here it restored that foundation to its original state. There it was scoffing and satirical, and submitted to authority; here it was serious and vehement, and proceeded to make the boldest assault on the Romish Church that it had ever sustained." Ranke's *Popes of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth centuries*, Glasgow Edition, vol. i. p. 66. It supplies one of the most important lessons in history to mark how, in Italy, infidelity conformed to the external worship of the church of Rome, and was tolerated; while the scriptural faith of Germany could not conform to the worship of an apostate church, and was therefore marked out for destruction. In the same manner, at the present day, we see the papal and the infidel hosts united in opposition to uncompromising evangelicism, however tolerant and peaceable.—D. D. S.

CHAPTER VII.

Union necessary to Reform—Luther's doctrine on the Lord's Supper—A Lutheran Warning—Proposed Conference at Marburg—Melancthon and Zwingli—Zwingli leaves Zurich—Rumours in Zurich—The Reformers at Marburg—Carlstadt's Petition—Preliminary Discussions—Holy Ghost—Original Sin—Baptism—Luther, Melancthon, and Zwingli—Opening of the Conference—The Prayer of the Church—*Hoc est Corpus Meum*—Syllogism of *Ecce lam-padius*—The Flesh profiteth nothing—Lambert convinced—Luther's Old Song—Agitation in the Conference—Arrival of new Deputies—Christ's Humanity finite—Mathematics and Popery—Testimony of the Fathers—Testimony of Augustine—Argument of the Velvet Cover—End of the Conference—The Landgrave mediates—Necessity of Union—Luther rejects Zwingli's Hand—Sectarian Spirit of the Germans—Bucer's Dilemma—Christian Charity prevails—Luther's Report—Unity of Doctrine—Unity in Diversity—Signatures—Two Extremes—Three Views—Germ of Popery—Departure—Luther's Dejection—Turks before Vienna—Luther's Battle-sermon and Agony—Luther's Firmness—Victory—Exasperation of the Papists—Threatening Prospects.

THE protest of Spires had still further increased the indignation of the papal adherents; and Charles V., according to the oath he had made at Barcelona, set about preparing "a suitable antidote for the pestilential disease with which the Germans were attacked, and to avenge in a striking manner the insult offered to Jesus Christ."¹ The pope, on his part, endeavoured to combine all the other princes of Christendom in this crusade; and the peace of Cambray, concluded on the 5th August, tended to the accomplishment of his cruel designs. It left the emperor's hands free against the heretics. After having entered their protest at Spires, it was necessary for the evangelicals to think of maintaining it.²

¹ *Illatamque Christo injuriam pro viribus ulciscuntur.* (Dumont, *Corp. Univ. Diplomatique*, iv. 1, 5.)

² Dr. Robertson, in his account of the treaties concluded by Charles V., with the Pope at Barcelona, and with Francis I. of France, at Cambray, says nothing of the above important engagement made against the Reformation. But what he does state respecting those two treaties, sufficiently proves what a formidable avenger he must have appeared. From Clement he had received the investiture of Naples, with the simple adding of a white palfrey in token of vassalage, the absolution of all concerned in the sack of Rome, and permission to himself and his brother Ferdinand to levy the fourth of the ecclesiastical revenues throughout their dominions; Francis, by the other treaty, had engaged to pay two millions of crowns for the ransom of his sons, and before they were set at liberty, to restore such towns as he still held in the Milanese; to resign his pretensions to the sovereignty of Flanders and of Artois, and to renounce all claim to Naples, Milan,

The Protestant states that had already laid the foundations of an evangelical alliance at Spires, had agreed to send deputies to Rothach; but the elector, staggered by the representations of Luther, who was continually repeating to him, "In returning and rest shall ye be saved; in quietness and in confidence shall be your strength,"¹ ordered his deputies to listen to the propositions of his allies, but to decide upon nothing. They adjourned to a new conference, which never took place. Luther triumphed; for human alliances failed. "Christ the Lord will know how to deliver us without the landgrave, and even against the landgrave," said he to his friends.²

Philip of Hesse, who was vexed at Luther's obstinacy, was convinced that it arose from a dispute about words. "They will hear no mention of alliances because of the Zwinglians," said he; "well then, let us put an end to the contradictions that separate them from Luther."

The union of all the disciples of the Word of God seemed in fact a necessary condition to the success of the Reformation. How could the Protestants resist the power of Rome and of the empire, if they were divided? The landgrave no doubt wished to unite their minds, that he might afterwards be able to unite their arms; but the cause of Christ was not to triumph by the sword. If they should succeed in uniting their hearts and prayers, the Reformation would then find such strength in the faith of its children, that Philip's spear-men would no longer be necessary.

Unfortunately this union of minds, that was now to be sought after above all things, was a very difficult task. Luther in 1519 had at first appeared not only to reform, but entirely renovate the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, as the Swiss did somewhat later. "I go to the sacrament of the Lord's Supper," he had said, "and I there receive a sign from God that Christ's righteousness and passion justify me: such is the use

Genoa, and all places beyond the Alps. See *Reign of the Emp. Ch. V. Book V.* There was great policy in Clement's granting the royal brothers Charles and Ferdinand the fourth part of the ecclesiastical revenues, as it gave them a tangible interest in opposing the Reformation.—D. D. S.

¹ Isaiah xxx. 15. (L. Epp. iii. 454.)

² Unser Herr Christus, &c. (Ibid.) This confidence of Luther shocks a Lutheran historian—Plank, ii. 454.

of the sacrament."¹ This discourse, which had gone through several impressions in the cities of Upper Germany, had prepared men's minds for the doctrine of Zwingli. Accordingly Luther, astonished at the reputation he had gained, published this solemn declaration in 1527: "I protest before God and before the whole world that I have never walked with the sacramentarians."

Luther in fact was never Zwinglian as regards the communion. Far from that, in 1519, he still believed in transubstantiation. Why then should he speak of a sign? It was for this reason. While, according to Zwingli, the bread and wine are signs of the body and blood of Christ; according to Luther, the very body and blood of Jesus Christ are signs of God's grace. These opinions are widely different from one another.

Erelong this disagreement declared itself. In 1527 Zwingli in his *Friendly Exposition*,² refuted Luther's opinion with mildness and respect. Unluckily the pamphlet of the Saxon reformer, "against the enthusiasts," was then issuing from the press, and in it Luther expressed his indignation that his adversaries should dare to speak of Christian unity and peace. "Well!" exclaimed he, "since they thus insult all reason, I will give them a Lutheran warning.³ Cursed be this concord! cursed be this charity! down, down, with it, to the bottomless pit of hell! If I should murder your father, your mother, your wife, your child, and then, wishing to murder you, I should say to you, 'Let us be at peace, my dear friend!' what answer would you make?—It is thus that the enthusiasts, who murder Jesus Christ my Lord, God the Father, and Christendom my mother, wish to murder me also; and then they say, Let us be friends!"

Zwingli wrote two replies "to the excellent Martin Luther," in a cold tone and with a haughty calmness more difficult to pardon than the invectives of the Saxon doctor. "We ought to esteem you a vessel of honour, and we do so with joy," said

¹ In the writing entitled, *Dass diese Worte noch feste Stehen.* (L. Opp. xix.)

² *Amica exegesis*, id est, *Expositio Eucharistie negotii ad M. Lutherum.* (Zw. Opp.)

³ *Eine Lutherische Warnung.* (L. Opp. xix. 301.) *Wider die Schwarmgeister.*

he, "notwithstanding your faults." Pamphlet followed pamphlet, Luther always writing with the same impetuosity, and Zwingli with unalterable coolness and irony.

Such were the doctors whom the landgrave undertook to reconcile. Already, during the sitting of the diet of Spire, Philip of Hesse, who was afflicted at hearing the papists continually repeating, "You boast of your attachment to the pure Word of God, and yet you are nevertheless disunited,"¹ had made overtures to Zwingli in writing. He now went farther, and invited the theologians of the different parties to meet at Marburg. These invitations met with various receptions. Zwingli, whose heart was large and fraternal, answered the landgrave's call; but it was rejected by Luther, who discovered leagues and battles behind this pretended concord.

It seemed, however, that great difficulties would detain Zwingli. The road from Zurich to Marburg lay through the territories of the emperor and of other enemies to the Reformation; the landgrave himself did not conceal the dangers of the journey;² but in order to obviate these difficulties, he promised an escort from Strasburg to Hesse, and for the rest "the protection of God."³ These precautions were not of a nature to re-assure the Zurichers.

Reasons of another kind detained Luther and Melancthon. "It is not right," said they, "that the landgrave has so much to do with the Zwinglians. Their error is of such a nature that people of acute minds are easily tainted by it. Reason loves what it understands, particularly when learned men clothe their ideas in a scriptural dress."

Melancthon did not stop here, but put forth the very extraordinary notion of selecting papists as judges of the discussion. "If there were no impartial judges," said he, "the Zwinglians would have a good chance of boasting of victory."⁴ Thus, according to Melancthon, papists would be impartial judges when the real presence was the subject of discussion!

¹ Inter nos ipsos de religionis doctrina non consentire. (Zw. Epp. ii. 287.)

² Viam Francofurti capias, quam autem hac periculosiorem esse putamus. (Ibid. p. 312.)

³ Juvante Deo tuti. (Ibid. p. 329.)

⁴ Papistische als unparteiische. (Corp. Ref. i. 1066.)

He went still farther. "Let the elector," he wrote on the 14th May to the prince electoral, "refuse to permit our journey to Marburg, so that we may be able to allege this excuse." The elector would not lend himself to so disgraceful a proceeding; and the reformers of Wittenberg found themselves compelled to accede to the request of Philip of Hesse. But they did so with these words: "If the Swiss do not yield to us, all your trouble will be lost;" and they wrote to the theologians among their friends who were convoked by the prince: "Stay away if you can; your absence will be very useful to us."¹

Zwingli, on the contrary, who would have gone to the end of the world, made every exertion to obtain permission from the magistrates of Zurich to visit Marburg. "I am convinced," said he to the secret council, "that if we doctors meet face to face, the splendour of truth will illuminate our eyes."² But the council, that had only just signed the first religious peace,³ and who feared to see war burst out afresh, positively refused to allow the departure of the reformer.

Upon this Zwingli decided for himself. He felt that his presence was necessary for the maintenance of peace in Zurich; but the welfare of all Christendom summoned him to Marburg. Accordingly, raising his eyes towards heaven, he resolved to depart, exclaiming, "O God! Thou hast never abandoned us; Thou wilt perform thy will for thine own glory."⁴ During the night of the 31st August, Zwingli, who was unwilling to wait for the landgrave's safe-conduct, prepared for his journey. Rodolph Collins, the Greek professor, was alone to accompany him. The reformer wrote to the Smaller and to the Great Council: "If I leave without informing you, it is not, most wise lords, because I despise your authority; but, knowing the love you bear towards me, I foresee that your anxiety will oppose my going."

As he was writing these words, a fourth message arrived from the landgrave, more pressing still than the preceding

¹ Si potes, noli adesse. (L. Epp. iii. 501.)

² Ut veritatis splendor oculos nostros feriat. (Zw. Epp. ii. 321.)

³ See below, Book xvi. chap. ii. anno 1529.

⁴ Dei nunquam fallentis, qui nos nunquam deseruit, gratiam reputavi. (Zw. Epp. ii. 358.)

ones. The reformer sent the prince's letter to the burgo-master with his own; he then quitted his house privily by night,¹ concealing his departure both from friends, whose importunity he feared, and from enemies, whose snares he had good cause to dread. He did not even tell his wife where he was going, lest it should distress her. He and Collins then mounted two horses that had been hired for the purpose,² and rode off rapidly in the direction of Basel.

During the day the rumour of Zwingli's absence spread through Zurich, and his enemies were elated. "He has fled the country," said they; "he has run away with a pack of scoundrels!" "As he was crossing the river at Bruck," said others, "the boat upset and he was drowned." "The devil," affirmed many with a malicious smile, "appeared to him bodily and carried him off."³—"There was no end to their stories," says Bullinger. But the council immediately resolved on acceding to the wish of the reformer. On the very day of his departure they appointed one of the councillors, Ulrich Funck, to accompany him to Marburg, who forthwith set out with one domestic and an arquebusier. Strasburg and Basel in like manner sent statesmen in company with their theologians, under the idea that this conference would doubtless have, also, a political object.

Zwingli arrived safely at Basel,⁴ and embarked on the river on the 6th September with Œcolampadius and several merchants.⁵ In thirteen hours they reached Strasburg, where the two reformers lodged in the house of Matthew Zell, the cathedral preacher. Catherine, the pastor's wife, prepared the dishes in the kitchen, waited at table, according to the ancient German manners,⁶ and then sitting down near Zwingli, listened attentively, and spoke with so much piety and knowledge, that the latter soon ranked her above many doctors.

After discussing with the magistrates the means of resisting

¹ Sabbati die, mane ante lucem, 1 Septembris. (Zw. Epp. ii. 356.)

² Equis conductoriis. (Ibid. 361.)

³ Der Tufel vere by imm gesin. (Bullinger. ii. 224.)

⁴ Integer et sanus Basiliam pervenit. (Zw. Epp. ii. 361.)

⁵ Aliques mercatorum fide dignos, comites. (Ibid.)

⁶ Ich bin 14 Tag magd und Köchin gewesen. (Füssl. Beytr. v. 313.) See her remarkable correspondence with the superintendent Rabus. (Ibid. 191-354.)

the Romish league, and the organization to be given to the Christian confederacy,¹ Zwingli quitted Strasburg; and he and his friends, conducted along by-roads, through forests, over mountains and valleys, by secret but sure paths, at length reached Marburg, escorted by forty Hessian cavaliers.²

Luther, on his side, accompanied by Melancthon, Cruciger, and Jonas, had stopped on the Hessian frontier, declaring that nothing should induce him to cross it without a safe-conduct from the landgrave. This document being obtained, Luther arrived at Alsfeld, where the scholars, kneeling under the reformer's windows, chanted their pious hymns. He entered Marburg on the 30th September, a day after the arrival of the Swiss. Both parties went to inns; but they had scarcely alighted, before the landgrave invited them to come and lodge in the castle, thinking by this means to bring the opposing parties closer together. Philip entertained them in a manner truly royal.³ "Ah!" said the pious Jonas, as he wandered through the halls of the palace, "it is not in honour of the Muses, but in honour of God and of his Christ, that we are so munificently treated in these forests of Hesse!" After dinner, on the first day, Œcolampadius, Hedio, and Bucer, desirous of entering into the prince's views, went and saluted Luther. The latter conversed affectionately with Œcolampadius in the castle-court; but Bucer, with whom he had once been very intimate, and who was now on Zwingli's side, having approached him, Luther said to him, smiling and making a sign with his hand: "As for you, you are a good-for-nothing fellow and a knave!"⁴

The unhappy Carlstadt, who had begun this dispute, was at that time in Friesland, preaching the spiritual presence of Christ, and living in such destitution that he had been forced to sell his Hebrew Bible to procure bread. The trial had crushed his pride, and he wrote to the landgrave: "We are but one body, one house, one people, one sacerdotal race; we

¹ *De jure presidendi conciliis civitatum christianarum.* (Füssl. Beytr. v. 364.) See book xvi. of this History.

² *Per devia et sylvas, montes et valles, tutissimos et occultos.* (Ibid. 368.)

³ *Excepit in arce hospitio et mensa regali.* (Corp. Ref. i. 1096.)

⁴ *Subridens aliquantulum respondit: tu es nequam et nebulo.* (Soullet's Annal. ad 1539.)

live and die by one and the same Saviour.¹ For this reason, I, poor and in exile, humbly pray your highness, by the blood of Jesus Christ, to allow me to be present at the disputation."

But how bring Luther and Carlstadt face to face? and yet how repel the unhappy man? The landgrave, to extricate himself from this difficulty, referred him to the Saxon reformer. Carlstadt did not appear.

Philip of Hesse desired that, previously to the public conference, the theologians should have a private interview. It was however considered dangerous, says a contemporary, for Zwingli and Luther, who were both naturally violent, to contend with one another at the very beginning; and as Œcolampadius and Melanchthon were the mildest, they were apportioned to the roughest champions.² On Friday, the 1st October after divine service, Luther and Œcolampadius were conducted into one chamber, and Zwingli and Melanchthon into another. The combatants were then left to struggle two and two.

The principal contest took place in the room of Zwingli and Melanchthon. "It is affirmed," said Melanchthon to Zwingli, "that some among you speak of God after the manner of the Jews, as if Christ was not essentially God." I think on the Holy Trinity, replied Zwingli, "with the Council of Nice and the Athanasian creed." "Councils! creeds! What does that mean?" asked Melanchthon. "Have you not continually repeated that you recognise no other authority than that of Scripture?" "We have never rejected the councils," replied the Swiss reformer, "when they are based on the authority of the Word of God."³ The four first councils are truly sacred as regards doctrine, and none of the faithful have ever rejected them." This important declaration, handed down to us by Œcolampadius, characterizes the reformed theology.⁴

"But you teach," resumed Melanchthon, "like Thomas Munster, that the Holy Ghost acts quite alone, independently

¹ State Papers of Cassel.

² Abgetheilt zu den rühren. (Bull. ii. 225.)

³ Ubi unquam concilia rejicimus, verbi divini auctoritati suffulta? (Zw. Opp. iv. 191.)

⁴ The word *Reformed* is used to distinguish the doctrine and the church of Zwingli and Calvin from those of Luther.

of the sacraments and of the Word of God." "The Holy Ghost," replied Zwingli, "works in us justification by the Word, but by the Word preached and understood, by the soul and the marrow of the Word, by the mind and will of God clothed in human language."¹

"At least," continued Melanchthon, "you deny original sin, and make sin consist only in actual and external works, like the Pelagians, the philosophers, and the papists."

This was the principal difficulty. "Since man naturally loves himself," replied Zwingli, "instead of loving God; in that there is a crime, a sin that condemns him."² He had more than once before expressed the same opinion;³ and yet Melanchthon exulted on hearing him: "Our adversaries," said he afterwards, "have given way on all these points!"

Luther had pursued the same method with Œcolampadius as Melanchthon with Zwingli. The discussion had in particular turned on baptism. Luther complained that the Swiss would not acknowledge that by this simple sacrament a man became a member of the Church. "It is true," said Œcolampadius, "that we require faith—either an actual or a future faith. Why should we deny it? Who is a Christian, if it be not he who believes in Christ? However, I should be unwilling to deny that the water of baptism is in a certain sense a water of regeneration; for by it he, whom the Church knew not, becomes its child."⁴

These four theologians were in the very heat of their discussions, when domestics came to inform them that the prince's dinner was on the table. They immediately arose, and Zwingli and Melanchthon meeting Luther and Œcolampadius, who were also quitting their chamber, the latter approached Zwingli, and whispered mournfully in his ear: "I have fallen a second time into the hands of Dr. Eck."⁵ In the language of the reformers nothing stronger could be said.

¹ *Mens et medulla verbi, mens et voluntas Dei amicta tamen humanis verbis.* (Zw. Epp. iv. 173.)

² *Malum, peccatum.* (Ibid. 172.)

³ *De peccato originali ad Urb. Rhodium.* (Ibid. iii. 632.)

⁴ *Atque adeo ipse non negarim, aquam baptismi esse aquam regenerantem: fit enim puer ecclesie, qui dudum ab ecclesia non agnoscebatur.* (Zw. Opp. iv. 193.)

⁵ *Lutherum Œcolampadius ita excepit, ut ad me veniens clam queratur, se denuo in Eccium incidisse.* (Zw. Epp. ii. 369.)

It does not appear that the conference between Luther and Œcolampadius was resumed after dinner. Luther's manner held out very little hope; but Melanchthon and Zwingli returned to the discussion, and the Zurich doctor finding the Wittenberg professor escape him like an eel, as he said, and take "like Proteus a thousand different forms," seized a pen in order to fix his antagonist. Zwingli committed to writing whatever Melanchthon dictated, and then wrote his reply, giving it to the other to read.¹ In this manner they spent six hours, three in the morning and three in the afternoon.² They prepared for the general conference.

Zwingli requested that it should be an open one; this Luther resisted. It was eventually resolved that the princes, nobles, deputies, and theologians, should be admitted; but a great crowd of citizens, and even many scholars and gentlemen, who had come from Frankfort, from the Rhine districts, from Strasbourg, from Basel and other Swiss towns, were excluded. Brentz speaks of fifty or sixty hearers; Zwingli of twenty-four only.³

On a gentle elevation, watered by the Lahn, is situated an old castle, overlooking the city of Marburg; in the distance may be seen the beautiful valley of the Lahn, and beyond, the mountain-tops rising one above another, until they are lost in the horizon. It was beneath the vaults and Gothic arches of an antique chamber in this castle, known as the Knight's Hall, that the conference was to take place.

On Saturday morning (2d October) the landgrave took his seat in the hall, surrounded by his court, but in so plain a dress that no one would have taken him for a prince. He wished to avoid all appearance of acting the part of a Constantine in the affairs of the Church. Before him was a table which Luther, Zwingli, Melanchthon, and Œcolampadius approached. Luther, taking a piece of chalk, bent over the velvet cloth which covered it, and steadily wrote four words in large characters.

¹ At Melanchthon, cum nimis lubricus esset et Protei in morem se in omnia transformaret, me compulit, ut sumpto calamo manu armarem. (Ibid.)

² Istud colloquium sex in horas traximus. (Ibid. 370.)

³ Quinquaginta aut sexaginta colloquio presentes. (Zw. Opp. iv. 201.) Pauci arbitri ad summum quatuor et viginti. (Epp. ii. 370.)

All eyes followed the movement of his hand, and soon they read *HOC EST CORPUS MEUM*.¹ Luther wished to have this declaration continually before him, that it might strengthen his own faith, and be a sign to his adversaries.

Behind these four theologians were seated their friends,—Hedio, Sturm, Funck, Frey, Eberhard, Thane, Jonas, Cruciger, and others besides. Jonas cast an inquiring glance upon the Swiss: “Zwingli,” said he, “has a certain rusticity and arrogance;² if he is well versed in letters, it is in spite of Minerva and of the muses. In *Æcolampadius* there is a natural goodness and admirable meekness. Hedio seems to have as much liberality as kindness; but Bucer possesses the cunning of a fox, that knows how to give himself an air of sense and prudence.” Men of moderate sentiments often meet with worse treatment than those of the extreme parties.

Other feelings animated those who contemplated this assembly from a distance. The great men who had led the people in their footsteps on the plains of Saxony, on the banks of the Rhine, and in the lofty valleys of Switzerland, were there met face to face: the chiefs of Christendom who had separated from Rome, were come together to see if they could remain one. Accordingly, from all parts of Germany, prayers and anxious looks were directed towards Marburg. “Illustrious princes of the Word,”³ cried the evangelical Church through the mouth of the poet Cordus, “penetrating Luther, mild *Æcolampadius*, magnanimous Zwingli, pious Snepf, eloquent Melancthon, courageous Bucer, candid Hedio, excellent Osiander, valiant Brentz, amiable Jonas, fiery Craton, Mænus, whose soul is stronger than his body, great Dionysius, and you Myconius—all you whom prince Philip, that illustrious hero, has summoned, ministers and bishops, whom the Christian cities have sent to terminate the schism, and to show us the way of truth; the suppliant Church falls weeping at your feet, and begs you by the bowels of Jesus Christ to bring this matter to a happy

¹ This is my body. (*Zw. Opp. iv. 175.*)

² In Zwinglio agreste quiddam est et arrogantulum. (*Corp. Ref. i. p. 1097.*)

³ *Insignes verbi proceres.* (*Bull. ii. 236.*)

issue, that the world may acknowledge in your resolution the work of the Holy Ghost himself."¹

The landgrave's chancellor, John Feige, having reminded them in the prince's name that the object of this colloquy was the re-establishment of union, "I protest," said Luther, "that I differ from my adversaries with regard to the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, and that I shall always differ from them. Christ has said, *This is my body*. Let them show me that a body is not a body. I reject reason, common sense, carnal arguments, and mathematical proofs. God is above mathematics."² We have the Word of God; we must adore it and perform it!"

"It cannot be denied," said Œcolampadius, "that there are figures of speech in the Word of God; as *John is Elias, the rock was Christ, I am the vine*. The expression *This is my body*, is a figure of the same kind." Luther granted that there were figures in the Bible, but denied that this last expression was figurative.

All the various parties, however, of which the Christian Church is composed see a figure in these words. In fact, the Romanists declare that *This is my body* signifies not only "my body," but also "my blood," "my soul," and even "my Divinity," and "Christ wholly."³ These words therefore, according to Rome, are a synecdoche, a figure by which a part is taken for the whole. And, as regards the Lutherans, the figure is still more evident.⁴ Whether it be synecdoche, metaphor, or metonymy, there is still a figure.

In order to prove it, Œcolampadius employed this syllogism:

"What Christ rejected in the sixth chapter of St. John, he could not admit in the words of the Eucharist.

"Now Christ, who said to the people of Capernaum, *The flesh profiteth nothing*, rejected by those very words the oral manducation of his body.

¹ Et cupido supplex vobis Ecclesia voto
Vestros cadit flens ad pedes. (Bull. ii. 236.)

² Deum esse supra mathematicam. (Zw. Opp. iv. 175.)

³ If any one denies that the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, with his soul and his divinity, and consequently the whole Jesus Christ (totum Christum), is contained in the sacrament of the Eucharist, let him be anathema. (Council of Trent, sess. 13.)

⁴ Tota Christi persona. (Form. concord. viii.)

"Therefore, he did not establish it at the institution of his Supper."

LUTHER.—"I deny the minor (the second of these propositions); Christ has not rejected all moral manducation, but only a material manducation, like that of the flesh of oxen or of swine."¹

ÆCOLAMPADIUS.—"There is danger in attributing too much to mere matter."

LUTHER.—"Everything that God commands becomes spirit and life. If we lift up a straw, by the Lord's order, in that very action we perform a spiritual work. We must pay attention to him who speaks, and not to what he says. God speaks: Men, worms, listen!—God commands: let the world obey! and let us all together fall down and humbly kiss the Word."²

ÆCOLAMPADIUS.—"But since we have the spiritual eating, what need of the bodily one?"

LUTHER.—"I do not ask what need we have of it; but I see it written, *Eat, this is my body*. We must therefore believe and do. We must do—we must do!³ If God should order me to eat dung, I would do it, with the assurance that it would be salutary."⁴

At this point Zwingli interfered in the discussion.

"We must explain Scripture by Scripture," said he. "We cannot admit two kinds of corporeal manducation, as if Jesus had spoken of eating, and the Capernaïtes of tearing in pieces, for the same word is employed in both cases. Jesus says that to eat his flesh corporeally profiteth nothing (John vi. 63); whence it would result that he had given us in the Supper a thing that would be useless to us. Besides, there are certain words that seem to me rather childish,—the dung, for instance. The oracles of the demons were obscure, not so are those of Jesus Christ."

LUTHER.—"When Christ says the flesh profiteth nothing, he speaks not of his own flesh, but of ours."

¹ Qualis est carnis bovillæ aut suillæ. (Sculd. p. 217.)

² Quum præcipit quid, pareat mundus; et omnes osculemur verbum. (Zw. Opp. iv. 176.)

³ Man mus es thou sape inculcabat. (Ibid.)

⁴ Si juberet finum comedere, facerem. (Ibid.)

ZWINGLI.—“The soul is fed with the Spirit and not with the flesh.”

LUTHER.—“It is with the mouth that we eat the body; the soul does not eat it.”¹

ZWINGLI.—“Christ’s body is therefore a corporeal nourishment, and not a spiritual.”

LUTHER.—“You are captious.”

ZWINGLI.—“Not so; but you utter contradictory things.”

LUTHER.—“If God should present me wild apples, I should eat them spiritually. In the Eucharist, the mouth receives the body of Christ, and the soul believes in his words.”

Zwingli then quoted a great number of passages from the Holy Scriptures, in which the sign is described by the very thing signified; and thence concluded that, considering our Lord’s declaration in St. John, *The flesh profiteth nothing*, we must explain the words of the Eucharist in a similar manner.

Many hearers were struck by these arguments. Among the Marburg professors sat the Frenchman Lambert; his tall and spare frame was violently agitated. He had been at first of Luther’s opinion,² and was then hesitating between the two reformers. As he went to the conference, he said: “I desire to be a sheet of blank paper, on which the finger of God may write his truth.” Ere long he exclaimed, after hearing Zwingli and Œcolampadius: “Yes! the Spirit, ’tis that which vivifies!”³ When this conversion was known, the Wittenbergers, shrugging their shoulders, called it “Gallie fickleness.” “What!” replied Lambert, “was St. Paul fickle because he was converted from Pharisaism? And have we ourselves been fickle in abandoning the lost sects of popery?”

Luther was, however, by no means shaken. “*This is my body*,” repeated he, pointing with his finger to the words written before him. “*This is my body*. The devil⁴ himself

¹ Anima non edit ipsum (corpus) corporaliter. (Zw. Epp. ii. 370.)

² See his commentary on St. Luke xxii. 19, 20.

³ He added, that the body of Christ was in the Eucharist neither mathematically or commensurably, nor really (neque mathematice seu commensurative, neque re ipsa). (Epist. Lamb. de Marb. col.)

⁴ I may here notice the revival, in the year 1843, in vol. i. of “The English Catholic Library,” the subscription list of which includes the names of two Romanist Earls, one Most Rev., thirteen Right Honourables, Right Reverends,

shall not drive me from that. To seek to understand it, is to fall away from the faith."¹

"But, doctor," said Zwingli, "St. John explains how Christ's body is eaten, and you will be obliged at last to leave off singing always the same song."

"You make use of unmannerly expressions," replied Luther.² The Wittenbergers themselves called Zwingli's argument "his old song."³ Zwingli continued without being disconcerted: "I ask you, doctor, whether Christ in the sixth chapter of St.

and Honourables, and above a hundred clergymen and gentlemen, of one of the grossest imaginable slanders on Luther and the Reformation. This slander, which Seekendorf found it necessary, from the pertinacity with which, notwithstanding its absurdity, it was propagated down to his day, gravely to refute, both in a separate tract, and in the additions to the first part of his *Commentarius Historicus et Apologeticus de Lutherismo*, which the reader may usefully consult, consists in the deliberate assertion that Luther, *by his own confession*, owed his doctrines, and particularly that on the mass, to the devil! Seekendorf calls this directly *mendacium*—a lie. The slightest investigation proves it to be so, and yet we find English noblemen and gentlemen in our own day involved in the disgrace of reproducing it, and that not as originally conceived and propagated by unscrupulous zealots, such as Fl. Raimond, and a long list of others given by Seekendorf, but as the discovery of a protestant in passing from Popery to Protestantism. The foundation assumed for the story is an account given by Luther in German, and afterwards imperfectly rendered into Latin by Justus Jonas, of a conflict he had with Satan, *in his heart*, not personally, for Luther's German runs: *Der Teuffel fing mir in meinem Herzen solche Disputation an, &c.* Satan's object, as the conclusion of the account explains, by a reference to the case of Judas and to that of Cain, was to drive Luther to despair by charging him with his various compliances with popery, and particularly with having for fifteen years celebrated private masses, and by refuting all his attempts to find excuses for his conduct in doing so. Here of course there could have been no such temptation at all unless the tempter had urged the horrible idolatry of private masses and so forth, just as in the case of Judas, the tempter made his having betrayed innocent blood, a motive for despair. Precisely, however, as if we were to allege that Judas had not betrayed innocent blood, because it was Satan that put it into his head that he had done so, so the reader of the English Catholic library is deliberately led to believe that the sacrifice of the mass cannot be horrible idolatry, other popish doctrines and practices be bad things, since Luther, in condemning them, was only following out the instructions of the devil! Now the above reference to the tempter, is one out of innumerable others which occur in Luther's writings, and which manifestly prove that Satanic authority was the very last on which the reformer would adopt or reject a doctrine. In fact this so stares one in the face, in perusing his writings, that it seems incredible that any man, even although he had omitted reading the explanation, could have seriously so misapprehended the reformer's meaning. Seekendorf, however, not content with this, takes the pains to show that Luther's opinions on the subject of the mass preceded this "disputation" with the tempter, and, moreover, that the Augustinian friars at Wittenberg had abolished private masses during Luther's residence at the Wartburg, before they could have heard of Luther's being, as is alleged, indoctrinated into an abhorrence of them by the father of lies.—D.D.S.

¹ Si interrogo, excido a fide. (Zw. Epp. ii. 177.)

² Invidiose loqueris. (Bull. ii. 228.)

³ Veterem suam cantilenam. (Zw. Opp. iv. 221.)

John did not wish to reply to the question that had been put to him?"

LUTHER.—“Master Zwingli, you wish to stop my mouth by the arrogancy of your language. That passage has nothing to do here.”

ZWINGLI, *hastily*.—“Pardon me, doctor, that passage breaks your neck.”

LUTHER.—“Do not boast so much! You are in Hesse, and not in Switzerland. In this country we do not break people’s necks.”

Then turning towards his friends, Luther complained bitterly of Zwingli; as if the latter had really wished to break his neck. “He makes use of camp terms and blood-stained words,” said he.¹ Luther forgot that he had employed a similar expression in speaking of Carlstadt.²

ZWINGLI resumed: “In Switzerland also there is strict justice, and we break no man’s neck without trial. That

¹ Verbum istud, tanquam castrense et cruentum. (Hospin. p. 131.)

² This peevishness was unworthy of the bold and manly Luther, and confirms M. Michelet’s remark that the reformer had been for some years much unnerved both by moral and physical causes. Anxiety and ill health had combined to depress his spirits, and but for the strength of his faith and the relief he enjoyed in his domestic circle, where his warm affections and simple tastes made him feel peculiarly *at home*, he would probably have sunk altogether. Michelet mentions the war of the peasants, the fierce enmity of Erasmus, who carried many of the men of letters along with him, and this very sacramentarian controversy, as having all tended to harass and afflict him. But besides this, he was evidently much hampered by the narrowness of his circumstances. In a former note (vol. ii. p. 365) notices will be found of his poverty in 1523 and 1524, and his letters prove that he continued for some time in that state, little to the credit of the ministers of the elector, who are alleged by the enemies of the Reformation to have protected Luther merely because of the circulation of money caused at Wittenberg by the multitude of students brought by his reputation to the place. See M. Robelet *De l’influence de la Réformation de Luther, sur la croyance religieuse, la politique et les progrès des lumières*, note at page 205. Luther may possibly have been too open-handed, and confesses that he was a careless housekeeper, while Catherine Bora’s education in a convent may have unfitted her for the frugal management of a family. On 2d Feb. 1527 he writes: “You ask for eight florins, but where shall I get them? You know that I must use the strictest economy, and I have imprudently incurred above a hundred florins of debt this year and have had to pledge three goblets for fifty florins. It is true that my Lord who has thus punished my imprudence, has at last set me free. . . . Besides, Lucas [L. Cranach, the painter, no doubt] and Christian will no longer take my security, finding they either lose all or drain my purse.” Such straits may very likely have aggravated the illnesses from which himself and his children suffered towards the close of that year when the plague visited Wittenberg and of which affecting notices, taken from Luther’s letters, will be found in Michelet and more shortly in Lawson’s Autobiography of Luther. Dean Milner’s notice of Luther’s illness in 1527 will appear at the end of this book.—D. D. S.

expression signifies merely that your cause is lost and hopeless."

Great agitation prevailed in the knight's hall. The roughness of the Swiss and the obstinacy of the Saxon had come into collision. The landgrave, fearing to behold the failure of his project of conciliation, nodded assent to Zwingli's explanation. "Doctor," said he to Luther, "you should not be offended at such common expressions." It was in vain: the agitated sea could not again be calmed. The prince therefore arose, and they all repaired to the banqueting hall. After dinner they resumed their tasks.

"I believe," said Luther, "that Christ's body is in heaven, but I also believe that it is in the sacrament. It concerns me little whether it be against nature, provided that it be not against faith.¹ Christ is substantially in the sacrament, such as he was born of the Virgin."

ŒCOLAMPADIUS, *quoting a passage from St. Paul*: "We know not Jesus Christ after the flesh."²

LUTHER.—"After the flesh means, in this passage, after our carnal affections."³

ŒCOLAMPADIUS.—"You will not allow that there is a metaphor in these words, *This is my body*, and yet you admit a synecdoche."

LUTHER.—"Metaphor permits the existence of a sign only; but it is not so with synecdoche. If a man says he wishes to drink a bottle, we understand that he means the beer in the bottle. Christ's body is in the bread, as a sword in the scabbard,⁴ or as the Holy Ghost in the dove."

The discussion was proceeding in this manner, when Osiander, pastor of Nuremberg, Stephen Agricola, pastor of Augsburg, and Brentz, pastor of Halle in Swabia, author of the famous Syngamma, entered the hall. These also had been invited by the landgrave. But Brentz, to whom Luther had written that he should take care not to appear, had no

¹ Non curo quod sit contra naturam, modo non contra fidem. (Zw. Opp. iv. 178.)

² 2 Cor. v. 16.

³ Pro carnalibus affectibus. (Zw. Opp. iv. p. 202.)

⁴ Corpus est in pane sicut gladius in vagina. (Ibid.)

doubt by his indecision retarded his own departure as well as that of his friends. Places were assigned them near Luther and Melancthon. "Listen, and speak if necessary," they were told. They took but little advantage of this permission. "All of us, except Luther," said Melancthon, "were silent personages."¹

The struggle continued.

When Zwingli saw that exegesis was not sufficient for Luther, he added dogmatical theology to it, and, subsidiarily, natural philosophy.

"I oppose you," said he, "with this article of our faith: *Ascendit in cælum*—he ascended into heaven. If Christ is in heaven as regards his body, how can he be in the bread? The Word of God teaches us that he was like his brethren in all things (Heb. ii. 17). He therefore cannot be in several places at once."

LUTHER.—"Were I desirous of reasoning thus, I would undertake to prove that Jesus Christ had a wife; that he had black eyes,² and lived in our good country of Germany.³ I care little about mathematics."⁴

"There is no question of mathematics here," said Zwingli, "but of St. Paul, who writes to the Philippians, *μορφὴν δούλου λαβών*."⁵

LUTHER, *interrupting him*.—"Read it to us in Latin or in German, not in Greek.

¹ Fuimus *πῶφα πρόσσωπα*. (Corp. Ref. i. 1098.)

² Quod uxorem et nigros oculos habuisset. (Scultet. p. 225.)

³ In Germania diuturnum contubernium egisse. (Zw. Opp. iv. 202.)

⁴ Luther seems to have too easily excused his violence of speech by assuming that to be charged with that fault was the necessary and common fate of all public writers. *Aliis impius, aliis mordax, aliis vane gloriosus, aliis aliud visus fui, quæ sors communis est in publico ædificantibus (ut vulgo dicitur) et in publicum scribentibus.* [To some I seemed impious, to some sarcastic, to some vainglorious, to some one thing, to some another, which is the common lot of those who edify in public, (as is commonly said) and who write for the public.] See preface to his Commentary on the Ep. to the Gal. At times, however, he saw the intemperate sallies of his temper in their true light, and deplored them. During his illness in July, 1527, he called to him his friends Bugenhagius and Jonas, and after a confession of his faith, with deep sighs and a vast effusion of tears, he confessed how intemperate he had been at times in his language; and appealed to Him who knows all things, that in this he had given way to the infirmity of the flesh, thereby endeavouring to shake off the burthen of his afflictions; but that his conscience did not reproach him with having harboured any ill will. See Milner, vol. v. Century XVI., ch. xv. § 2.—p. D. S.

⁵ Having taken the form of a servant. (Phil. ii. 7.)

ZWINGLI (*in Latin*).—"Pardon me: for twelve years past I have made use of the Greek Testament only." Then continuing to read the passage, he concluded from it that Christ's humanity is of a finite nature like our own.

LUTHER, *pointing to the words written before him*.—"Most dear sirs, since my Lord Jesus Christ says, *Hoc est corpus meum*, I believe that his body is really there."

Here the scene grew animated. Zwingli started from his chair, sprung towards Luther, and said, striking the table before him:¹

"You maintain then, doctor, that Christ's body is locally in the Eucharist! for you say Christ's body is really *there*—*there*—*there*," repeated Zwingli. "*There* is an adverb of place."² Christ's body is then of such a nature as to exist in a place. If it is in a place, it is in heaven, whence it follows that it is not in the bread."

LUTHER.—"I repeat that I have nothing to do with mathematical proofs. As soon as the words of consecration are pronounced over the bread, the body is there, however wicked be the priest who pronounces them."

ZWINGLI.—"You are thus re-establishing Popery."^{3 4}

¹ Ibi Zwinglius illico prosiiliens. (Scultet. p. 225.)

² Da, da, da. *Ibi* est adverbium loci. (Ibid.)

³ Damit richtend ir das papstum uf. (Zw. Opp. iii. 57.)

⁴ Zwingli, notwithstanding the extreme caution and reserve with which he had propounded his doctrines on the subject of the spirituality of our Lord's meaning when he said, "This is my body," was fully aware that the gross doctrine of transubstantiation might be called the mother-idea of a thousand superstitions. Even in his *Commentarius de Vera et Falsa religione* we find the following significant passage: *Veremur enim, quod si uspiam perniciose erretur in Veri uniusque Dei tum adoratione tum cultu, hic fiat in Eucharistiae abusu, quae si germanum, juxta institutionem Christi, usum servasset, non irrepsissent tam atrocia scelera in populum Dei, Ecclesiam. Nunc quum omnes ad hoc intenti fuimus, ut sancta potius attraheremus, aut circum nos haberemus, quin palam dicam, sancta faceremus, nostra virtute scilicet, quae fortasse sancta non erant, (nemo enim ignorat quantum sit in ossa piorum, ut adorarentur etiam insumptum) quam ut ipsi sancti fieremus: factum est ut lignum, lapides, terram, pulverem, solcas, vestes, annulos, gladios, cingula, ossa, dentes, pilos, lac, panem, quadras, tabulas, vinum, cultros, amphoras, et quicquid attraherunt pii homines, adoraverimus amplectendo, osculando: et quod stultissimum erat, nos plane beatos existimabamus, si quid talium solummodo asperissemus, promittebamus nobis ipsis abolita esse peccata, propitiam fortunam ac mundum totum. Veram autem pietatem, quae nihil aliud est quam ex amore timoreque Dei servata innocentia, sic deseruimus, ut communem justitiam, hoc est humanum, (here *justitia* is evidently used in a larger sense, as righteousness,) ne apud infideles quidem sic frigere videamus, ut apud Christianos.* Nothing could better describe that development of the carnal notion, rebuked by our Lord in the Jews, into an almost universal and pure

LUTHER.—“This is not done through the priest’s merits, but because of Christ’s ordinance. I will not, when Christ’s body is in question, hear speak of a particular place. I absolutely will not.”

ZWINGLI.—“Must every thing, then, exist precisely as you will it?”

The landgrave perceived that the discussion was growing hot; and as the repast was waiting, he broke off the contest.¹

The conference was continued on the next day Sunday, the 3d October, perhaps because of an epidemic (the Sweating Sickness) that had just broken out at Marburg, and which did not allow any great prolongation of the colloquy. Luther, returning to the discussion of the previous evening, said:

“Christ’s body is in the sacrament, but it is not there as in a place.”

ZWINGLI.—“Then it is not there at all.”

LUTHER.—“Sophists say, that a body may very well be in several places at once. The universe is a body, and yet we cannot assert that it is in a particular place.”

ZWINGLI.—“Ah! you speak of sophists, doctor; are you really after all obliged to return to the onions and fleshpots of Egypt?² As for what you say, that the universe is in no particular place, I beg all intelligent men to weigh this proof.” Then Zwingli, who, whatever Luther may have said, had more than one arrow in his quiver, after establishing his proposition by exegesis and philosophy, resolved on confirming it by the testimony of the Fathers of the Church.

“Listen,” said he, “to what Fulgentius, bishop of Ruspa in Numidia, said, in the fifth century, to Trasamond, king of the Vandals: “The Son of God took the attributes of true

paganism, which the author of “An Essay on the Development of Christian Doctrine,” would have us believe to be the development of pure Christianity! To the development, at once objective and subjective, of the carnal or pagan idea, Zwingli adds the subjective contraction, not development, of the Christian idea. Here we have almost everything made holy but ourselves—there we have the root of true holiness blighted and withered, so that “true piety, which is nothing but innocence preserved from love and fear to God, is so abandoned, that we see true righteousness not in so low and lukewarm a state even among the infidels as among Christians.”—D. D. S.

¹ *Cœna instabat et diremit certamen.* (Zw. Opp. iv. 179.)

² *Ad cæpas et ollas Ægyptiacas.* (Ibid. ii. part 3, 57.)

humanity, and did not lose those of true divinity. Born in time, according to his mother, he lives in eternity according to the divinity that he holds from the Father: coming from man, he is man, and consequently in a place; proceeding from the Father, he is God, and consequently present in every place. According to his human nature, he was absent from heaven while he was upon earth, and quitted the earth when he ascended into heaven; but, according to his divine nature, he remained in heaven, when he came down thence, and did not abandon the earth when he returned thither."¹

But Luther still replied: "It is written, *This is my body.*" Zwingli, becoming impatient, said, "All that is idle wrangling. An obstinate disputant might also maintain this expression of our Saviour to his mother, *Behold thy son*, pointing to St. John. Vain would be every explanation, he would continue crying No, no! He said, *Ecce filius tuus*, Behold thy son, behold thy son! Listen to a new testimony; it is from the great Augustine: 'Let us not think,' says he, 'that Christ, according to his human form, is present in every place; let us beware, in our endeavour to establish his divinity, of taking away his truth from his body. Christ is now everywhere present, like God; and yet, in consequence of his real body, he is in a definite part of heaven.'"^{2 3}

¹ Secundum humanam substantiam, absens cœlo, cum esset in terra, et derelinquens terram cum ascendisset in cœlum. (Fulgentius to king Trasamond, lib. ii.)

² In loco aliquo cœli propter veri corporis modum. (Aug. Ep. p. 57.)

³ It must not be supposed that Zwingli on this occasion, at least in so far as our author reports the conference, exhausted all he had to say on the subject. In the long and elaborate treatises called forth by his anxiety to defend himself and those who thought with him, and to convince his opponents of their errors, he urges many considerations omitted here. Among these we find the very important one, that if Luther's view were correct, then it seemed necessarily to follow that the sacramental elements might be worshipped—a consequence deducible by fair inference from Luther's doctrine which Luther himself repudiated, and which if once admitted manifestly opens the way for the grossest idolatry. This has been and continues to be powerfully worked by Romanists, open and disguised, in seducing Protestants to return to Rome. Thus in the *Mémoire contenant les différentes Methodes dont on peut se servir très-utilement pour la conversion de ceux, qui font profession de la Religion prétendue Réformée*, [Memoir containing the different methods which may be employed most usefully for the conversion of those who profess the pretended Reformed Religion,] the very first of such methods, one ascribed to Cardinal Richelieu, is to catch them by their decree of the Synod of Charenton of 1631, by which they admitted to communion those who held the doctrine of the Confession of Augsburg on the real presence of the body of Jesus Christ in the Eucharist, and then insisting that as adoration here necessarily ought to follow belief, and to argue that no other difference with the church of

"St. Augustine," replied Luther, "is not here speaking of the Eucharist. Christ's body is not in the Eucharist, as in a place."¹

Œcolampadius saw that he might take advantage of this assertion of Luther's. "The body of Christ," said he, "is not locally in the Eucharist, therefore no real body is there; for every one knows that the essence of a body is its existence in a place."

Rome, can be thought insurmountable. In short, this very doctrine of consubstantiation, as it has been called, is proved to be tantamount to transubstantiation, and transubstantiation is made to sanction adoration, after which, as the bishop of Durham said in 1809, "all the faculties of the mind become vitiated, it loses the power of distinguishing truth from falsehood, and is prepared for the reception of every absurdity." So inveterate had the belief in transubstantiation become, so deeply rooted in human nature is the determination to have some visible and tangible deity to worship, that notwithstanding all that the reformers, by recalling men's minds to Scripture, had been teaching of the spirituality of Christ, and our Lord's rebukes to the Jews for the gross and carnal meaning they attached to his language in speaking of his body being meat indeed and his blood drink indeed, that even Zwingli seems to have dreaded above all things shocking men's minds by flatly announcing his views on that subject, and did so indirectly only until Carlstadt published his sentiments upon it. See the Friendly Exposition.—D. D. S.

¹ A confounding of the nature of mind and matter had passed from the schools of heathen antiquity into the philosophy of the middle ages, whence Luther had evidently acquired some transcendental notions on the subject to which in part we must ascribe his doctrine of consubstantiation. Yet it is remarkable that to the implicit submission to Scripture which the Reformation inculcated, we owe that clear distinction betwixt mind and matter which may be said to lie at the foundation of all the splendid discoveries of modern science, though Luther had omitted to deduce this from the proper texts. Not so lord Bacon. He pronounces mind and matter to be *essentially* different, and thus his philosophy has put an end to that absurd ascription of the qualities of mind to matter, and of matter to mind, which marks all the ancient systems of philosophy, and to which, too, we may safely trace the acquiescence of so many, even at the present day, in the doctrines of transubstantiation and of consubstantiation. Bacon's deductions from Scriptural statements are simple, yet profound and beautiful. "For as all works do show forth the power and skill of the workman, and not his image; so it is of the works of God, which do show the omnipotency and wisdom of the Maker, but not his image: and therefore therein the heathen opinion differeth from the sacred truth; for they supposed the world to be an image of God, and man to be an extract or compendious image of the world; but the Scriptures never vouchsafe to attribute to the world that honour, as to be the image of God, [nor, of course, to any part of it, not even to the consecrated elements,] but only the work of his hands: [and so in worshipping those elements, papists worship, not God, but the work of his hands:] neither do they speak of any other image of God but man." And again: "as the substance of the soul in the creation was not extracted out of the mass of heaven and earth by the benediction of a *procreat*, but was immediately inspired by God; so it is not possible that it should be otherwise than by accident, subject to the laws of heaven [that is, the material heaven] and earth, which are the subject of philosophy."—(See Bacon's Advancement of Learning.) Our Lord's body accordingly was subject to those laws, which, however, altogether forbid the idea of its being materially present in bread and wine. "My words," said he, "they are spirit and they are life," in alluding to the carnal interpretation of them by the Jews.—D. D. S.

Here finished the morning's discussion.

Œcolampadius, upon reflection, felt convinced that Luther's assertion might be looked upon as an approximation. "I remember," said he after dinner, "that the doctor conceded this morning that Christ's body was not in the sacrament as in a place. Let us therefore inquire amicably what is the nature of Christ's bodily presence."

"You will not make me take a step further," exclaimed Luther, who saw where they wished to drag him; "you have Fulgentius and Augustine on your side, but all the other Fathers are on ours."

Œcolampadius, who seemed to the Wittenbergers to be vexatiously precise,¹ then said, "Name these doctors. We will take upon ourselves to prove that they are of our opinion."

"We will not name them to you,"² said Luther. "It was in his youth," added he, "that Augustine wrote what you have quoted; and, besides, he is an obscure author." Then, retreating to the ground which he had resolved never to quit, he was no longer content to point his finger at the inscription, *Hoc est corpus meum*, but seized the velvet cover on which the words were written, tore it off the table, held it up in front of Zwingli and Œcolampadius, and placing it before their eyes,³ "See!" said he, "see! This is our text: you have not yet driven us from it, as you had boasted, and we care for no other proofs."⁴

"If this be the case," said Œcolampadius, "we had better

¹ Quem omnes sperassemus mitiorem, interdum videbatur paulo morosior, sed citra contumeliam. (Zw. Opp. iv. 201.)

² Non nominabimus illos. (Sculter. p. 228.)

³ Da hub Luther die Sammatendeck auf, und Zeigt ihm den Spruch, den er mit kreyden hett für sich geschriben. (Oslander; Niederer's Nachrichten, ii. 114.)

⁴ Here I may introduce the words of the Rev. G. S. Faber, in stating the argument against transubstantiation, when supported, as Luther supports his view, on an appeal to the words of Scripture: "With respect to the several texts which narrate the institution of the holy Eucharist, the grave adduction of them, by the Latin divines, for the avowed purpose of *scripturally* establishing the doctrine of transubstantiation, is such a palpable begging of the question, that one cannot but marvel how the glaring paralogism should have escaped even their own attention."

"The matter in debate is not, what our Lord *said*, but what our Lord *meant*. We all know him to have used the words, *this is my body*, and *this is my blood*. On that point there is no dispute. The dispute respects, not the *employment*, but the *import* of the words. Hence, plainly, the mere adduction of words, the very *import* of which is the matter in litigation, can never establish a doctrine which rests entirely on a gratuitous and disputed *interpretation* of the words themselves." See "The difficulties of Romanism in respect to evidence," &c. London, 1830. —D. D. S.

leave off the discussion. But I will first declare, that, if we quote the Fathers, it is only to free our doctrine from the reproach of novelty, and not to support our cause by their authority." No better definition can be given of the legitimate use of the doctors of the Church.

There was no reason, in fact, for prolonging the conference. "As Luther was of an intractable and imperious disposition," says even his great apologist Seckendorf, "he did not cease from calling upon the Swiss to submit simply to his opinion."¹

The chancellor, alarmed at such a termination of the colloquy, exhorted the theologians to come to some understanding. "I know but one means for that," said Luther; "and this it is: Let our adversaries believe as we do." "We cannot," answered the Swiss. "Well then," rejoined Luther, "I abandon you to God's judgment, and pray that he will enlighten you." "We will do the same," added Œcolampadius.

While these words were passing, Zwingli sat silent, motionless, and deeply moved; and the liveliness of his affections, of which he had given more than one proof during the conference, was then manifested in a very different manner. He burst into tears in the presence of all.

The conference was ended. It had been in reality more tranquil than the documents seem to show, or perhaps the chroniclers appreciated such matters differently from ourselves. "With the exception of a few sallies, all had passed off quietly, in a courteous manner, and with very great gentleness," says an eye-witness.² "During the colloquy no other words than these were heard: 'Sir, and very dear friend, your charity,' or other similar expressions. Not a word of schism or of heresy. It might have been said that Luther and Zwingli were brothers, and not adversaries."³ This is the testimony of Brentz. But these flowers concealed an abyss, and Jonas, also an eye-witness, styles the conference "a very sharp contest."⁴

¹ *Lutherus vero ut erat fero et imperioso ingenio.* (Seck. p. 136.)

² *Omnia humanissime et summa cum mansuetudine transigebantur.* (Zw. Opp. iv. 201.)

³ *Amicissime Domine, Vestra charitas, et id genus.....Dixisses Lutherum et Zwinglium non adversarios.* (Ibid.)

⁴ *Acerrimo certamine.* (Corp. Ref. i. 1096.)

The contagion that had suddenly broken out in Marburg was creating frightful ravages, and filled everybody with alarm.¹ All were anxious to leave the city. "Sirs," remarked the landgrave, "you cannot separate thus." And desirous of giving the doctors an opportunity of meeting one another with minds unoccupied by theological debates, he invited them to his table. This was Sunday night.

Philip of Hesse had all along shown the most constant attention, and each one imagined him to be on his side. "I would rather place my trust in the simple words of Christ, than in the subtle thoughts of man," was a remark he made, according to Jonas;² but Zwingli affirmed that this prince entertained the same opinions as himself, although with regard to certain persons he dissembled the change. Luther, sensible of the weakness of his defence as to the declarations of the Fathers, transmitted a note to Philip, in which several passages were pointed out from Hilary, Chrysostom, Cyprian, Irenæus, and Ambrose, which he thought were in his favour.

The time of departure drew near, and nothing had been done. The landgrave toiled earnestly at the union, as Luther wrote to his wife.³ He invited the theologians one after another into his closet;⁴ he pressed, entreated, warned, exhorted, and conjured them. "Think," said he, "of the salvation of the Christian republic, and remove all discord from its bosom."⁵ Never had general at the head of an army taken such pains to win a battle.

A final meeting took place, and undoubtedly the Church has seldom witnessed one of greater solemnity. Luther and Zwingli, Saxony and Switzerland, met for the last time. The sweating sickness was carrying off men around them by thousands;⁶ Charles V. and the pope were uniting in Italy; Ferdinand and the Roman catholic princes were preparing to tear

¹ *Nisi Sudor Anglicus subito Marburgum invasisset et terrore omnium animos percutisset.* (Hospin. p. 131.)

² *Dicitur palam proclamasse.* (Corp. Ref. p. 1007.)

³ *Da arbeit der Landgraf heftig.* (L. Epp. iii. 512.)

⁴ *Unumquemque nostrum seorsim absque arbitris.* (Zw. Opp. iv. 203.)

⁵ *Compellans, rogans, monens, exhortans, postulans ut Reipublice Christiane rationem haberemus, et discordiam e medio tolleremus.* (Ibid.)

⁶ *Multa perierunt millia.* (Hospin. p. 131.)

in pieces the protest of Spires; the thunder-cloud became more threatening every day; union alone seemed capable of saving the Protestants, and the hour of departure was about to strike—an hour that would separate them perhaps for ever.

“Let us confess our union in all things in which we agree,” said Zwingli; “and as for the rest, let us remember that we are brothers. There will never be peace between the churches if, while we maintain the grand doctrine of salvation by faith, we cannot differ on secondary points.”¹ Such is, in fact, the true principle of Christian union. The sixteenth century was still too deeply sunk in scholasticism to understand this: let us hope that the nineteenth century will comprehend it better.

“Yes, yes!” exclaimed the landgrave: “you agree! Give then a testimony of your unity, and recognise one another as brothers.”—“There is no one upon earth with whom I more desire to be united, than with you,” said Zwingli, approaching the Wittenberg doctors.² Œcolampadius, Bucer, and Hedio said the same.

“Acknowledge them! acknowledge them as brothers!” continued the landgrave.³ Their hearts were moved; they were on the eve of unity: Zwingli, bursting into tears, in the presence of the prince, the courtiers, and divines (it is Luther himself who records this),⁴ approached Luther, and held out his hand. The two families of the Reformation were about to be united: long quarrels were about to be stifled in their cradle; but Luther rejected the hand that was offered him: “You have a different spirit from ours,” said he. These words communicated to the Swiss, as it were, an electric shock. Their hearts sunk each time Luther repeated them, and he did so frequently. He himself is our informant.

A brief consultation took place among the Wittenberg doctors. Luther, Melancthon, Agricola, Brentz, Jonas, and Osiander, conferred together. Convinced that their peculiar doctrine on the eucharist, was essential to salvation, they con-

¹ Quod nulla unquam Ecclesiarum pax constituta sit, si non in multis aliis dissentiendi a se facultatem faciant. (Scultet. p. 207.)

² Es werendt keine luth uff Erden. (Bull. ii. 225.)

³ Idque Princeps valde urgebat. (L. Epp. iii. 513.)

⁴ Zwinglius palam lacrymans coram Langravio et omnibus. (Hospin. p. 136.)

sidered all those who rejected it as without the pale of the faith. "What folly!"¹ said Melancthon, who afterwards nearly coincided with Zwingli's sentiments: "they condemn us, and yet they desire we should consider them as our brothers!" "What versatility!" added Brentz: "they accused us but lately of worshipping a bread-god, and they now ask for communion with us!"² Then, turning towards Zwingli and his friends, the Wittenbergers said: "You do not belong to the communion of the Christian Church; we cannot acknowledge you as brethren!"³

The Swiss were far from partaking of this sectarian spirit. "We think," said Bucer, "that your doctrine strikes at the glory of Jesus Christ, who now reigns at the right hand of the Father. But seeing that in all things you acknowledge your dependence on the Lord, we look at your conscience, which compels you to receive the doctrine you profess, and we do not doubt that you belong to Christ."

"And we," said Luther—"we declare to you once more that our conscience opposes our receiving you as brethren."—"If such is the case," replied Bucer, "it would be folly to ask it."

"I am exceedingly astonished that you wish to consider me as your brother," pursued Luther. "It shows clearly that you do not attach much importance to your own doctrine."

"Take your choice," said Bucer, proposing a dilemma to the Reformer: "either you should not acknowledge as brethren those who differ from you in any point—and if so, you will not find a single brother in your own ranks⁴—or else you will receive some of those who differ from you, and then you ought to receive us."

The Swiss had exhausted their solicitations. "We are conscious," said they, "of having acted as if in the presence of God. Posterity will be our witness."⁵ They were on the point of retiring: Luther remained like a rock, to the land-

¹ Vide eorum stultitiam! (Corp. Ref. i. 1108.)

² Nos tanquam adoratores panifici Dei traduxerant. (Zw. Opp. iv. 203.)

³ Eos a communione Ecclesie Christiane alienos esse. (Ibid.)

⁴ Nemo alteri vel inter ipsos frater erit. (Zw. Opp. iv. 104.)

⁵ Id testabitur posteritas. (Ibid.)

grave's great indignation.¹ The Hessian divines, Kraft, Lambert, Snepf, Lonicer, and Melander, united their exertions to those of the prince.

Luther was staggered, and conferred anew with his colleagues. "Let us beware," said he to his friends, "of wiping our noses too roughly, lest blood should come."²

Then turning to Zwingli and Œcolampadius, they said: "We acknowledge you as friends; we do not consider you as brothers and members of Christ's Church.³ But we do not exclude you from that universal charity which we owe even to our enemies."⁴

The hearts of Zwingli, Œcolampadius, and Bucer, were ready to burst,⁵ for this concession was almost a new insult. "Let us carefully avoid all harsh and violent words and writings," said they; "and let each one defend himself without railing."⁶

Luther then advanced towards the Swiss, and said: "We consent, and I offer you the hand of peace and charity." The Swiss rushed in great emotion towards the Wittenbergers, and all shook hands.⁷ Luther himself was softened: Christian charity resumed her rights in his heart. "Assuredly," said he, "a great portion of the scandal is taken away by the suppression of our fierce debates; we could not have hoped for so much. May Christ's hand remove the last obstacle that separates us.⁸ There is now a friendly concord between us, and if we persevere in prayer, brotherhood will come."

It was desirable to confirm this important result by a report. "We must let the Christian world know," said the landgrave, "that, except the manner of the presence of the body and blood in the eucharist, you are agreed in all the articles of faith."⁹

¹ Principi illud durum videbatur. (Zw. Opp. iv. 203.)

² Ne nimis mungendo, sanguinem eliceremus. (L. Epp. in his letter written to Gerbellius on the same day—Monday.)

³ Agnoscere quidem velimus tanquam amicos, sed non tanquam fratres. (Zw. Opp. iv. 203.)

⁴ Charitate quæ etiam hosti debetur. (Ibid. 190.)

⁵ Indignissime affecti sunt. (Ibid.)

⁶ Quisque suam sententiam doceat absque invectivis. (L. Epp. iii. 514.)

⁷ Dedimus tamen manus pacis et caritatis. (L. Epp. iii. 513.)

⁸ Utinam et ille reliquus scrupulus per Christum tandem tollatur,—in his letter written to Gerbellius after leaving this meeting.

⁹ Ut orbi Christiano notum fieret eos in omnibus fidei capitibus consentire. (Hospin. p. 127.)

This was resolved on; but who should be charged with drawing up the paper? All eyes were turned upon Luther. The Swiss themselves appealed to his impartiality.

Luther retired to his closet, lost in thought, uneasy, and finding the task very difficult. "On the one hand," said he, "I should like to spare their weakness;¹ but, on the other, I would not in the least degree strike at the holy doctrine of Christ." He did not know how to set about it, and his anguish increased. He got free at last. "I will draw up the articles," said he, "in the most accurate manner. Do I not know that whatever I may write, they will never sign them?"² Erelong fifteen articles were committed to paper, and Luther, holding them in his hand, repaired to the theologians of the two parties.

These articles are of importance. The two doctrines that were evolved in Switzerland and in Saxony, independently of each other, were brought together and compared. If they were of man, there would be found in them a servile uniformity, or a remarkable opposition. This was not the case. A great unity was found between the German and the Swiss Reformations, for they both proceeded from the same Divine teaching; and a diversity on secondary points, for it was by man's instrumentality that God had effected them.

Luther took his paper, and reading the first article, said:

"First, we believe that there is one sole, true, and natural God, creator of heaven and earth and of all creatures; and that this same God, one in essence and in nature, is threefold in person, that is to say, Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, as was declared in the Nicene Council, and as all the Christian Church professes."

To this the Swiss gave their assent.

They were agreed also on the divinity and humanity of Jesus Christ; on his death and resurrection, on original sin, justification by faith, the operation of the Holy Ghost and of the Word of God, baptism, good works, confession, civil order, and tradition.

¹ Hiet gern ihrer Schwachheit verschont. (Niederer Nachr. ii. 120.)

² Doch zuletzt sprach er Ich will die Artikel auf aller pesste stellen, sy werdens doch nicht annemen. (Ibid.)

Thus far all were united. The Wittenbergers could not recover from their astonishment.¹ The two parties had rejected, on the one hand, the errors of the Papists, who make religion little more than an outward form; and, on the other, those of the Enthusiasts, who speak exclusively of internal feelings; and they were found drawn up under the same banners between these two camps. But the moment was come that would separate them. Luther had kept till the last the article on the eucharist.

The reformer resumed:

"We all believe with regard to the Lord's Supper, that it ought to be celebrated in both kinds, according to the primitive institution; that the mass is not a work by which a Christian obtains pardon for another man, whether dead or alive; that the sacrament of the altar is the sacrament of the very body and very blood of Jesus Christ; and that the spiritual manducation of this body and blood is specially necessary to every true Christian."²

It was now the turn of the Swiss to be astonished. Luther continued:

"In like manner, as to the use of the sacrament, we are agreed that, like the Word, it was ordained of Almighty God, in order that weak consciences might be excited by the Holy Ghost to faith and charity."

The joy of the Swiss was redoubled. Luther continued:

"And although at present we are not agreed on the question whether the real body and blood of Christ are corporeally present in the bread and wine, yet both the interested parties shall cherish more and more a truly Christian charity for one another, so far as conscience permits; and we will all earnestly implore the Lord to condescend by his Spirit to confirm us in the sound doctrine."³

The Swiss obtained what they had asked: unity in diversity.

¹ Quod mirari non satis potuimus. (Brentius, Zw. Opp. iv. 203.)

² Quod spiritualis manducatio hujus corporis et sanguinis unicuique Christiano precipue necessaria sit. (Scultet. p. 232.)

³ Osiander (a Lutheran) employs the accusative, "in *den* rechten Verstand," which would indicate a movement towards an object that we do not possess; Bullinger and Scultet (both Reformed divines) have the dative.

It was immediately resolved to hold a solemn meeting for the signature of the articles.

They were read over again. Œcolampadius, Zwingli, Bucer, and Hedio, signed them first on one copy; while Luther, Melanchthon, Jonas, Osiander, Brentz, and Agricola, wrote their names on the other; both parties then subscribed the copy of their adversaries, and this important document was sent to the press.¹

Thus the Reformation had made a sensible step at Marburg. The opinion of Zwingli on the spiritual presence, and of Luther on the bodily presence, are both found in Christian antiquity; but both the extreme doctrines have been always rejected: that of the Rationalists, on the one hand, who behold in the eucharist nothing but a simple commemoration; and of the Papists, on the other, who adore in it a transubstantiation. These are both errors; while the doctrines of Luther and Zwingli, and the medium taken by Calvin, already maintained by some of the Fathers, were considered in ancient times as different views of the same truth. If Luther had yielded, it might have been feared that the Church would fall into the extreme of rationalism; if Zwingli, that it would rush into the extreme of popery. It is a salutary thing for the Church that these different views should be entertained; but it is a pernicious thing for individuals to attach themselves to one of them in such a manner as to anathematize the other. "There is only this little stumbling-block," wrote Melanchthon, "that embarrasses the Church of our Lord."²

All,—Romanists and Evangelicals, Saxons and Swiss,—admitted the presence, and even the real presence of Christ; but here was the essential point of separation: Is this presence effected by the faith of the communicant, or by the *opus operatum* of the priest? The germs of Popery, Sacerdotalism, Puseyism, are inevitably contained in this latter thesis. If it is maintained that a wicked priest (as has been said) operates this real presence of Christ by three words, we enter the church of

¹ Bullinger and others indicate the 3d October as the day on which the articles were signed; Osiander, an eye-witness, and whose narrative is very exact, says it was the 4th, which agrees with all the other data.

² *Hic unus in Ecclesia hæret scrupulus.* (Corp. Ref. i. 1106.)

the pope. Luther appeared sometimes to admit this doctrine, but he has often spoken in a more spiritual manner; and taking this great man in his best moments, we behold merely an essential unity and a secondary diversity in the two parties of the Reformation. Undoubtedly the Lord has left his Church outward seals of his grace; but he has not attached salvation to these signs. The essential point is the connection of the faithful with the Word, with the Holy Ghost, with the Head of the Church. This is the great truth which the Swiss Reformation proclaims, and which Lutheranism itself recognises. After the Marburg conference, the controversy became more moderate.

There was another advantage. The evangelical divines at Marburg marked with one accord their separation from the papacy. Zwingli was not without fear (unfounded, no doubt) with regard to Luther: these fears were dispersed. "Now that we are agreed," said he, "the Papists will no longer hope that Luther will ever be one of them."¹ The Marburg articles were the first bulwark erected in common by the reformers against Rome.

It was not, then, in vain that, after the Protest of Spires, Philip of Hesse endeavoured, at Marburg, to bring together the friends of the Gospel. But, if the religious object was partially attained, the political object almost entirely failed. They could not arrive at a confederation of Switzerland and Germany. Nevertheless, Philip of Hesse and Zwingli, with a view to this, had numerous secret conversations, which made the Saxons uneasy, as they were not less opposed to Zwingli's politics than to his theology. "When you have reformed the peasant's cap," said Jonas to him, "you will also claim to reform the sable hat of princes."

The landgrave having collected all the doctors at his table on the last day, they shook hands in a friendly manner,² and each one thought of leaving the town.

On Tuesday the 5th October, Philip of Hesse quitted Marburg early, and in the afternoon of the same day Luther departed, accompanied by his colleagues; but he did not go forth

¹ Pontificii non ultra possunt sperare Lutherum suum fore. (Zw. Opp. ii. 370.)

² Die Händ einander fründlich gebotten. (Bul. ii. 236.)

as a conqueror. A spirit of dejection and alarm had taken possession of his mind.¹ He writhed in the dust, like a worm, according to his own expression. He fancied he should never see his wife and children again, and cried out that he, "the consoler of so many tortured souls, was now without any consolation!"²

This state might partly arise from Luther's want of brotherly feeling; but it had other causes also. Soliman had come to fulfil a promise made to king Ferdinand. The latter having demanded, in 1528, the surrender of Belgrade, the sultan had haughtily replied, that he would bring the keys himself to Vienna. In fact, the Grand Turk, crossing the frontiers of Germany, had invaded countries "on which the hoofs of the Mussulman war-horses had never trod," and eight days before the conference at Marburg, he had covered with his innumerable tents the plain and the fertile hills in the midst of which rise the walls of Vienna. The struggle had begun under ground, the two parties having dug deep galleries beneath the ramparts. Three different times the Turkish mines were exploded; the walls were thrown down;³ "the balls flew through the air like a flight of small birds," says a Turkish historian; "and there was a horrible banquet, at which the genii of death joyously drained their glasses."⁴

Luther did not keep in the background. He had already written against the Turks, and now he published a *Battle-Sermon*. "Mahomet," said he, "exalts Christ as being without sin; but he denies that he was the true God; he is therefore His enemy. Alas! to this hour the world is such that it seems everywhere to rain disciples of Mahomet. Two men ought to oppose the Turks: the first is Christian, that is to say, Prayer; the second is Charles, that is to say, The sword." And in another place, "I know my dear Germans well, fat and well-fed swine as they are; no sooner is the danger removed,

¹ Ego vix et agere domum reversus sum. (L. Epp. iii. 520.)

² Sic me vexante Angelo Satana, ut desperarim me vivum et saluum visurum meos. (Ibid.)

³ Ipsam urbem in tribus locis, suffosso solo et pulvere supposito, disjecit et patefecit. (L. Epp. iii. 518.)

⁴ Dschelalsade, quoted by Ranke.

than they think only of eating and sleeping. Wretched man! if thou dost not take up arms, the Turk will come; he will carry thee away into his Turkey; he will there sell thee like a dog; and thou shalt serve him night and day, under the rod and the cudgel, for a glass of water and a morsel of bread. Think on this; be converted, and implore the Lord not to give thee the Turk for thy schoolmaster."¹

The two arms pointed out by Luther were, in reality, vigorously employed; and Soliman, perceiving at last that he was not the "soul of the universe," as his poets had styled him, but that there was a strength in the world superior to his own, raised the siege of Vienna on the 16th October; and "the shadow of God over the two worlds," as he called himself, "disappeared and vanished in the Bosphorus."

But Luther imagined that, when retiring from before the walls of Vienna, "the Turk, or at least his god, who is the devil," had rushed upon him; and that it was this enemy of Christ and of Christ's servants that he was destined to combat and vanquish in his frightful agony.² There is an immediate reaction of the violated law upon him who violates it. Now Luther had transgressed the royal law, which is charity, and he suffered the penalty. At last he re-entered Wittenberg, and flung himself into the arms of his friends, "tormented by the angel of death."³

Let us not, however, overlook the essential qualities of a reformer that Luther manifested at Marburg. There are in God's work, as in a drama, different parts. What various characters we see among the apostles and among the reformers! It has been said that the same characters and the same parts were assigned to St. Peter and to Luther, at the time of the Formation and of the Reformation of the Church.⁴ They were both in fact men of the initiative, who start forward quite alone, but around whom an army soon collects at the sight of the standard which they wave. But there was perhaps in the re-

¹ Heer predigt wider die Türken. (L. Opp. (W.) xx. 2691.)

² Forte ipsum Turcam partim in isto agone cogor ferre et vincere, saltem ejus Deum, diabolum. (L. Epp. iii. 520.)

³ Angelus Satanæ, vel quisquis est diabolus mortis, ita me fatigat. (Ibid. 515.)

⁴ Dr. Vinet.

former a characteristic not existing to the same degree in the apostle: this was firmness.

As for Zwingli, he quitted Marburg in alarm at Luther's intolerance. "Lutheranism," wrote he to the landgrave, "will lie as heavy upon us as popery."¹ He reached Zurich on the 19th October. "The truth," said he to his friends, "has prevailed so manifestly, that if ever any one has been defeated before all the world, it is Luther, although he constantly exclaimed that he was invincible."² On his side, Luther spoke in a similar strain. "It is through fear of their fellow-citizens," added he, "that the Swiss, although vanquished, are unwilling to retract."³

If it should be asked on which side the victory really was, perhaps we ought to say that Luther assumed the air of a conqueror, but Zwingli was so in reality. The conference propagated through all Germany the doctrine of the Swiss, which had been little known there until then, and it was adopted by an immense number of persons. Among these were Laffards, first rector of St. Martin's school at Brunswick, Dionysius Melander, Justus Lening, Hartmann, Ibach, and many others. The landgrave himself, a short time before his death, declared that this conference had induced him to renounce the oral manducation of Christ.⁴

Still the dominant principle at this celebrated epoch was unity. The adversaries are the best judges. The Roman Catholics were exasperated that the Lutherans and Zwinglians had agreed on all the essential points of faith. "They have a fellow-feeling against the Catholic Church," said they, "as Herod and Pilate against Jesus Christ." The enthusiastic sects said the same,⁵ and the extreme hierarchical as well as the extreme radical party deprecated alike the unity of Marburg.

Erelong a greater agitation eclipsed all these rumours, and events which threatened the whole evangelical body, proclaimed its great and intimate union with new force. The emperor, it was everywhere said, exasperated by the Protest of Spires, had

¹ Das Lutherthum werde so schwer, als das Papsthum. (Zw. Epp. p. 374.)

² Lutherus impudens et contumax aperte est victus. (Ibid. p. 370.)

³ Metuebant plebem suam ad quam non lieuisset reverti. (Zw. Opp. ii. 10.)

⁴ Rommels Anmerkungen. p. 227-229.

⁵ Pontificiis et catalaptis multum displicuit consensus Marpurgi. (Scult. p. 208.)

landed at Genoa with the pomp of a conqueror. After having sworn at Barcelona to reduce the heretics under the power of the pope, he was going to visit this pontiff, humbly to bend the knee before him; and he would rise only to cross the Alps and accomplish his terrible designs. "The emperor Charles," said Luther, a few days after the landing of this prince, "has determined to show himself more cruel against us than the Turk himself, and he has already uttered the most horrible threats. Behold the hour of Christ's agony and weakness. Let us pray for all those who will soon have to endure captivity and death."¹

Such was the news that then agitated all Germany. The grand question was, whether the Protest of Spires could be maintained against the power of the emperor and of the pope. This was seen in the year 1530.

¹ Carolus Cæsar multo atrocius minatur et sævire statuit in nos, quam Turca. (L. Epp. iii. 324.)

In the preceding Book, embracing the period 1526–1529, little is said of Luther's personal history during those four years, when, notwithstanding, it was peculiarly instructive and interesting. The defect is admirably supplied by Milner, in the fifteenth chapter of the sixteenth century, in the History of the Church of Christ, and his narrative I shall endeavour to abridge for the sake of those who cannot command a reading of that valuable work.

Providence had designed trials for Luther more calculated to humble him than even martyrdom itself. Many things had tended to exalt him in his own eyes, especially when we consider the firmness and fearlessness of his temper. Yet he had never been without a thorn in the flesh, which prevented him from being "exalted above measure;" and although it may not be easy to form even a probable conjecture as to the nature of that thorn which disturbed the tranquillity of St. Paul, Luther's case may be understood without much difficulty by those who know his writings, and have themselves in some degree tasted of the grace of God. It was a PECULIAR species of spiritual pride and self-righteousness—not that which boasts of its attainments and leads to antinomian security, but that which leads men to think that they are too wicked to be saved just as they are, and that they must make themselves at least something better before they are entitled to mercy. Thus the mercy of God is veiled to them, they are deprived of evangelical comfort, their humility and sense of the evil of sin are blended with a mixture of pride which is only to be subdued at the cross of Christ. Meanwhile it is Satan's policy to buffet, with all his might, the true Christian soldier, by false imaginations and plausible reasonings to hide the Divine promises, and to drive him to despair. Nothing of this sort appears in the active scenes of Luther's life, in his public controversies, or even in his pacific employments of preaching and writing comments on God's Word. It is in his closet, in conversations with intimate friends, when vexed and irritated by his fellow-labourers, or when his health and spirits are broken down by incessant toils, and cares, and watchings, that we see him suffering from weakness and confusion of mind, or even from fear, anxiety and tribulation. Generally speaking, however, his public deportment is the same—he thinks, reasons, writes and preaches as before, nay gives the best spiritual advice to others suffering under afflictions similar to his own. "People conclude," he said on one occasion, "from my ordinarily gay conversation, that I walk on beds of roses, and on nothing else; but God knows what I daily feel."

Early in 1527, the man who had calmly faced the rage of popes and princes,

lay prostrate under the pressure of internal temptation. The plague had driven others from Wittenberg to Jena, but Luther would not desert his flock. At the same time he severely rebuked several who, after neglecting the sacrament in health, now pressed for it at the peril of the minister's life. It does not appear that he himself was attacked with the disorder, which visited his family, however, towards the close of the year, but even previous to that, many causes of anxiety, by harassing his mind, had affected his health, and then it was that his internal temptations seem to have become strongest. His distress may best be conceived from his own words: "My sins," he writes to Jonas, "have brought upon me the heavy wrath of God. It is not enough that the pope, the emperor, the princes and bishops, should aim at my life, but my religious brethren also must torment my spirit. My sins, and all the powers of death, Satan and all his angels, rage without ceasing. And what is my hope? I say, if Christ should forsake me, I am undone. But he never will forsake such a poor miserable sinner. Mine enemies are mighty, and add affliction to affliction, now that I am under Divine chastisement. But enough; let me not be querulous or impatient under the rod of Him who smites and heals—who kills and makes alive. Blessed be his holy will! When the world and the prince of the world hate me in this manner, it is surely some proof that I belong to Christ. My wife's critical situation increases my anxiety, and I am alarmed at what has just happened to another pregnant lady, one of our neighbours, whom you know. She has been carried off rapidly by the prevailing epidemic. My present trials are great; but the all-powerful one has done great things for me. May Christ, whose pure doctrine I have taught and openly professed, be my rock and my fortress! Amen."

Again, to Amsdorff: "There is nothing that my sins do not deserve; but nevertheless I have comfort in the thought that I have taught the Gospel of Christ in godly sincerity, to the salvation of many souls. This galls Satan, and he would destroy me together with the word itself. While others are called to the stake by the cruel tyrants, I suffer internally in spirit from the prince of this world. May the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ perfect in me his holy will! Oh! how precious and delightful is the secret contemplation of that will." To Stifel: "I am still under the malice of Satan, who continues to buffet me. Pray for me. I have now languished for three months, yet not so much in body as in mind, and am still far from well." To his friend Hausman: "So may Christ comfort you, as you comfort me. I thank my God that Satan with all his wonderful craft, and all his powerful exertions, has not yet been able to gain his will upon me. This is no ordinary temptation, and so skilful is that wicked one in perverting the Scriptures, that my own knowledge of the sacred writings fails me on this occasion; I need the help of my friends, and am thankful for their consolatory communications. I open my case to you thus that you may pray for me the more earnestly; and that you yourself also, should you ever be in like circumstances, may be aware of the depths of Satan." To Melancthon he thus writes: "Pray for me. I am a miserable abject worm of the earth, distracted with sorrow. But as this is the good-will of the Father of mercies, glory be to him whatever be my sufferings. In regard to myself there is but one thing on which I lay any stress; namely, that I have ever taught the Word of God in its purity, and on no occasion corrupted the truth, either through a love of glory or of gain."

On the 6th of July, 1527, he had an attack, described by Bugenhagen and by Jonas, which threatened his life. Bugenhagen was alarmed at being sent for in haste. He found him, however, conversing with his wife, and looking as usual. It seemed that that morning he had had a tremendous temptation, entirely spiritual, and had seriously apprehended death itself. Retiring with his friend, who was also his parish minister, he solemnly confessed his sins, and asked him to suggest consolation to him from Scripture. Afterwards he was so far well as to be able to go out to dinner and to enliven the company, as he always did, but in the evening he was suddenly seized with a fainting fit and cried out, "Oh! doctor Jonas, I am sick; bring me water or I am gone." Jonas threw some water over his friend, who was the picture of death, but reviving presently, he began to pray with great fervour. "If this be my last hour, thy will be done! Oh Lord, rebuke me not in thine anger; chasten me not in thy heavy displeasure. Have mercy upon me, O Lord." . . . It was now that he made the confession of his vio-

lent language, mentioned in a former note. He then inquired after his child, "Where is my dearest little John?" The boy was brought smiling to his father, who immediately commended "his good little boy," and his mother, "his dearest Kate," to a good and gracious God. "Ye have no worldly goods," said he, "but God, who is the father of the orphan, and who judges the cause of the widow, will defend and keep you. I give thanks to thee, O Lord God! that thy providence has made me indigent in this world. I have neither house nor possession to leave. Thou hast blessed me with a wife and children, and these I return back unto thee; O feed them, teach them, preserve them." To his wife he said: "My dearest Kate, if it is God's will, I beg of thee to submit to it: thou art my wedded wife; this thou wilt never forget; and let God's Word be thy constant guide." His wife, though almost heart-broken and much frightened, entreated her husband not to be uneasy on her account, and said she could cordially resign herself to the will of God, commending him to the Lord God, protected by whom he could not fail to be safe.

On the following day, Sunday, Luther declared to Jonas, that his bodily sufferings in the evening had not been half so distressing as the spiritual temptation he had had on the Saturday morning. He added: "Doctor, I must mark the day, *I was yesterday at school.*"

His domestic distress towards the close of that year must have been almost overwhelming. When the plague came to Wittenberg, his wife was with child; his son was ill, teething; his two women servants, Hannah and Margaret Mochinn, were attacked with the plague. He writes to Amsdorf, Nov. 1st, 1527: "My house has become an hospital." On the 4th he writes: "The wife of George, the chaplain, has died of a miscarriage and the plague. . . . Everybody was terror-struck. I have taken in the parish minister and his family." And on the 10th "Your little Johnny has no greeting to send you, for he is ill, but he begs your prayers. This is now the twelfth day that he has eaten nothing. It is wonderful to see how the child would fain be merry as usual, but excessive weakness prevents him. Margaret Mochinn's imposthume was opened yesterday; she is now getting better; I have put her into our winter apartment, and we occupy the large front parlour; Stanschen is in my room with the stove in it, and Augustine's wife in hers. We begin to hope that the plague is leaving us. Farewell, embrace thy daughter and her mother, and remember us in your prayers." In December he writes of the recovery of his son and the birth of a daughter, who died however in the following year, afflicting him by her death to a degree which excited his own surprise.

It was in such circumstances that Luther found himself impelled to read and answer those who, in opposition to him, maintained that our Lord's words in the sacrament of the supper were to be understood spiritually, and who were called *Sacramentarians*, a term, however, to which Zwingli objected, as less fitted for him and those who thought with him, than for those who thought with Luther, as the former regarded that sacrament as a means of grace only, whereas he insists that the latter made it a means of pardon and justification in the hands of the priest—thus leading back the reformed from grace to works, and re-establishing that dangerous superiority on the part of the clergy which had been one of the main causes of the Church's superstition and bondage. No wonder that the Saxon reformer brought no very docile or accommodating temper to the controversy. With his strong but mistaken views, he must have regarded it as an uncalled for and inopportune annoyance. Still, when we read with what respect and even affection he is treated by Zwingli in his various tracts on the subject, notwithstanding the almost irresistible irony into which the Swiss reformer occasionally runs, we must deplore that Luther allowed himself to be so harsh, imperious, and intractable.

The narrative of Luther's personal and domestic afflictions during the period embraced in the preceding Book, whether as related and judiciously commented upon by Milner, or minutely detailed without almost any comment by Michelet, must be regarded as a most important part of the history of a reformation whose grand aim and issue was the conversion to God of individual souls. And at the present day it acquires a fresh interest, as affording by far the most effective refutation of that flood of slander with which the adherents of Rome have sought to overwhelm Luther, and, through him, the Reformation.—D. D. S.

BOOK FOURTEENTH.—1530.

THE AUGSBURG CONFESSION.

CHAPTER I.

Two striking Lessons—Charles V. in Italy—The German Envoys—Their Boldness—The Landgrave's Present—The Envoys under Arrest—Their Release and Departure—Meeting of Charles and Clement—Gattinara's Proposition—Clement's Arms—War imminent—Luther's Objections—The Saviour is coming—Charles's conciliatory Language—The Emperor's Motives.

THE Reformation was accomplished in the name of a spiritual principle. It had proclaimed for its teacher the Word of God; for salvation, Faith; for king, Jesus Christ; for arms, the Holy Ghost; and had by these very means rejected all worldly elements. Rome had been established by *the law of a carnal commandment*; the Reformation, by *the power of an endless life*.¹

If there is any doctrine that distinguishes Christianity from every other religion, it is its spirituality. A heavenly life brought down to man—such is its work; thus the opposition of the spirit of the Gospel to the spirit of the world, was the great fact which signalized the entrance of Christianity among the nations. But what its Founder had separated, had soon come together again; the Church had fallen into the arms of the world; and by this criminal union it had been reduced to the deplorable condition in which we find it at the era of the Reformation.

Thus one of the greatest tasks of the sixteenth century was to restore the spiritual element to its rights. The Gospel of the reformers had nothing to do with the world and with

¹ Hebrews vii. 16.

politics.¹ While the Roman hierarchy had become a matter of diplomacy and a court intrigue, the Reformation was destined to exercise no other influence over princes and people than that which proceeds from the Gospel of peace.

If the Reformation, having attained a certain point, became untrue to its nature, began to parley and temporize with the world, and ceased thus to follow up the spiritual principle that it had so loudly proclaimed, it was faithless to God and to itself.

Henceforward its decline was at hand.

It is impossible for a society to prosper if it be unfaithful to the principles it lays down. Having abandoned what constituted its life, it can find naught but death.

It was God's will that this great truth should be inscribed on the very threshold of the temple He was then raising in the world; and a striking contrast was to make this truth stand gloriously prominent.

One portion of the reform was to seek the alliance of the world, and in this alliance find a destruction full of desolation.

Another portion, looking up to God, was haughtily to reject the arm of the flesh, and by this very act of faith secure a noble victory.

If three centuries have gone astray, it is because they were unable to comprehend so holy and so solemn a lesson.²

It was in the beginning of September, 1529, that Charles V.,

¹ That is, in the sense of diplomacy and intrigue. But in the decision of many political questions in which moral interests are at stake, every man may assuredly make his appeal in behalf of what is right, and against what is wrong, to the revealed will of that God by whom kings reign and princes decree justice, inasmuch as every appeal that could formerly be made to the doubtful dicta of natural morality, derives a fresh sanction from that purer and clearer revelation of the divine will. If Christianity be true, whatever in politics is unchristian must also be wrong—else two opposite things might at once be right and wrong, which is impossible—and the proof of its being unchristian, thus becomes a legitimate proof of its impolicy. Well for the world would it be, if, in the determination of peace and war, of questions bearing on slavery, religious freedom, Sabbath legislation, and many others, *the Gospel of the Reformers had to do with politics.*—D. D. S.

² There is much truth in the above remarks, but much also that may mislead the reader into false impressions. The "parleying and temporizing with the world," which the author rebukes, is an evil which not only cannot be got rid of by acting on the maxim that the Gospel has nothing to do with the world and with politics, but in the case of Christians being in the world, and called to the exercise of political duties, actually becomes the necessary result of the adoption of that maxim. In fact the principles expressed by the author in the preceding paragraph must effectually exclude all Gospel Christians from engaging in political

the victor by battles or by treaties over the pope and the king of France, landed at Genoa. The shouts of the Spaniards had saluted him as he quitted the Iberian peninsula; but the dejected eyes, the bended heads, the silent lips of the Italians given over to his hands, alone welcomed him to the foot of the Apennines. Everything led to the belief that Charles would indemnify himself on them for the apparent generosity with which he had treated the pope.

They were deceived. Instead of those barbarous chiefs of the Goths and Huns,—instead of those proud and fierce emperors, who more than once had crossed the Alps and rushed upon Italy, sword in hand and with cries of vengeance, the Italians saw among them a young and graceful prince, with pale features, a delicate frame, and weak voice, of winning manners, having more the air of a courtier than of a warrior, scrupulously performing all the duties of the Romish religion, and leading in his train no terrible cohorts of German barbarians, but a brilliant retinue of Spanish grandes, who condescendingly paraded the pride of their race and the splendour of their nation. This prince, the victor of Europe, spoke only of peace and amnesty; and even the duke of Ferrara, who of all the Italian princes had most cause of fear, having at Modena placed the keys of the city in his hands, heard from his friendly lips the most unexpected encouragements.

Whence did this strange conduct proceed? Charles had shown plainly enough, at the time of the captivity of Francis I., that generosity towards his enemies was not his dominant virtue. It was not long before this mystery was explained.

Almost at the same time with Charles there arrived in Italy, by way of Lyons and Genoa, three German burgesses, whose whole equipage consisted of six horses.¹ These were John

duties. If they do engage in these, then the Gospel must have to do with politics, for this plain and conclusive reason, that a Christian's Christianity must accompany him into every scene of life and into every duty, both to guide his judgment and to regulate his conduct. If on the pretence that the Gospel has nothing to do with politics, he dismisses it as a standard of duty and acts according to the suggestions of mere expediency, often as these directly conflict with the principles of the Gospel, what is this but "to parley and temporize with the world?"—*v.d.s.*

¹ *Legatis attribuerunt equos sex.* (Sæckend. ii. 134.)

Ehinger, burgomaster of Memmingen, who carried his head high, scattered money around him, and who was not remarkable for great sobriety; Michael Caden, syndic of Nuremberg, a worthy, pious, and brave man, but detested by the count of Nassau, the most influential of Charles's ministers; and, lastly, Alexis Frauentraut, secretary to the margrave of Brandenburg, who, having married a nun, was in very bad odour among the Roman Catholics. Such were the three men whom the Protestant princes, assembled at Nuremberg, commissioned to bear to the emperor the famous Protest of Spires. They had purposely chosen these deputies from a middle station, under the impression that they would incur less danger.¹ To carry such a message to Charles V. was, to say the truth, a task that few persons cared to execute. Accordingly a pension had been secured to the widows of these envoys in case of misfortune.

Charles was on his way from Genoa to Bologna, and staying at Piacenza, when the three Protestant deputies overtook him. These plain Germans presented a singular contrast in the midst of that Spanish pomp and Romish fervour by which the young prince was surrounded. Cardinal Gattinara, the emperor's chancellor, who sincerely desired a reform of the Church, procured them an audience of Charles V. for the 22d of September; but they were recommended to be sparing in their words, for there was nothing the emperor so much disliked as a Protestant sermon.

The deputies were not checked by these intimations; and after handing the protest to Charles, Frauentraut began to speak: "It is to the Supreme Judge that each one of us must render an account," said he, "and not to creatures who turn at every wind. It is better to fall into the most cruel necessity, than to incur the anger of God. Our nation will obey no decrees that are based on any other foundation than the Holy Scriptures."²

Such was the proud tone held by these German citizens to the emperor of the west. Charles said not a word—it would

¹ Ut essent tutiores. (Seckend. ii. 133.)

² Neque suarum esse virium aut officii, ut eos ad impossibilia et noxia adigant. (Ibid. 134.)

have been paying them too much honour; but he charged one of his secretaries to announce an answer at some future time.

There was no hurry to send back these paltry ambassadors. In vain did they renew their solicitations daily. Gattinara treated them with kindness, but Nassau sent them away with bitter words. A workman, the armourer to the court, having to visit Augsburg to purchase arms, begged the count of Nassau to despatch the Protestant deputies. "You may tell them," replied the minister of Charles V., "that we will terminate their business in order that you may have travelling companions." But the armourer having found other company, they were compelled to wait.¹

These envoys endeavoured at least to make a good use of their time. "Take this book," said the landgrave to Caden at the very moment of departure, giving him a French work bound in velvet, and richly ornamented, "and deliver it to the emperor."² It was a summary of the Christian faith which the landgrave had received from Francis Lambert, and which had probably been written by that doctor.³ Caden sought an

¹ Hortleben, von den Ursachen des deutschen Kriegs, p. 50.

² Libellum elegantior ornatum. (Scultet. p. 253.)

³ Luther had a high opinion of Fr. Lambert. "There is no doubt," says he to Spalatin, in a letter quoted by Milner, "of the integrity of Lambert; we have witnesses who heard him preach both in France and at Basil, and they all give the man a good character. He is of a noble family, but has been a Minor friar during the space of twenty years, and is now a poor persecuted exile for having been faithful to the Word of God. At present he is with us at Wittenberg, and though we have no want of lectures, we shall endeavour to employ him. He pleases me in all respects; and I am satisfied he is one who deserves a little help from us in his poverty; but you who know that I live at the expense of other persons, must also know that I have not an income to support him. It might not be amiss for you to persuade the prince not to lose this good man, but in Christian charity to afford him some small assistance till he can support himself, either by his own industry, or by what he may receive from his relations." Dr. Lingard, in ascribing the Reformation to the selfishness of the priests who joined Luther, would find it difficult to show what this noble and learned friar had gained by the change. Not only had he sacrificed all his prospects in the popedom whose highest honours were within his reach, but in differing from Luther on the subject of consubstantiation, a circumstance that must have much chagrined the Saxon reformer, he must have risked the loss of the favour and sympathy shown him at Wittenberg. What an immense advance was made from the times of implicit submission to the popedom, when the opinions and policy of so mighty a prince as Charles were sought to be changed, or even modified, by a book written by a poor wandering mendicant, an outcast from what was supposed the only community to which a man of any character could belong. Power was manifestly passing into new hands—the pen was beginning to dispute with the sword the empire of the world—thought was creeping from the fetters of Romish tyranny, and by means of printing carried its power everywhere.—D. D. A.

opportunity of presenting this treatise; and did so one day, as Charles was going publicly to mass. The emperor took the book, and passed it immediately to a Spanish bishop. The Spaniard began to read it,¹ and lighted upon that passage of Scripture in which Christ enjoins his apostles *not to exercise lordship*.² The author took advantage of it to maintain that the minister, charged with spiritual matters, should not interfere with those which are temporal. The Papist prelate bit his lips, and Charles, who perceived it, having asked, "Well, what is the matter?" the bishop in confusion had recourse to a falsehood.³ "This treatise," replied he, "takes the sword from the Christian magistrate, and grants it only to nations that are strangers to the faith." Immediately there was a great uproar: the Spaniards above all were beside themselves. "The wretches that have endeavoured to mislead so young a prince," said they, "deserve to be hung on the first tree by the wayside!" Charles swore, in fact, that the bearer should suffer the penalty of his audacity.

At length, on the 12th October, Alexander Schweiss, imperial secretary, transmitted the emperor's reply to the deputies. It said that the minority ought to submit to the decrees passed in diet, and that if the duke of Saxony and his allies were contumacious, means would not be wanting to compel them.⁴

Upon this Ehinger and Caden read aloud the appeal to the emperor drawn up at Spires, whilst Frauentraut, who had renounced his quality of deputy and assumed that of a notary,⁵ took notes of what was passing. When the reading was finished, the deputies advanced towards Schweiss, and presented the appeal. The imperial secretary rejected the document with amazement; the deputies insisted; Schweiss continued firm. They then laid the appeal on the table. Schweiss was staggered; he took the paper, and carried it to the emperor.

After dinner, just as one of the deputies (Caden) had gone

¹ Cum obiter legisset. (Scultet. p. 253.)

² Luke xxii. 26.

³ Falso et maligne relatum esset. (Seckend. ii. 133.)

⁴ Sibi non defore media quibus ad id compellerentur. (Ibid.)

⁵ Tabellionis sive notarii officium. (Ibid.)

out, a tumult in the hotel announced some catastrophe. It was the imperial secretary who returned duly accompanied. "The emperor is exceedingly irritated against you on account of this appeal," said he to the Protestants; "and he forbids you, under pain of confiscation and death, to leave your hotel, to write to Germany, or to send any message whatsoever."¹ Thus Charles put ambassadors under arrest, as he would the officers of his guard, desirous in this manner of showing his contempt, and of frightening the princes.

Caden's servant slipped in alarm out of the hotel, and ran to his master. The latter, still considering himself free, wrote a hasty account of the whole business to the senate of Nuremberg, sent off his letters by express, and returned to share in the arrest of his colleagues.²

On the 23d of October, the emperor left Piacenza, carrying the three Germans with him. But on the 30th he released Ehinger and Frauentraut, who, mounting their horses in the middle of the night, rushed at full speed along a route thronged with soldiers and robbers. "As for you," said Granvelle to Caden, "you will stay under pain of death. The emperor expects that the book you presented to him will be given to the pope."³ Perhaps Charles thought it pleasant to show the Roman pontiff this prohibition issued against the ministers of God to mingle in the government of nations. But Caden, profiting by the confusion of the court, secretly procured a horse, and fled to Ferrara, thence to Venice, from which place he returned to Nuremberg.⁴

The more Charles appeared irritated against Germany, the greater moderation he showed towards the Italians: heavy pecuniary contributions were all that he required. It was beyond the Alps, in the centre of Christendom, by means of these very religious controversies, that he desired to establish his power. He pressed on, and required only two things: behind him,—peace; with him,—money.

On the 5th of November he entered Bologna. Everything

¹ Sub capitis pœna, ne pedem a diversario moveant. (Seckend. ii. 133.)

² A famulo certior factus, rem omnem senatui aperuit. (Ibid.)

³ Ut idem scriptum exhibeat quoque Pontifici. (Sculdet. p. 254.)

⁴ Silentio concessit equum. (Ibid.)

was striking about him: the crowd of nobles, the splendour of the equipages, the haughtiness of the Spanish troops, the four thousand ducats that were scattered by handfuls among the people;¹ but above all, the majesty and magnificence of the young emperor. The two chiefs of Romish Christendom were about to meet. The pope quitted his palace with all his court; and Charles, at the head of an army which would have conquered the whole of Italy in a few days, affecting the humility of a child, fell on his knees, and kissed the pontiff's feet.

The emperor and the pope resided at Bologna in two adjoining palaces, separated by a single wall, through which a doorway had been opened, of which each had a key; and the young and politic emperor was often seen visiting the old and crafty pontiff, carrying papers in his hand.

Clement obtained Sforza's forgiveness, who appeared before the emperor sick and leaning on a staff. Venice also was forgiven: a million of crowns arranged these two matters. But Charles could not obtain from the pope the pardon of Florence. That illustrious city was sacrificed to the Medici, "considering," it was said, "that it is impossible for Christ's vicar to demand anything that is unjust."

The most important affair was the Reformation. Some represented to the emperor that, victor over all his enemies, he should carry matters with a high hand, and constrain the Protestants by force of arms.² Charles was more moderate: he preferred weakening the Protestants by the Papists, and then the Papists by the Protestants, and by this means raising his power above them both.

A wiser course was nevertheless proposed in a solemn conference. "The Church is torn in pieces," said chancellor Gattinara. "You (Charles) are the head of the empire; you (the pope) the head of the Church. It is your duty to provide by common accord against unprecedented wants. Assemble the pious men of all nations, and let a free council deduce from

¹ In vulgus sparsum aurum quatuor millia ducatorum. (Luth. Epp. iii. 565.)

² Armis cogendos. (Seckend. ii. 112; Maimbourg, ii. 194.)

the Word of God a scheme of doctrine such as may be received by every people."¹

A thunderbolt falling at Clement's feet could not have startled him more. The offspring of an illegitimate union, and having obtained the papacy by means far from honourable, and squandered the treasures of the Church in an unjust war, this pontiff had a thousand personal motives for dreading an assembly of Christendom.² "Large congregations," replied he, "serve only to introduce popular opinions. It is not by the decrees of councils, but with the edge of the sword, that we should decide controversies."³

As Gattinara still persisted: "What!" said the pope, angrily interrupting him, "you dare contradict me, and excite your master against me!" Charles rose up; all the assembly preserved profound silence, and the prince resuming his seat, seconded his chancellor's request. Clement was content to say that he would reflect upon it. He then began to work upon the young emperor in their private conferences, and Charles promised at last to constrain the heretics by violence, while the pope should summon all other princes to his aid.⁴ "To overcome Germany by force, and then erase it from the surface of the earth, is the sole object of the Italians," they wrote from Venice to the elector.⁵

Such was the sinister news which, by spreading alarm among the Protestants, should also have united them. Unfortunately a contrary movement was then taking place. Luther and some of his friends had revised the Marburg articles in a sense exclusively Lutheran, and the ministers of the elector of Saxony had presented them to the conference at Schwabach. The re-

¹ *Oratio de Congressu Bononiensi, in Melanthonis Orationum* iv. 87, and *Celestinus Hist. Concil.* 1830, Augustæ, i. 10. Respectable authors, Walsh, Müller, and Beausobre, incorrectly quote at full length the speeches delivered at this conference. They are amplifications; but to deny that they have some historical foundation would be flying to the opposite extreme.

² According to Seckendorf there was a prevalent report that he had never been baptized. See *Scott's Continuation of Milner*, vol. i. p. 3.—D. D. S.

³ *Non concilii decretis, sed armis controversias dirimendas.* (Scultet. p. 248; Maimbourg *de Jesuit*, ii. 177.)

⁴ Pontifex, ut cæteri Christiani principes, iocos pro viribus juvent. (Guicciardini, xix. 908.)

⁵ Ut Germania vi et armis opprimatur, funditus deleatur et eradicetur. (*Cælestin.* i. 42.)

formed deputies from Ulm and Strasburg had immediately withdrawn, and the conference was broken up.

But new conferences had ere long become necessary. The express that Caden had forwarded from Piacenza had reached Nuremberg. Every one in Germany understood that the arrest of the prince's deputies was a declaration of war. The elector was staggered, and ordered his chancellor to consult the theologians of Wittenberg.

"We cannot on our conscience," replied Luther on the 18th November, "approve of the proposed alliance. We would rather die ten times than see our Gospel cause one drop of blood to be shed.¹ Our part is to be like lambs of the slaughter. The cross of Christ must be borne. Let your highness be without fear. We shall do more by our prayers than all our enemies by their boastings. Only let not your hands be stained with the blood of your brethren! If the emperor requires us to be given up to his tribunals, we are ready to appear. You cannot defend our faith: each one should believe at his own risk and peril."²

On the 29th November an evangelical congress was opened at Smalkald, and an unexpected event rendered this meeting still more important. Ehinger, Caden, and Frauentraut, who had escaped from the grasp of Charles V., appeared before them.³ The landgrave had no further doubts of the success of his plan.

He was deceived. No agreement between contrary doctrines, no alliance between politics and religion—were Luther's two principles, and they still prevailed. It was agreed that those who felt disposed to sign the articles of Schwabach, and those only, should meet at Nuremberg on the 6th of January.

The horizon became hourly more threatening. The papists of Germany wrote one to another these few but significant words: "The Saviour is coming."⁴ "Alas," exclaimed Luther, "what a pitiless saviour! He will devour them all, as well as us." In effect, two Italian bishops, authorized by Charles V.,

¹ Lieber zehn mal todt seyn. (Epp. iii. 526.)

² Auf sein eigen Fahr glauben. (Ibid. 527.)

³ Advenerant et gesta referebant. (Seckend. ii. 140; Sleidan, i. 235.)

⁴ Invicem scriptitant, dicentes: Salvator venit. (L. Epp. iii. 540.)

demanding in the pope's name all the gold and silver from the churches, and a third part of the ecclesiastical revenues: a proceeding which caused an immense sensation. "Let the pope go to the devil," replied a canon of Paderborn, a little too freely.¹ "Yes, yes!" archly replied Luther, "this is your saviour that is coming!" The people already began to talk of frightful omens. It was not only the living who were agitated: a child still in its mother's womb, had uttered horrible shrieks.² "All is accomplished," said Luther; "the Turk has reached the highest degree of his power, the glory of the papacy is declining, and the world is splitting on every side."³ The reformer, dreading lest the end of the world should arrive before he had translated all the Bible, published the prophecies of Daniel separately,—“a work,” said he, “for these latter times.” “Historians tell us,” he added, “that Alexander the Great always placed Homer under his pillow: the prophet Daniel is worthy not only that kings and princes should lay him under their heads, but carry him in their hearts; for he will teach them that the government of nations proceeds from the power of God. We are balanced in the hand of the Lord, as a ship upon the sea, or a cloud in the sky.”⁴⁵

¹ Dat de Duwel dem Bawst int Lieff fare. (L. Epp. iii. 540.)

² Infans in utero, audiente tota familia, bis vociferatus est. (Ibid.)

³ Dedication of Daniel to John Frederick. (Ibid. 555.)

⁴ Schwebt in seiner Macht, wie ein Schiff auf dem Meer, ja wie eine Wolke unter dem Himmel. (Ibid.)

⁵ Luther on this occasion, like many before and since, erred from overconfidence in his views on prophecy, and had some belief in omens. It is remarkable, however, that he was far in advance of his cotemporaries on the subject of astrology. There we recognise in him a true Baconian, accepting nothing as truth which had no foundation either in the observed laws of the creation or in the revealed truths of Scripture. “As long,” says he, “as astronomy remaineth within her proper sphere, ordained for her by God, she is a fair gift of God; but when she steps out of her bounds, presumes to prophecy and speak of future things, how it will go with one, or what will be one's fortune, whether good or bad, she is not to be justified. Astrology is no art; it hath no sure principles or demonstrations. Astrologers guide themselves in their opinions according to circumstances. They make much noise about a thing which happens (according to their predictions) once or twice, but when their calculations fail they find it convenient to be silent.”

Melanchthon's timidity of character was more allied to a proneness to believe in astrology, and even Luther seems hardly to have shaken his faith in an absurdity once so prevalent among men of all religious opinions. His strong rough common sense comes finely out in refuting it. “Philip Melanchthon,” says he, “is a great believer in astrology, but never has been able to convince me. For my part I believe it is nothing, and Philip Melanchthon confesses to me, against his inclination, that there are few who understand it rightly. Astrologers are never such fools as to say in their almanacks that we shall have snow in summer or

Yet the frightful phantom that Philip of Hesse had not ceased to point out to his allies, and whose threatening jaws seemed already opening, suddenly vanished, and they discovered in its place the graceful image of the most amiable of princes.

On the 21st January, Charles had summoned all the states of the empire to Augsburg, and had endeavoured to employ the most conciliatory language. "Let us put an end to all discord," he said, "let us renounce our antipathies, let us offer to our Saviour the sacrifice of all our errors, let us make it our business to comprehend and weigh with meekness the opinions of others. Let us annihilate all that has been said or done on both sides contrary to right, and let us seek after Christian truth. Let us all fight under one and the same leader, Jesus Christ, and let us strive thus to meet in one communion, one church, and one unity."¹

What language! How was it that this prince, who hitherto had spoken only of the sword, should now speak only of peace? Some may say that the wise Gattinara had a share in it; that the act of convocation was drawn up under the impression of the terror caused by the Turkish invasion; that the emperor already saw with how little eagerness the Roman Catholics of Germany seconded his views; that he wished to intimidate

thunder in winter; but the country clowns know all this as well as the astrologers. Philip says that persons born *in ascendente libra*, as they say, that is in the rising of the (sign of the) balance towards the south, are unfortunate. Now I hold astrologers to be poor unhappy creatures to believe that their crosses and misfortunes come not from God but from the stars, for they are thus deprived of much patience in their troubles and adversities. I wish astrologers would answer me this argument: Esau and Jacob were born together, of one father and mother, at the same time, and under the same planets, yet they were of opposite dispositions, habits, and natures. What is done by God, and is his work, ought not to be ascribed to the stars: the true Christian religion opposes and condemns all such riddles and fables. Neither Philip Melancthon nor any man living shall make me believe astrology to be true; I am convinced it is altogether opposed to philosophy. I accept of astronomy; it pleases me much because of its manifold uses. David, in the 19th Psalm, remembers the wonderful works of God, and how in the firmament of heaven he taketh his delight. Job also celebrates Orion, which they call Jacob's ladder, the seven stars, &c.—To believe the stars, and to trust therein, or to be affrighted thereat, is idolatry; it is against the first commandment of God." See Lawson, p. 332.

If the popes be God's vicars, strange that they should have been permitted to be the dupes of this pretended science, while Luther, the arch-heretic, was thus completely disabused of it!—D. D. S.

¹ Wie wir alle unter einem Christo seyn und streiten. (Forstenmann's Urkundenbuch, i. 1.)

the pope; that this language, so full of graciousness, was but a mask which Charles employed to deceive his enemies; that he wished to manage religion in true imperial fashion, like Theodosius and Constantine, and seek first to unite both parties by the influence of his wisdom and of his favours, reserving to himself, if kindness should fail, to employ force afterwards. It is possible that each of these motives may have exercised a certain influence on Charles, but the latter appears to us nearer the truth, and more conformable to the character of this prince.

If Charles, however, showed any inclination to mildness, the fanatical Ferdinand was at hand to bring him back. "I will continue negotiating without coming to any conclusion," wrote he to his brother; "and should I even be reduced to that, do not fear; pretexts will not be wanting to chastise these rebels, and you will find men enough who will be happy to aid you in your revenge."¹

CHAPTER II.

The Coronation—The Emperor made a Deacon—The Romish Church and the State—Alarm of the Protestants—Luther advocates Passive Resistance—Bruck's noble Advice—Articles of Faith prepared—Luther's Strong Tower—Luther at Coburg—Charles at Innspruck—Two Parties at Court—Gattinara—The King of Denmark won over by Charles—Piety of the Elector—Wiles of the Romanists.

CHARLES, like Charlemagne in former times, and Napoleon in later days, desired to be crowned by the pope, and had at first thought of visiting Rome for that purpose; but Ferdinand's pressing letters compelled him to choose Bologna.² He appointed the 22d February for receiving the iron crown as king of Lombardy, and resolved to assume the golden crown, as emperor of the Romans, on the 24th of the same month—his birth-day and the anniversary of the battle of Pavia, and which he thought was always fortunate to him.³

¹ Bucholz Geschichte Ferdinands, iii. 432.

² Sopravvennero lettere di Germania che lo sollicitavano a transferirsi in quella provincia. (Guicciardini, l. xx.)

³ Natali suo quem semper felicem habuit. (Seckend. ii. 150.)

The offices of honour that belonged to the electors of the empire were given to strangers; in the coronation of the emperor of Germany all was Spanish or Italian. The sceptre was carried by the marquis of Montferrat, the sword by the duke of Urbino, and the golden crown by the duke of Savoy. One single German prince of little importance, the count-palatine Philip, was present: he carried the orb. After these lords came the emperor himself between two cardinals; then the members of his council. All this procession defiled across a magnificent temporary bridge erected between the palace and the church. At the very moment the emperor drew near the church of San Petronio, where the coronation was to take place, the scaffolding cracked behind him and gave way: many of his train were wounded, and the multitude fled in alarm. Charles calmly turned back and smiled, not doubting that his lucky star had saved him.

At length Charles V. arrived in front of the throne on which Clement was seated. But before being made emperor, it was necessary that he should be promoted to the sacred orders. The pope presented him with the surplice and the amice to make him a canon of St. Peter's and of St. John Lateranus, and the canons of these two churches immediately stripped him of his royal ornaments, and robed him with the sacerdotal garments. The pope went to the altar and began mass, the new canon drawing near to wait upon him. After the offertory, the imperial deacon presented the water to the pontiff; and then kneeling down between two cardinals, he communicated from the pope's hand. The emperor now returned to his throne, where the princes robed him with the imperial mantle brought from Constantinople, all sparkling with diamonds, and Charles humbly bent the knee before Clement VII.

The pontiff, having anointed him with oil and given him the sceptre, presented him with a naked sword, saying: "Make use of it in defence of the Church against the enemies of the faith!" Next taking the golden orb, studded with jewels, which the count-palatine held, he said: "Govern the world with piety and firmness!" Last came the duke of Savoy, who carried the golden crown enriched with diamonds. The prince

bent down, and Clement put the diadem on his head, saying: "Charles, emperor invincible, receive this crown which we place on your head, as a sign to all the earth of the authority that is conferred upon you."

The emperor then kissed the white cross embroidered on the pope's red slipper, and exclaimed: "I swear to be, with all my powers and resources, the perpetual defender of the pontifical dignity and of the church of Rome."¹

The two princes now took their seats under the same canopy, but on thrones of unequal height, the emperor's being half a foot lower than the pontiff's, and the cardinal-deacon proclaimed to the people "The invincible emperor, defender of the faith." For the next half-hour nothing was heard but the noise of musketry, trumpets, drums, and fifes, all the bells of the city, and the shouts of the multitude. Thus was proclaimed anew the close union of politics with religion. The mighty emperor, transformed to a Roman deacon and humbly serving mass, like a canon of St. Peter's, had typified and declared the indissoluble union of the Romish church with the state.²

¹ *Omnibus viribus, ingenio, et facultatibus suis Pontificiæ dignitatis et Romanæ Ecclesiæ perpetuum fore defensorem.* (Cælestin Hist. Commit. Aug. 16.)

² Say rather, "indestructible authority of the Romish Church over the State." Evangelical churches claim no such authority. Even where united with the state, as two bodies, both Divinely ordained, both capable of being rightly administered only by conformity with the one Divine will, both conducted by men who, whether they guide the affairs of the church or the state, will be finally judged by the God of the Bible, and according to the Bible, each is allowed to act on its own proper responsibility within its own sphere. Here, where there is harmony of sentiment and action, there may be union—where there is no harmony, there can be no cordial union, but either usurpation by the church over the state or by the state over the church.

The claims of the popedom to authority over all mundane governments, while unhesitatingly asserted where these governments are themselves papal, form a subject of much embarrassment where they are not. How expect an equal share of political power for subjects who do not offer equal allegiance? How denounce as intolerance and persecution the mere withholding of the power to persecute, where such persecution is a commanded duty, as soon as there is the power? Even for such a dilemma, however, the popedom is not unprepared. It can make lying itself a duty when necessary, and can wink hard at its subjects when, for the sake of political power, they hazard declarations directly opposed to an essential doctrine of their creed. This was probably one of many reasons for the late pope interdicting his subjects from reading Dr. Merle d'Aubigné's History, that they could not fail to see from it that the true history of their church fully justifies their exclusion from political power in Protestant countries, on the most obvious grounds of common sense. No doubt many nominal Papists, men who know little or nothing of the true principles of Rome, make loyal soldiers and good subjects, and the existence of many such has been of the utmost consequence in seducing Protestants into the abandonment of nearly every political security.

This is one of the essential doctrines of popery, and one of the most striking characteristics that distinguish it from the evangelical and the Christian Church.

Nevertheless, during the whole of the ceremony the pope seemed ill at ease, and sighed as soon as men's eyes ceased to gaze on him. Accordingly, the French ambassador wrote to his court that these four months which the emperor and pope had spent together at Bologna, would bear fruit of which the king of France would assuredly have no cause to complain.¹

Scarcely had Charles V. risen from before the altar of San Petronio, ere he turned his face towards Germany, and appeared on the Alps as the anointed of the papacy. The letter of convocation, so indulgent and benign, seemed forgotten: all things were made new since the pope's blessings: there was but one thought in the imperial train, the necessity of rigorous measures; and the legate Campeggio ceased not to insinuate irritating words into Charles's ear.² "At the first rumour of

But these lukewarm Romanists who, in perfect good faith, make the most inconsistent declarations, are unhappily followed through the breach by others who are full of zeal, and who, coming after, are not asked for any declarations.—D. D. S.

¹ Letter to M. L'Admiral, 25th February. (Legrand, Histoire du Divorce, iii. 386.)

² Ranke notices Campeggio's memorial as follows:—"There is still extant a memorial presented by him (Campeggio) to the emperor, at the time of the diet of Augsburg, in which he describes these (projects). Truth requires me to say something about them, though it be with pain and reluctance."—"The secret of his measures did not lie very deep. Nothing more was required, he thought, than that an alliance should be formed between the emperor and the right-minded part of the princes; thereupon they should endeavour to bring over those who were unfavourable, by promises or by threats. But what should they prove obstinate? In that case it was competent to extirpate this poisonous creed with fire and sword." See Ranke's Popes, Glasgow Edition, vol. i. p. 90. And in No. 19 of the Appendix, we find he recommends the Protestants to be reduced "to such and so horrible an extermination, that either they will be constrained to return to the holy and catholic faith, or to their utter ruin forfeit both property and life." And again, referring to and interpreting the articles of Barcelona, the legate adds: "It will be to the purpose, when this magnificent and catholic enterprise shall be brought into a good and straight course, that some days afterwards there be elected some good and holy inquisitors, who, with the utmost diligence and assiduity, shall go about searching and inquiring if any, *quod absit*, persevere in these diabolical and heretical opinions, nor will anywise relinquish them.....and in that case they shall be chastised and punished according to the rule and principle observed in Spain with respect to the Marranos." This is all very horrible, but Ranke need not have been so nice in scrupling to approach the subject. It is nothing exceptional, but the simple carrying out of the principles laid down in the Roman church's institutes, as the proper course to be pursued towards all who will not conform to her worship and profess her doctrines. It is well to bear in mind that Campeggio did no more than recommend what every pupil at Maynooth must have known, from his college's text book, until it was publicly exposed, and

the storm that threatens them," said Granvelle, "we shall see the Protestants flying on every side, like timid doves upon which the Alpine eagle pounces."¹

Great indeed was the alarm throughout the empire; already even the affrighted people, apprehensive of the greatest disasters, repeated everywhere that Luther and Melanchthon were dead. "Alas!" said Melanchthon, consumed by sorrow, when he heard these reports, "the rumour is but too true, for I die daily."² But Luther, on the contrary, boldly raising the eye of faith towards heaven, exclaimed: "Our enemies triumph, but ere-long to perish." In truth the councils of the elector displayed an unprecedented boldness. "Let us collect our troops," said they; "let us march on the Tyrol, and close the passage of the Alps against the emperor."³ Philip of Hesse uttered a cry of joy when he heard of this. The sword of Charles had aroused his indolent allies at last. Immediately fresh couriers from

indeed possibly to this day, were the established principles of the church in all such cases. Take the following passages:—

"Heretics, that are known to be such, are infamous for this very cause itself, and are deprived of Christian burial.

"Their goods for this very cause itself to be seized. They are also justly afflicted with other corporal punishments, as with transportation, imprisonment," &c.

"Are heretics justly punished with death?

"St. Thomas answers, 22 quest. 11 art. in corp., Yes; because forgers of money, or other disturbers of the state, are justly punished with death, therefore also heretics, who are forgers of the faith, and, as experience testifies, grievously disturb the state." See Dens's "Complete Body of Theology."

A much higher name than Dens may be adduced in support of the same principle—that of Bossuet in his *Variations*, where he maintains that there is no more dangerous illusion than to attribute the character of toleration to the church. *Il n'y a point d'illusion plus dangereuse que de donner la souffrance pour un caractère de la vraie église.*

"It is one of those melancholy instances of the retrogradation of the human mind, which chill the hopes of the philanthropist," says an American writer in 1816, "that about twenty-five years ago, a magnificent edition of all the works of Sepulveda was published by the Royal Academy of History at Madrid, in the introduction to which, that learned body did not hesitate to give their sanction to the doctrines of this apologist of oppression, and to approve of what they term 'the exercise of a just and pious violence against pagans and heretics.'" See "An Inaugural Discourse delivered before the New York Historical Society, by the Hon. Gouverneur Morris," &c., in the Society's Collections, vol. iii.

—P. D. S.

¹ *Tanquam columbæ, adveniente aquila, dispergentur.* (Rommel Anmerkungen, p. 236.)

² *Ego famam de qua scribis intelligo nimis veram esse, morior enim quotidie.* (Corp. Ref. ii. 122.)

³ *Cum copiis quas habitant per Tyrolensem ditionem incedenti occurrere et Alpium transitum impedire.* (Seckend. ii. 150.)

Ferdinand were sent to hasten the arrival of Charles, and all Germany was in expectation.

Before carrying out this gigantic design, the elector desired to consult Luther once more. The emperor in the midst of the electors was only the first among his equals; and independent princes were allowed to resist another prince, even if he were of higher rank than themselves. But Luther, dreading above all things the intervention of the secular arm in church affairs, was led to reply on the 6th March in this extraordinary manner: "Our princes' subjects are also the emperor's subjects, and even more so than princes are. To protect by arms the emperor's subjects against the emperor, would be as if the burgomaster of Torgau wished to protect by force his citizens against the elector."

"What must be done then?" "Listen," replied Luther. "If the emperor desires to march against us, let no prince undertake our defence. God is faithful: he will not abandon us." All preparations for war were immediately suspended, the landgrave received a polite refusal, and the confederation was dissolved. It was the will of God that his cause should appear before the emperor without league and without soldiers, having faith alone for its shield.

Never perhaps has such boldness been witnessed in feeble and unarmed men; but never, although under an appearance of blindness, was there so much wisdom and understanding.

The question next discussed in the elector's council was, whether he should go to the diet. The majority of the councillors opposed it. "Is it not risking everything," said they, "to go and shut oneself up within the walls of a city with a powerful enemy?" Brück and the prince-electoral were of a different opinion. Duty in their eyes was a better counsellor than fear. "What!" said they, "would the emperor insist so much on the presence of the princes at Augsburg only to draw them into a snare? We cannot impute such perfidy to him." The landgrave, on the contrary, seconded the opinion of the majority. "Remember Piacenza," said he. "Some unforeseen circumstance may lead the emperor to take all his enemies in one cast of the net."

The chancellor stood firm. "Let the princes only comport themselves with courage," said he, "and God's cause is saved." The decision was in favour of the nobler plan.

This diet was to be a lay council, or at the very least a national convention.¹ The Protestants foresaw that a few unimportant concessions would be made to them at first, and then that they would be required to sacrifice their faith. It was therefore necessary to settle what were the essential articles of Christian truth, in order to know whether, by what means, and how far they might come to an understanding with their adversaries. The elector accordingly had letters sent on the 14th March to the four principal theologians of Wittenberg, setting them this task before all other business.² Thus, instead of collecting soldiers, this prince drew up articles: they were the best armament.

Luther, Jonas, and Melanchthon (Pomeranus remaining at Wittenberg), arrived at Torgau in Easter week, asking leave to deliver their articles in person to Charles V.³ "God forbid!" replied the elector, "I also desire to confess my Lord."

John having then confided to Melanchthon the definitive arrangement of the confession, and ordered general prayers to be offered up, began his journey on the 3d April, with one hundred and sixty horsemen, clad in rich scarlet cloaks, embroidered with gold.

Every man was aware of the dangers that threatened the elector, and hence many in his escort marched with downcast eyes and sinking hearts. But Luther, full of faith, revived the courage of his friends, by composing and singing with his fine voice that beautiful hymn, since become so famous: *Ein' feste Burg ist unser Gotte*, Our God is a strong tower.⁴ Never did soul that knew its own weakness, but which, looking to God, despised every fear, find such noble accents.

¹ Cum hæc comitia pro concilio aut conventu nationali haberi videantur (Seckend. ii. 17. Letter to the Elector. Corp. Ref. ii. 26.)

² Omnibus sepositis aliis rebus. (L. Epp. iii. 564.)

³ Different projects will be found in *Forstenmann's Urkundenbuch*, i. p. 63-108, and in the Corp. Ref. iv. p. 973, sqq. Those that were presented were doubtless the *Articuli non concedendi*, Articles not to be conceded. They treat of the communion in both kinds, of celibacy, the mass, orders, the pope, convents, confession, distinction of meats, and of the sacraments. (Corp. Ref. iv. 981.)

⁴ We have attempted a very feeble translation of the second stanza.

With our own strength we nought can do,
 Destruction yawns on every side:
 He fights for us, our champion true,
 Elect of God to be our guide.
 What is his name? The anointed One,
 The God of armies he;
 Of earth and heaven the Lord alone—
 With him, on field of battle won,
 Abideth victory.

This hymn was sung during the diet, not only at Augsburg, but in all the churches of Saxony, and its energetic strains were often seen to revive and inspirit the most dejected minds.¹

On Easter-eve the troop reached Coburg, and on the 23d April the elector resumed his journey; but at the very moment of departure Luther received an order to remain. "Some one has said, 'Hold your tongue, you have a harsh voice,'" wrote he to a friend.² He submitted, however, without hesitation, setting an example of that passive obedience which he so boldly advocated. The elector feared that Luther's presence would still further exasperate his adversaries, and drive Charles to extreme measures: the city of Augsburg had also written to him to that effect. But at the same time John was anxious to keep the reformer within reach, that he might be able to consult him. He was therefore left at Coburg, in the castle overlooking the town and the river Itz, in the upper story on the south side. It was from this place he wrote those numerous letters dated from the *region of birds*; and it was there that for many months he had to maintain with his old enemy of the Wartburg, Satan, a struggle full of darkness and of anguish.

On the 2d May the elector reached Augsburg; it had been expected that he would stay away, and, to the great astonishment of all, he was the first at the rendezvous.³ He immediately sent Dolzig, marshal of the court, to meet the emperor and to compliment him. On the 12th May Philip of Hesse, who had at last resolved on not separating himself from his ally, arrived with an escort of one hundred and ninety horsemen; and almost at the same time the emperor entered Innspruck, in the Tyrol, accompanied by his brother, the queens

¹ Qui tristem etiam et abjectum animum erigere et exhilarare, et velut *involucrum* possent. (Scul. p. 270.)

² Sed erat qui diceret: Tace tu, habes malam vocem. (L. Epp. iv. 2.)

³ Mirantibus hominibus. (Seck. ii. 153.)

of Hungary and Bohemia, the ambassadors of France, England, and Portugal, Campeggio the papal legate, and other cardinals, with many princes and nobles of Germany, Spain, and Italy.

How to bring back the heretics to obedience to the Church was the great topic of conversation in this brilliant court among nobles and priests, ladies and soldiers, councillors and ambassadors. They, or Charles at least, were not for making them ascend the scaffold, but they wished to act in such a manner that, untrue to their faith, they should bend the knee to the pope. Charles stopped at Innspruck to study the situation of Germany, and ensure the success of his schemes.

Scarcely was his arrival known ere a crowd of people, high and low, flocked round him on every side, and more than 270,000 crowns, previously raised in Italy, served to make the Germans understand the justice of Rome's cause. "All these heretics," was the cry, "will fall to the ground and crawl to the feet of the pope."¹

Charles did not think so. He was, on the contrary, astonished to see what power the Reformation had gained. He momentarily even entertained the idea of leaving Augsburg alone, and of going straight to Cologne, and there proclaiming his brother king of the Romans.² Thus, religious interests would have given way to dynastic interests, at least so ran the report. But Charles V. did not stop at this idea. The question of the Reformation was there before him, increasing hourly in strength, and it could not be eluded.

Two parties divided the imperial court. The one, numerous and active, called upon the emperor to revive simply the edict of Worms, and, without hearing the Protestants, condemn their cause.³ The legate was at the head of this party. "Do not hesitate," said he to Charles; "confiscate their property, establish the inquisition, and punish these obstinate heretics with fire and sword."⁴ The Spaniards, who strongly seconded

¹ *Zum Kreutz kriechen werden.* (Mathesius Pred. p. 91.) The allusion is to the cross embroidered on the pope's slipper.

² *Iter Coloniam versus decrevisse.* (Epp. Zw. May 13.)

³ *Alii censent Cussarem debere, edicto proposito, sine ulla cogitatione damnare causam nostram.* (Corp. Ref. ii. 57.)

⁴ *Instructio data Cesari dal Reverendissimo Campeggio.* (Ranko, iii. 288.)

these exhortations, gave way to their accustomed debauchery, and many of them were arrested for seduction.¹ This was a sad specimen of the faith they wished to impose on Germany. Rome has always thought lightly of morality.

Gattinara, although sick, had painfully followed in Charles's train to neutralize the influence of the legate. A determined adversary of the Roman policy, he thought that the Protestants might render important services to Christendom. "There is nothing I desire so much," said he, "as to see the elector of Saxony and his allies persevere courageously in the profession of the Gospel, and call for a free religious council. If they allow themselves to be checked by promises or threats, I hesitate myself, I stagger, and I doubt of the means of salvation."² The enlightened and honest members of the papal church (and of whom there is always a small number) necessarily sympathize with the Reformation.

Charles V., exposed to these contrary influences, desired to restore Germany to religious unity by his personal intervention: for a moment he thought himself on the eve of success.

Amongst the persons who crowded to Innsbruck was the unfortunate Christian, king of Denmark, Charles's brother-in-law. In vain had he proposed to his subjects undertaking a pilgrimage to Rome in expiation of the cruelties of which he was accused: his people had expelled him. Having repaired to Saxony, to his uncle the elector, he had there heard Luther, and had embraced the evangelical doctrines, as far at least as external profession goes. This poor dethroned monarch could not resist the eloquence of the powerful ruler of two worlds, and Christian, won over by Charles V., publicly placed himself again under the sceptre of the Roman hierarchy. All the papal party uttered a shout of triumph. Nothing equals their credulity, and the importance they attach to such valueless accessions. "I cannot describe the emotion with which this news has filled me," wrote Clement VII. to Charles, his hand trembling with joy; "the brightness of your majesty's virtues

¹ Sich die Spanier zu Inspruck unflätig gehalten. (Corp. Ref. ii. 56.)

² Semper vacillaturum de vera et certa salutis adipiscendæ ratione. (Seck. ii. 57.)

begins at last to scatter the darkness: this example will lead to numberless conversions."

Things were in this state when duke George of Saxony, duke William of Bavaria, and the elector Joachim of Brandenburg, the three German princes who were the greatest enemies to the Reformation, hastily arrived at Innspruck.

The tranquillity of the elector, whom they had seen at Augsburg, had alarmed them, for they knew not the source whence John derived his courage: they fancied he was meditating some perfidious design. "It is not without reason," said they to Charles, "that the elector John has repaired the first to Augsburg, and that he appeared there with a considerable train: he wishes to seize your person. Act then with energy, and allow us to offer your majesty a guard of six thousand horse."¹ Conference upon conference immediately took place. The Protestants were affrighted. "They are holding a diet at Innspruck," said Melanchthon, "on the best means of having our heads."² But Gattinara prevailed on Charles to preserve his neutrality.

While this agitation prevailed in the Tyrol, the evangelical Christians, instead of mustering in arms, as they were accused, sent up their prayers to heaven, and the Protestant princes were preparing to render an account of their faith.

The elector of Saxony held the first rank among them. Sincere, upright, and pure from his youth, early disgusted with the brilliant tourneys in which he had at first taken part, John of Saxony had joyfully hailed the day of the Reformation, and the Gospel light had gradually penetrated his serious and reflective mind. His great pleasure was to have the Holy Scriptures read to him during the latter hours of the day. It is true that, having arrived at an advanced age, the pious elector sometimes fell asleep, but he soon awoke with a start, and repeated the last passage aloud. Although moderate and a friend of peace, he yet possessed an energy that was powerfully aroused by the great interests of the faith. There is no prince in the sixteenth century, and none perhaps since the

¹ Ut mascole ageret, sex mille equitum, presidium ei offerentes. (Seck. ii. 156.)

² Ibi habentur de nostris cervicibus comitin. (Corp. Ref. ii. 46.)

primitive times of the Church, who has done so much as John of Saxony for the cause of the Gospel. Accordingly it was against him that the first efforts of the Papists were directed.

In order to gain him over, they wished to put in operation very different tactics from those which had been previously employed. At Spire the evangelicals had met with angry looks in every quarter; at Augsburg, on the contrary, the Papists gave them a hearty welcome; they represented the distance that separated the two parties as very trifling, and in their private conversations made use of the mildest language, "seeking thus to entice the credulous Protestants to take the bait," says an historian.¹ The latter yielded with simplicity to these skilful manœuvres.

Charles V. was convinced that the simple Germans would not be able to resist his star. "The king of Denmark has been converted," said his courtiers to him, "why should not the elector follow his example? Let us draw him into the imperial atmosphere." John was immediately invited to come and converse familiarly with the emperor at Innsbruck, with an assurance that he might reckon on Charles's particular favour.

The prince-electoral, John Frederick, who on seeing the advances of the Papists had at first exclaimed, "We conduct our affairs with such awkwardness, that it is quite pitiable!" allowed himself to be caught by this stratagem. "The Papist princes," said he to his father, "exert every means of blackening our characters. Go to Innsbruck in order to put a stop to these underhand practices; or if you are unwilling, send me in your place."

This time the prudent elector moderated his son's precipitancy, and replied to Charles's ministers, that it was not proper to treat of the affairs of the diet in any other place than that which the emperor had himself appointed, and begged, in consequence, that his majesty would hasten his arrival. This was the first check that Charles met with

¹ Seckendorf.

CHAPTER III.

Augsburg—The Gospel preached—The Emperor's Message—The Sermons prohibited—Firmness of the Elector—The Elector's Reply—Preparation of the Confession—Luther's Sinai—His Son and his Father—Luther's Merriment—Luther's Diet at Coburg—Saxony, a Paradise below—To the bishops—Travail of the Church—Charles—The Pope's Letter—Melancthon on Fasting—The Church, the Judge—The Landgrave's catholic Spirit.

MEANTIME Augsburg was filling more and more every day.¹ Princes, bishops, deputies, gentlemen, cavaliers, soldiers in rich

¹ The Rev. John Scott, in a note at p. 17 of his excellent Continuation of Milner, mentions the emperor's severe prohibition of any publication by the Protestants of the transactions of this diet, while he sanctioned the appearance of a very unfair account on the part of their adversaries, drawn up by a person who was not present. "This," says he, "produced a full relation of all that passed, by one intimately acquainted with the whole—'perhaps,' says Seekendorf, 'by Pontanus (that is, the Chancellor Brück) himself'—which exists in MS. in the library of Saxe Weimar, and which Seekendorf thinks would be better worth publication than most things that have appeared relative to these events. He gives an abstract of it."

Not only has Seekendorf's wish been fulfilled, but the Germans, with that zeal for the publication of the memorials of the past which now so signally marks the re-action from the philosophy of the eighteenth century, when everything past seemed to have lost its interest, especially in regard to religion, have added immensely to the printed documents relating to this period. I refer particularly to Bretschneider's *Corpus Reformatorum*, which commenced in 1834 with the publication of Melancthon's Whole Works, and to which Dr. Merle d'Aubigné's foot notes show that he has been largely indebted. With Melancthon's Epistles the editor has incorporated many other documents bearing on the proceedings at the diet, and these he has prefaced with a few notes on the sources which supplied him with all that he has published on that important convention. These are—1. *Lutheri Opera*. 2. *G. Spalatini Annales Reformationis*. 3. Works drawn from public archives and written sources. *a.* *Davidis Chytræi Historie der Augsburchischen Confession*, &c. Rostock, 1576. The same, in Latin, 1578. *b.* *Georgii Cœlestini Historia Comitiorum*, anno MDXXX., Augustæ celebratorum. The editor complains that the Lutheran minister Chytneus is inaccurate in some points, and that he very seldom names his authorities. 4. *Joh. Joachim Müllers Historie von der Evangelischen Stände Protestation und Appellation wider und von dem Reichsabschied zu Speyer 1520—und dem zu Augsburch auf dem Reichstag 1530*. Jena, 1705. Müller had made use of the Weimar archives, containing the *Apologia* rightly ascribed by Seekendorf and the Rev. J. Scott to Pontanus. 5. *Ernst Salomo Cyprian's Historie der Augsburchischen Confession*. Edit. Gotha, 1731-4; with an appendix, containing some things taken from MS. books. 6. *Acta Comitiorum August.* in *Tabularia Vinariensi*, to wit: *a.* three volumes inscribed Registr. E. fol. 37, No. 1, 2, et 3, and containing many writings by divines in the 2d volume. *b.* *Apologia manuscripta, auctore Gregorio Pontano. jussu Principis Electoris scripta adversus libellum qui paulo post Comitibus Aug. prodit*, [Manuscript Apology by Gregory Brück, written by command of the Elector, in reply to the small work which appeared soon after the diet of Augsburg, and intitled Bericht was dem Christlichem Glauben zu Gut auf dem Reichstag zu Augsburch, anno 1530, gehandelt worden, inserted at length in Hortleder's work *de causis belli Germanici*.]

uniforms, entered by every gate, and thronged the streets, the public places, inns, churches, and palaces. All that was most magnificent in Germany was there about to be collected. The critical circumstances in which the empire and Christendom were placed, the presence of Charles V. and his kindly manners, the love of novelty, of grand shows, and of lively emotions, tore the Germans from their homes. All those who had great interests to discuss, without reckoning a crowd of idlers, flocked from the various provinces of the empire, and hastily made their way towards this illustrious city.¹

In the midst of this crowd the elector and the landgrave were resolved to confess Jesus Christ, and to take advantage of this convocation in order to convert the empire. Scarcely had John arrived when he ordered one of his theologians to preach daily with open doors in the church of the Dominicans.² On Sunday the 8th May, the same was done in the church of St. Catherine; on the 13th, Philip of Hesse opened the gates of the cathedral, and his chaplain Snepff there proclaimed the Word of Salvation; and on the following Sunday (May 15) this prince ordered Cellarius, minister of Augsburg and a follower of Zwingli, to preach in the same temple. Somewhat

Now this answer to the emperor's partial account of the diet, has been lately published with an accurate description of it by Foestermann, in the *Archiv für die Geschichte der Kirchlichen Reformation in ihrem gesammten Umfange*. (Halle 1831. 8), des Canzlers Dr. Brück *Geschichte der Religionshandlungen auf dem Reichstage zu Augsburg im J. 1530*. 7. Finally there comes the *Acta Norinburgensia*—[the Nuremberg acts] consisting of the despatches sent to the magistrates of Nuremberg by their deputies there during the sitting of the diet. Bretschneider's note on these is much too long for insertion. Enough—they form a body of evidence particularly valuable on account of few despatches of this kind having been written owing to the actual presence of so many of the princes, and were till lately supposed to have been lost. First, Strobel found an imperfect index of them which was thought so valuable from giving short notices of what the letters contained, that he published it in his *Miscellanies*. On learning, however, from Fickenscher's "History of the Diet of Augsburg in 1530," published at Nuremberg in 1830, that these letters had been found, Bretschneider wrote to the senate of Nuremberg begging that they might be sent to him, which after some scruple was done. They are 79 in number, extending from 17th May to 20th November, and with the exception of those parts which had no reference to the diet, have been inserted in vol. ii. of the *Corpus Reformatorum*.

From all this it will be seen that Dr. Merle d'Aubigné has had immense advantages for giving an accurate account of the diet of Augsburg beyond what the Rev. John Scott or any author living before 1835, could have had.—p. D. A.

¹ Omnes alliebat. (Cochlæus, p. 191.)

² Rogantibus Augustanis publice in templum Dominicorum. (Seck. Lat. p. 193.)

later the landgrave firmly settled himself in the church of St. Ulric, and the elector in that of St. Catherine. These were the two positions taken up by these illustrious princes. Every day the Gospel was announced in these places to an immense and attentive crowd.¹

The partisans of Rome were amazed. They expected to see criminals endeavouring to dissemble their faults, and they met with confessors of Christ with uplifted heads and words of power. Desirous of counterbalancing these sermons, the bishop of Augsburg ordered his suffragan and his chaplain to ascend the pulpit. But the Romish priests understood better how to say mass than to preach the Gospel. "They shout, they bawl," said some. "They are stupid fellows," added all their hearers, shrugging their shoulders.²

The Romanists, ashamed of their own priests, began to grow angry,³ and unable to hold their ground by preaching, had recourse to the secular power. "The priests are setting wondrous machines at work to gain Cæsar's mind," said Melancthon.⁴ They succeeded, and Charles made known his displeasure at the hardihood of the princes. The friends of the pope then drew near the Protestants, and whispered into their ears, "that the emperor, victor over the king of France and the Roman pontiff, would appear in Germany to crush all the Gospellers."⁵ The anxious elector demanded the advice of his theologians.

Before the answer was ready, Charles's orders arrived, brought by two of his most influential ministers, the counts of Nassau and of Nuenar. A more skilful choice could not have been made. These two nobles, although devoted to Charles, were favourable to the Gospel, which they professed not long after. The elector was therefore fully disposed to listen to their counsel.

On the 24th May, the two counts delivered their letters to

¹ Täglich in den Kirchen, unverstört; dazu kommt sehr viel Volks. (Corp. Ref. ii. 53.)

² Clamant et vociferantur. Audires homines stupidissimos atque etiam sensu communi carentes. (Ibid. 86.)

³ Urebat hoc pontifices. (Scultet. p. 271.)

⁴ Οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς miris machinis oppugnant. (Corp. Ref. ii. 70.)

⁵ Evangelicos omnes obtritutum. (Scultet. p. 269.)

John of Saxony, and declared to him the emperor's exceeding grief that religious controversies should disturb the good understanding which had for so many years united the houses of Saxony and Austria;¹ that he was astonished at seeing the elector oppose an edict (that of Worms) which had been unanimously passed by all the states of the empire; and that the alliances he had made tended to tear asunder the unity of Germany, and might inundate it with blood. They required at last that the elector would immediately put a stop to the evangelical preachings, and added, in a confidential tone, that they trembled at the thought of the immediate and deplorable consequences which would certainly follow the elector's refusal. "This," said they, "is only the expression of our own personal sentiments." It was a diplomatic manœuvre, the emperor having enjoined them to give utterance to a few threats, but solely as if proceeding from themselves.²

The elector was greatly agitated. "If his majesty forbids the preaching of the Gospel," exclaimed he, "I shall immediately return home."³ He waited however for the advice of his theologians.⁴

Luther's answer was ready first. "The emperor is our master," said he; "the town and all that is in it belong to him. If your highness should give orders at Torgau for this to be

¹ These instructions may be found in Cœlestin, i. 50, and Forstemann Urk. i. 220.

² *Quidquid duri Electori denuntiabant suo veluti nomine et injussi dicebant.* (Seck. ii. 156.)

³ Den nächsten heim zu reiten. (Corp. Ref. ii. 88.)

⁴ The question in what circumstances ministers of the Gospel are justified in suppressing their public testimony, has been constantly recurring in all ages of the Church, and would oftener be found of great practical interest, were preaching less confined to places built for public worship. Thus it virtually ceases to be public, since people enter these or not at pleasure, and Roman Catholics being prohibited by their religion from entering them, to them the Gospel is never preached. Yet in our own days, and in countries where such rigour would least be expected, the Gospel testimony has been sought to be suppressed, directly and indirectly, by legal force, and in no country perhaps has the urgency of the command to preach the Gospel, subjected ministers, at various times, to severer hardships than in our own under circumstances that must be familiar to most readers.

The question was somewhat complicated at Augsburg and called for much difference of opinion. The princes seemed not disposed to consider that the emperor had *all* authority in the matter, themselves *none*, and had no idea of so public a slur being put on doctrines which they held to be truth and patronized accordingly. Luther and the ministers on the other hand, were influenced not only by a respect for the emperor's authority as supreme, but also by the consideration that the stopping of their mouths would involve the silencing also of the "Sacramentarians and Enthusiasts," for Spalatin no doubt expressed a general feeling among his

done, and for that to be left undone, the people ought not to resist. I should prefer endeavouring to change his majesty's decision by humble and respectful solicitation; but if he persists, might makes right; we have but done our duty."¹ Thus spoke the man who has often been represented as a rebel.

Melauchthon and the others were nearly of the same opinion, except that they insisted more on the necessity of representing to the emperor, "that in their sermons nothing controversial was introduced, but they were content simply to teach the doctrine of Christ the Saviour."² Let us beware, above all,"

party. The paper briefly stating the reasons for ceasing from preaching, is characteristic and is as follows:

Deliberatio D. Philippi (Melanthoni) et causæ ob quas aliquandiu cessari a prædicando possit.

1. Primum argumentum, quod sit concedendum quia imperator utrique parti prohibens, not facit præjudicium.

2. Quia pollicetur, se velle audire causam.

3. Majus bonum præferatur minori. Quia si cognitio causæ per hanc pertinaciam impediretur, quid accideret?

4. Magistri Agricole argumentum: quia sumus vocati ut pars ad dicendam causam, et ad rationem reddendam doctrine, non ad prædicandum.

5. Quod non sumus Parochi Augustanorum.

That is: 1st. Because it must be conceded that, as the emperor's prohibition applies to both parties, it does not prejudge the cause. 2d. Because he promises his willingness to hear the cause. 3d. A greater good must be preferred to a less. What might happen were this pertinacity to hinder the cause from being cognosed? 4th. Agricola's argument: Because we are called as a party to state our case and give an account of our doctrine, not to preach. 5th. Because we are not the parish ministers of Augsburg.

Now, generally speaking, ministers who have suffered for obeying that impulse which led the Apostle Paul to exclaim, "Woe is me if I preach not the gospel!" have felt themselves in the alternative either of preaching and taking the consequences, or of obeying our Lord's injunction: "When they persecute you in one city, flee ye into another." They have not made the announcement of the gospel to depend on the immediate object of their coming to a particular place, if they happened to be there, and no other preachers ready to discharge the gospel commission. They have never argued that where the preachers of error are silent, therefore those of truth may be silent too. They have not looked to future consequences, but to present duty, and felt that their call to preach was not confined to particular places, nor their responsibility transferable to others. If the protestant pastors were not the parish ministers of Augsburg, they stood in that relation at least to the princes and their numerous trains.—D. D. S.

¹ L. Epp. iv. 19.

² Nullas materias disputabiles a nobis doceri. (Corp. Ref. ii. 72.)

³ If the preaching of the Lutheran clergy in general was such as Melancthon describes it, it must have differed much in tone from Luther's writings, and been little fitted to rouse the Germans into uncompromising hostility to Rome by contrasting her doctrines and practices with Holy Scripture, and denouncing her as in open rebellion against the revealed will of the Most High. And it is interesting to mark this, for it is one among many tokens of a vacillation and indeterminateness on the part of the Lutheran Reformation, to which we may safely ascribe much of that readiness to relapse into Romanism, and also to lapse into Rationalism which has distinguished Germany. The absolute authority and the entire sufficiency of Scripture, in fact, seem not to have been enforced in the face of

continued they, "of leaving the city. Let your highness with an intrepid heart confess in presence of his majesty by what wonderful ways you have attained to a right understanding of the truth,¹ and do not allow yourself to be alarmed at these thunder-claps that fall from the lips of our enemies." To confess the truth—such was the object to which, according to the Reformers, everything else should be subordinate.

Will the elector yield to this first demand of Charles, and thus begin, even before the emperor's arrival, that list of sacrifices, the end of which cannot be foreseen?

No one in Augsburg was firmer than John. In vain did the reformers represent that they were in the emperor's city, and

Rome as they ought. Abundant scope must thus have been afforded for what may be called a sort of spiritual antinomianism. Men might, like Cardinal Pole, hold the doctrine of justification by faith, to be a "holy, fruitful, and indispensable truth," or, like M. A. Flaminio, "live in a sweet peace of conscience," from believing that "God's eternal Son, clothed in our flesh, has satisfied the righteousness of the eternal Father for us," (see Ranke's *Popes*, vol. I. p. 107) but withal be Antinomians in regard to some parts of God's law, as the Antinomians commonly so called, are in regard to others. Melancthon doubtless would have exclaimed against a preaching which never touched on the necessity of personal holiness as a fruit and evidence of faith. But if God's law is violated by the worship of saints and angels, by fellowship with the persecutors of his people, by worshipping the sacramental elements and other Romish corruptions, then that minister encourages antinomianism who, in preaching the Gospel, fails to warn his hearers against these, should he know them to be prevalent evils. Other reformers would doubtless have put forward the crying idolatry, superstition, &c., of the Romish Church as their grand reason for claiming to be allowed to preach at Augsburg on this occasion. But very different is the language of the *Judicium de concionibus* which begins thus:—

"Should his imperial majesty wish and demand that our most clement master, the duke elector of Saxony, should abrogate and suspend his preachings, we think that his highness, with all possible and due subjection of mind, may intercede with his imperial majesty and deprecate this, by suggesting that what is the condition of human frailty has need at all times of pious admonitions, exhortations, and consolations, sought and drawn from the divine words and promises: but that the lapsed and stray should be raised again and brought back to the right way, and all men confirmed and strengthened, in the various and many perils of this life, in the calamitous and unjust strokes of fortune, to which our life is always exposed.

"To this purpose Scripture saith that the *Word of God is not bound*. But that other doctrines alien to the Word of God, in our preaching, have in no wise been proposed and explained by us to the people, may be demonstrated from this very fact, that the same doctrine which we now by God's grace teach and profess, was ere now likewise heard in public, at two diets of the empire, held at Spire; nor, nevertheless, has the result ever proved that we taught false and absurd opinions and human dreams, or that anything proposed and inculcated by us, disagrees with, or dissents from, the foundations laid by the prophets and apostles, or tends to increase contentions.

"Then, any man of sane mind readily understands that no disputable matters are taught by us, but the doctrine concerning Christ our mediator and saviour is simply set forth, from which certainly every one must see clearly that men must come forth not worse but better." . . . —D. D. S.

¹ Quo modo plane inenarrabili atque mirifico. (Corp. Ref. ii. 74.)

only strangers:¹ the elector shook his head. Melancthon in despair wrote to Luther: "Alas! how untractable is our old man!"² Nevertheless he again returned to the charge. Fortunately there was an intrepid man at the elector's right hand, the chancellor Brück, who feeling convinced that policy, honour, and above all, duty, bound the friends of the Reformation to resist the menaces of Charles, said to the elector: "The emperor's demand is but a worthy beginning to bring about the definitive abolition of the Gospel."³ If we yield at present, they will crush us by and by. Let us therefore humbly beg his majesty to permit the continuance of the sermons." Thus, at that time, a statesman stood in the foremost rank of the confessors of Jesus Christ. This is one of the characteristic features of this great age, and it must not be forgotten, if we would understand its history aright.

On the 31st May, the elector sent his answer in writing to Charles's ministers. "It is not true," it bore, "that the edict of Worms was approved of by the six electors. How could the elector, my brother, and myself, by approving it, have opposed the everlasting Word of Almighty God? Accordingly, succeeding diets have declared this edict impossible to be executed. As for the relations of friendship that I have formed, their only aim is to protect me against acts of violence. Let my accusers lay before the eyes of his majesty the alliances they have made; I am ready to produce mine, and the emperor shall decide between us.—Finally, As to the demand to suspend our preachings, nothing is proclaimed in them but the glorious truth of God, and never was it so necessary to us. We cannot therefore do without it!"⁴

This reply must necessarily hasten the arrival of Charles; and it was urgent they should be prepared to receive him. To proclaim their belief, and then be silent, was the whole plan of the Protestant campaign. A Confession was therefore necessary. One man, of small stature, frail, timid, and in great alarm, was commissioned to prepare this instrument of war.

¹ In ejus urbe jam sumus hospites. (Corp. Ref. ii. 46.)

² Sed noster senex difficilis est. (Ibid.)

³ Ein fugsamer Anfang der Nidrbrengung des Evangelii. (Ibid. 76.)

⁴ Quo carere non possit. (Seck. p. 156; Muller, Hist. Prot. p. 506.)

Philip Melanchthon worked at it night and day: he weighed every expression, softened it down, changed it, and then frequently returned to his first idea. He was wasting away his strength; his friends trembled lest he should die over his task; and Luther enjoined him, as early as the 12th of May, under pain of anathema, to take measures for the preservation of "his little body," and not "to commit suicide for the love of God."¹ "God is as usefully served by repose," added he, "and indeed man never serves him better than by keeping himself tranquil. It is for this reason God willed that the Sabbath should be so strictly observed."²

Notwithstanding these solicitations, Melanchthon's application augmented, and he set about an exposition of the Christian faith, at once mild, moderate, and as little removed as possible from the doctrine of the Latin church. At Coburg he had already put his hand to the task, and traced out in the first part the doctrines of the faith, according to the articles of Schwabach; and in the second, the abuses of the Church, according to the articles of Torgau, making altogether quite a new work. At Augsburg he gave a more correct and elegant form to this Confession.³

The Apology, as it was then called, was completed on the 11th May; and the elector sent it to Luther, begging him to mark what ought to be changed. "I have said what I thought most useful," added Melanchthon, who feared that his friend would find the Confession too weak; for Eck ceases not to circulate against us the most diabolical calumnies, and I have endeavoured to oppose an antidote to his poisons."⁴

Luther replied to the elector on the 15th May: "I have read Master Philip's Apology; I like it well enough, and have no corrections to make. Besides, that would hardly suit me, for I cannot walk so meekly and so silently. May Christ our Lord grant that this work may produce much and great fruit."

Each day, however, the elector's councillors and theologians,

¹ Ut sub anathemate cogam te in regulas servandi corpusculi tui. (L. Epp. iv. 16.)

² Ideo enim Sabbatum voluit tam rigide præ cæteris servari. (Ibid.)

³ More rhetorically. Feci aliquando *ῥητορικώτερον* quam Coburgæ scripseram. (Corp. Ref. ii. 40.)

⁴ Quia Eckius addidit *διαβολικώτατας διαβολὰς* contra nos. (Ibid. 45.)

in concert with Melancthon, improved the Confession, and endeavoured to render it such that the charmed diet should, in its own despite, hear it to the very end.¹

While the struggle was thus preparing at Augsburg, Luther at Coburg, on the summit of the hill, "on his Sinai," as he called it, raised his hands like Moses towards heaven.² He was the real general of the spiritual war that was then waging; his letters ceased not to bear to the combatants the directions which they needed, and numerous pamphlets issuing from his stronghold, like discharges of musketry, spread confusion in the enemy's camp.

The place where he had been left was, by its solitude, favourable to study and to meditation.³ "I shall make a Zion of this Sinai," said he on the 22d April, "and I shall build here three tabernacles; one to the Psalms, another to the Prophets, and a third — to Esop!" This last word may well startle us. The association belongs neither to the language nor the spirit of the apostles. It is true that Esop was not to be his principal study: the fables were soon laid aside, and truth alone engaged Luther. "I shall weep, I shall pray, I shall never be silent," wrote he, "until I know that my cry has been heard in heaven."⁴

Besides, by way of relaxation, he had something better than Esop; he had those domestic joys whose precious treasures the Reformation had opened to the ministers of the Word. It was at this time he wrote that charming letter to his infant son, in which he describes a delightful garden where children dressed in gold are sporting about, picking up apples, pears, cherries, and plums; they sing, dance, and enjoy themselves, and ride pretty little horses, with golden bridles and silver saddles.⁵

But the reformer was soon drawn away from these pleasing images. About this time he learnt that his father had gently fallen asleep in the faith which is in Jesus Christ. "Alas!" exclaimed he, shedding tears of filial love, "it is by the sweat

¹ In *Apologia quotidie multa mutamus.* (Corp. Ref. ii. 60.)

² *Mathesius Predigten*, p. 92.

³ *Longe amenissimus et studiis commodissimus.* (L. Epp. iv. 2.)

⁴ *Orabo igitur et plorabo, non quieturus donec, &c.* (Ibid.)

⁵ This letter, which is a masterpiece of its kind, may be found in Luther's Epp. iv. 41, and also in Riddle's "Luther and his Times," p. 268.

of his brow that he made me what I am."¹ Other trials assailed him; and to bodily pains were added the phantoms of his imagination. One night in particular he saw three torches pass rapidly before his eyes, and at the same moment heard claps of thunder in his head, which he ascribed to the devil. His servant ran in at the moment he fainted, and after having restored him to animation, read to him the Epistle to the Galatians. Luther, who had fallen asleep, said as he awoke: "Come, and despite of the devil let us sing the psalm, *Out of the depths have I cried unto thee, O Lord!*" They both sang the hymn. While Luther was thus tormented by these internal noises, he translated the prophet Jeremiah, and yet he often deplored his idleness.

He soon devoted himself to other studies, and poured out the floods of his irony on the mundane practices of courts. He saw Venice, the pope, and the king of France, giving their hands to Charles V. to crush the Gospel. Then, alone in his chamber in the old castle, he burst into irresistible laughter. "Mr. *Par-ma-foy* (it was thus he designated Francis I.), *In-nomine-Domini* (the pope), and the republic of Venice, pledge their goods and their bodies to the emperor. . . . *Sanctissimum fœdus*. A most holy alliance truly! This league between these four powers belongs to the chapter *Non-credimus*. Venice, the pope, and France become *imperialists!* . . . But these are three persons in one substance, filled with unspeakable hatred against the emperor. Mr. *Par-ma-foy* cannot forget his defeat at Pavia; Mr. *In-nomine-Domini* is, 1st, an Italian, which is already too much; 2d, a Florentine, which is worse; 3d, a bastard—that is to say, a child of the devil; 4th, he will never forget the disgrace of the sack of Rome. As for the Venetians, they are Venetians: that is quite enough; and they have good reason to avenge themselves on the posterity of Maximilian. All this belongs to the chapter *Firmiter-credimus*. But God will help the pious Charles, who is a sheep among wolves. Amen."² The ex-monk of Erfurth had a surer political foresight than many diplomatists of his age.

¹ Per ejus sudores aluit et finxit qualis sum. (L. Epp. iv. 33.)

² To Gasp. of Teutleben, 19th June. (Ibid. 37.)

Impatient at seeing the diet put off from day to day, Luther formed his resolution, and ended by convoking it even at Coburg. "We are already in full assembly," wrote he on the 28th April and the 9th May. "You might here see kings, dukes, and other grandees, deliberating on the affairs of their kingdom, and with indefatigable voice publishing their dogmas and decrees in the air. They dwell not in those caverns which you decorate with the name of palaces: the heavens are their canopy; the leafy trees form a floor of a thousand colours, and their walls are the ends of the earth. They have a horror of all the unmeaning luxury of silk and gold; they ask neither coursers nor armour, and have all the same clothing and the same colour. I have not seen or heard their emperor; but if I can understand them, they have determined this year to make a pitiless war upon—the most excellent fruits of the earth. Ah! my dear friends," said he to his colleagues,¹ to whom he was writing, "these are the sophists, the papists, who are assembled before me from all quarters of the world to make me hear their sermons and their cries." These two letters, dated from the "*empire of ravens and crows*," finish in the following mournful strain, which shows us the reformer descending into himself after this play of his imagination: "Enough of jesting!—jesting which is, however, sometimes necessary to dispel the gloomy thoughts that overwhelm me."²

Luther soon returned to real life, and thrilled with joy at beholding the fruits that the Reformation was already bearing, and which were for him a more powerful "apology" than even the Confession of Melancthon. "Is there in the whole world a single country to be compared to your highness's states," wrote he to the elector, "and which possesses preachers of so pure a doctrine, or pastors so fitted to bring about the reign of peace? Where do we see, as in Saxony, boys and girls well instructed in the Holy Scriptures and in the Catechism, increasing in wisdom and in stature, praying, believing, talking of God and of Christ better than has been done hitherto by all

¹ An seine Tischgesellen, messmates or table-companions. (L. Epp. iv. 7.)

² Sed serio et necessario joco qui mihi irruentes cogitationes repelleret. (Ibid. 14.)

the universities, convents, and chapters of Christendom?"¹ "My dear duke John, says the Lord to you, I commend this paradise to thee, the most beautiful that exists in the world, that thou mayst be its gardener." And then he added: "Alas! the madness of the papist princes changes this paradise of God into a dirty slough, and corrupting the youth, daily peoples with real devils their states, their tables, and their palaces."

Luther not content with encouraging his prince, desired also to frighten his adversaries. It was with this intent that he wrote at that time an address to the members of the clergy assembled at Augsburg. A crowd of thoughts, like lansquenets armed cap-a-pié, "rushed in to fatigue and bewilder him;"² and in fact there is no want of barbed words in the discourse he addresses to the bishops. "In short," said he to them in conclusion, "we know and you know that we have the Word of God, and that you have it not. O pope! if I live I shall be a pestilence to thee; and if I die, I shall be thy death!"³

Thus was Luther present at Augsburg, although invisible; and he effected more by his words and by his prayers than Agricola, Brentz, or Melanchthon. These were the days of travail for the Gospel truth. It was about to appear in the world with a might, destined to eclipse all that had been done since the time of St. Paul; but Luther only announced and manifested the things that God was effecting: he did not execute them himself. He was, as regards the events of the Church, what Socrates was to philosophy: "I imitate my mother (she was a midwife)," this philosopher was in the habit of saying; "she does not travail herself, but she aids others." Luther—and he never ceased repeating it—has created nothing; but he has brought to light the precious seed, hidden for ages in the bosom of the Church. The man of God is not he who seeks to form his age according to his own peculiar ideas, but

¹ Es wächst jetzt daher die zart Jugend von Knäblin un Maidlin. (L. Epp. iv. 21.)

² Ut plurimos Lanskneektos, prorsus vi repellere cogar, qui insalutati non cessant obstrepere. (Ibid. 10.)

³ Pestis eram vivus, moriens ero mors tua, Papa. (L. Opp. xx. 164.)

he who, distinctly perceiving God's truth, such as it is found in his Word, and as it is hidden in his Church, brings it to his contemporaries with courage and decision.

Never had these qualities been more necessary, for matters were taking an alarming aspect. On the 4th June died chancellor Gattinara, who was to Charles V. "what Ulpian was to Alexander Severus," says Melancthon, and with him all the human hopes of the Protestants vanished.¹ "It is God," Luther had said, "who has raised up for us a Naaman in the court of the king of Syria." In truth Gattinara alone resisted the pope. When Charles brought to him the objections of Rome: "Remember," said the chancellor, "that you are master!" Henceforward everything seemed to take a new direction. The pope required that Charles should be satisfied with being his "licitor," as Luther says, to carry out his judgments against the heretics.² Eck, whose name (according to Melancthon) was no bad imitation of the cry of Luther's crows, heaped one upon another³ a multitude of pretended heretical propositions, extracted from the reformer's writings. They amounted to *four hundred and four*, and yet he made excuse that, being taken unawares, he was forced to restrict himself to so small a number, and he called loudly for a disputation with the Lutherans. They retorted on these propositions by a number of ironical and biting theses on "wine, Venus, and baths, against John Eck;" and the poor doctor became the general laughing-stock.

¹ Gattinara, in the correspondence of that day, is generally called *Mercurinus*. His death was perhaps the less to be regretted as, had he lived and retained his influence with the emperor, Melancthon might have been encouraged to compromise the Reformation, and matters might have ended in an inauspicious accommodation of differences. On the 21st of May Melancthon writes almost in the same terms to Camerarius and Baumgartner, both at Nuremberg, saying that while looking for the emperor he could say nothing as to his intentions, but was given to understand that the imperial council was divided, as the author has said, and then speaks of Gattinara's advocacy of the milder policy thus: "In hac sententia dicitur esse *Mercurinus* ὁ ἀρχιγυμνασιάρχης. Vir summus et moderatissimus, quem aium dicere, se hac spe secutum esse in adversa valetudine Casarem, quod arbitraretur fore, ut hæc mala rite sanarentur. Violenta consilia se nolle attingere, quia res ostenderit Wormacia nihil profecisse illam damnationem iniquam. Nihil adhuc audiui hic memoratu dignius, delectat enim me tanti viri vox atque sententia. Christus gubernet nos." It did not say much for Gattinara that his milder counsels were the result only of his having seen no good come of the violent proceedings at Worms. Yet Melancthon evidently felt his death a heavy discouragement.—D. D. S.

² *Tantum licitorem suum in hæreticos.* (Epp. iv. 10.)

³ *Magnum acervum conclusionum congestit.* (Corp. Ret. p. 39.)

But others went to work more skilfully than he. Cochlæus, who became chaplain to duke George of Saxony in 1527, begged an interview with Melanchthon, "for," added he, "I cannot converse with your married ministers."¹ Melanchthon, who was looked upon with an evil eye at Augsburg, and who had complained of being more solitary there than Luther in his castle,² was touched by this courtesy, and was still more fully penetrated with the idea that things should be ordered in the mildest manner possible.³

¹ Cum uxoris presbyteris tuis privatim colloqui non intendimus. (Corp. Ref. p. 82.)

² Nos non minus sumus monachi quam vos in illa arce vestra. (Ibid. p. 46.)

³ There was evidently a dead set at poor Melanchthon who now, no doubt, was receiving the providential chastisement well deserved by his previous coquettings with Erasmus and his bitter hostility to Zwingli and Cœcolampadius. No wonder that Cochlæus and Campeggio thought such a man might be gained over, and used every coaxing art to get him into their snares. We have seen how unjust he was to the Swiss, and I now subjoin part of a letter to Erasmus, which had no doubt found its way to Rome and been allowed to influence the plans concerted there. It is dated 22d March 1528.

"Although your letters otherwise have always been most agreeable to me, yet your last has been much more pleasant than any ever before. For while for some time I had had doubts about your good will towards me, seeing there are certain symptoms of a somewhat angry mind in the former Hyperaspistes, this letter in which you write to me so lovingly and honourably, has relieved me of all that solicitude. Nor does it give any obscure intimation of your perpetual kindness towards me. Accordingly I am exceedingly indebted to Dîlfus who both brought me evidence of your good will and love for me, and has afforded a most desired opportunity of writing to you."

He then begs Erasmus will not impute his long silence to any change of feeling towards him, nor suppose that regard for another (Luther being evidently meant), can ever lead him into open enmity with one whom he so loves and admires. This letter he hopes will induce Erasmus to acquit him of the suspicions scattered through the first Hyperaspistes, for in the last he noticed that he had been treated more mercifully.

He proceeds to say that though not wont to dissemble his opinion on the subject of the controversy betwixt him and Luther, yet he never so loved Luther as to have, as it were, given order to his vehemence in disputation. He regrets that such an *atrox certamen* should have arisen between them. Then at last his affection for Luther takes possession of his pen and he says: "Nor perhaps has Luther paid sufficient regard to your dignity. And you in turn have wonderfully disfigured him, who is a man indeed that I judge to be better than what he appears to one who judges of him from those violent compositions of his. The studies of both of you would do more good were they directed to the healing of these dissensions. And Christ grant that this strife may cease between you *ὅς ἰδὺ ἀγωνοθέρας εἶναι, κ.τ.λ.* (See Corp. Ref. vol. i. p. 946.)

Now, giving all due weight to the natural influence of early recollections and obligations, this letter, it must be allowed, no less than his asperity towards the Sacramentarians, betrays the imbecility of Melanchthon's character, and may suggest that Michelet's remark that Luther felt bitterly disappointed at the turning of Erasmus and the host of literary men who idolized him, against the Reformation, applies much more justly to Melanchthon.

Cochlæus's note to that reformer, is an inimitable specimen of artfulness and hypocrisy.

The Romish priests and laymen made a great uproar, because on fast days meat was usually eaten at the elector's court. Melancthon advised his prince to restrict the liberty of his attendants in this respect. "This disorder," said he, "far from leading the simple-minded to the Gospel, scandalizes them." He added, in his ill-humour: "A fine holiness truly, to make it a matter of conscience to fast, and yet to be night and day given up to wine and folly!"¹ The elector did not yield to Melancthon's advice; it would have been a mark of weakness of which his adversaries would have known how to take advantage.²

On the 31st May, the Saxon Confession was at length communicated to the other Protestant states, who required that it should be presented in common in the name of them all.³ But

"S. Arnold and I want to know you personally, and to converse with you in a friendly way, O excellent Dr. Philip, if it can be done conveniently without having a concourse of other people, and without witnesses. If you think this in your power, and safe for you, (*si tibi hoc integrum et tutum fore*) pray appoint for us time and place by the bearer of this note. For we want to see and converse with yourself alone. We have no mind to have colloquies in private with your wived priests. If you cannot show yourself to us at your house alone, we beg you will appoint some other place, in a church or wherever you please. Assuredly at my inn there would be a safe and secret place, where, besides our servants, I mean your man and mine, nobody would know anything about the conversation. But I fear this request may be suspected by you. We therefore would rather have the place and hour fixed by you. Farewell. 2d June.

"JOHANNES COCHLÆUS."

Brent writes to Isenmann two days after, telling him of this strange note from Cochleus, and that, as he was still a bachelor, Melancthon had taken him (*me comitem assumebat*) along with him to the meeting. This, evidently, was not what the sly papists wanted; they thought they might manage Melancthon if quite alone, and hence the meeting seems to have passed off without any particular result. Brent calls Cochleus a stupid man, and says that when they met, they made him so polite, and so pleased him, that he now saluted and politely conversed with wived presbyters as well as others.

Here then we have a Romanist priest, who was among the hottest in urging violent measures—that is, fire and sword against the Protestants—professing the utmost kindness to their leader, and affecting to be horrified at meeting with wived, he will not call them *married*, presbyters, while, had these been priests living in concubinage, there would doubtless have been no horror felt in conversing with them at all.—D. D. S.

¹ Und dennoch Tag und Nacht voll und toll seyn. (Corp. Ref. ii. p. 79.)

² "In the papacy," said Luther when alluding to fastings, "every thing is done without trouble; their fasting is easier to them than eating is to us; the fast day is often succeeded by three days of devouring gluttony. Every friar has for his evening refreshment two quarts of beer, a quart of wine, spice cakes or bread prepared with spices and salt to make drink relishing. Such was the practice of these poor fasting brethren. They grew thin and pale did they? Truly no: they rather came to be like fiery angels, their faces were so red!" Lawson's *Luther's Autobiography*, p. 330.—D. D. S.

³ In gemein in aller Fürsten und Städte Nāmen. (Corp. Ref. ii. p. 88.)

at the same time they desired to make their reservations with regard to the influence of the state. "We appeal to a council," said Melanchthon; "we will not receive the emperor as our judge; the ecclesiastical constitutions themselves forbid him to pronounce in spiritual matters."¹ Moses declares that it is not the civil magistrate who decides, but the sons of Levi. St. Paul also says (1 Cor. xiv.), '*let the others judge,*' which cannot be understood except of an entire Christian assembly; and the Saviour himself gives us this commandment: '*Tell it unto the Church.*' We pledge, therefore, our obedience to the emperor in all civil matters; but as for the Word of God, we demand liberty."

All were agreed on this point; but the dissent came from another quarter. The Lutherans feared to compromise their cause if they went hand in hand with the Zwinglians. "This is Lutheran madness," replied Bucer: "it will perish of its own weight."² But, far from allowing this madness "to perish," the reformed augmented the disunion by exaggerated complaints. "In Saxony they are beginning to sing Latin hymns again," said they; "the sacred vestments are resumed, and oblations are called for anew."³ We would rather be led to slaughter, than be Christians after that fashion."

The afflicted landgrave, says Bucer, was "between the hammer and the anvil;" and his allies caused him more uneasiness than his enemies.⁴ He applied to Rhégius, to Brentz, to Melanchthon, declaring that it was his most earnest wish to see concord prevail among all the evangelical doctors. "If these fatal doctrines are not opposed," replied Melanchthon, "there will be rents in the Church that will last to the end of the world. Do not the Zwinglians boast of their full coffers, of having soldiers prepared, and of foreign nations disposed to aid them? Do they not talk of sharing among them the rights and the property of the bishops, and of proclaiming liberty

¹ Die *constitutiones canonicæ* den Kaysern verbieten zu richten und sprechen in geistlichen sachen. (Corp. Ref. ii. p. 66.)

² De Lutheranis furoribus.....sua ipsi mole ruent. (Zw. Epp. ii. 432.)

³ Hinc Latine resumuntur cantiones, repetuntur sanctæ vestes. (Ibid. p. 457.)

⁴ Catus inter sacrum et saxum stat, et de sociis magis quam hostibus sollicitus est. (Ibid.)

. . . Good God! shall we not think of posterity, which, if we do not repress these guilty seditions, will be at once without throne and without altar?"¹² "No, no! we are one," replied

¹ Keine Kirche und kein Regiment. (Corp. Ref. ii. 95.)

² Not without reason does Zwingli complain, in his *Responsiones Dux*, addressed to the elector, John of Saxony, and Philip of Hesse, that the Lutherans condemned his writings without reading them,* when we find Melancthon expressing himself as follows on the opinions of the great Swiss reformer. Writing to Martin Gorolich in 1530, he says: "As for the faction of Zwingli, I enjoin you to keep up your spirits. I have perceived in the pretence of the leaders of that sect, (referring to the conference at Marburg) what a nullity they hold Christian doctrine to be (*quam nullam habent Christianam doctrinam*). They only philosophize in a puerile manner; therefore, they cannot last; for every tree which God hath not planted will be rooted up. After disputing whole six hundred years they produce nothing but these words: *The flesh profiteth nothing*. These they now twist into meaning the flesh of Christ. You have seen what I have collected on this subject, whence you may know my opinion. Rather would I die than affirm what they affirm, that Christ's body can only be in one. Therefore, you may constantly refute them in public and private, when there shall be occasion for it. This also you may vituperate in them, that they say nothing on the use of the sacrament. There is no mention of justifying faith in all the books of the Zwinglians. When they name faith, they do not understand that which believes the remission of sins, which believes that we are received into God's favour, that we are heard and guarded by him, but they mean an historical faith. But Christians ought to know the use and the exercise of faith. Farewell. May Christ govern thy ministry.—PHILIP MELANCTHON."—(Ibid. p. 25.)

Again, in writing to Frederick Myconius, he says: "See, dear Frederick, to what the Zwinglian faction is about to break out. After having weakened and profaned the Lord's supper, they have corrected absurdities with finespun reasons which seemed such to human judgment, they now begin to philosophize on the whole subject of religion. This Campanus of ours has brought hither (to Torgau) a great heap of impious dogmas. And he has (as his accomplices) in such wickedness the leading men of Juliers, who have dared to recommend him to our prince, and to beg that he take bail for us to stand our trial. For he is resolved to make war on us. He disputes Christ's being God; the Holy Ghost's being God; original sin's being anything but an idle name. In fine there is nothing that he does not transform into philosophy." . . . (Ibid. p. 33.)

Now, so far from having nothing but the words "*The flesh profiteth nothing*" to adduce, on reading the works of Zwingli, one is amazed at the immense variety of scriptural argument brought by that writer to bear upon the point in dispute; and Urban Regius, writing to Luther on the 21st of May, says: "The prince of Hesse, a youth of vehement temper, and studious of Holy Scripture beyond what one could expect in a man of his rank, asked me lately to dine with him, and I had much lengthened discussion with him on the whole cause of the Gospel, but for two hours on the eucharist. The prince adduced the *innumerable arguments of the sacramentarians*, which he wanted to hear me solve." . . .

But far more inexcusable is Melancthon's confounding of the heresies of Campanus with Zwingli's theological doctrines. True, Campanus may have first adopted Zwingli's views on the sacrament and proceeded to deny the divinity of Christ, &c. But did he not first of all hold Luther's views, so that Melancthon is just doing that wrong to Zwingli which the papists did to Luther and himself when they insisted that Luther's doctrines were the first step in a course naturally leading to all manner of impious opinions. It is true that the Zwinglians used the philosophical argument that Christ's body could not possibly be in two

* "Ex Lutheri enim libris non obscure conficere possumus nostra scripta intra vestrae ditiosis terminis nequiquam legi, cum videlicet ea nobis obtrudat quae nunquam a nobis tradita sunt, interim vero quae docuimus semper, nos nunquam docuisse clamat." (Zw. Opp. Tiguri 1551, vol. ii. p. 417.)

this generous prince, who was so much in advance of his age; "we all confess the same Christ, we all profess that we must eat Jesus Christ, by faith, in the eucharist. Let us unite." All was unavailing. The time in which true catholicity was to replace this sectarian spirit, of which Rome is the most perfect expression, had not yet arrived.

CHAPTER IV.

Agitation in Augsburg—Violence of the Imperialists—Charles at Munich—Charles's Arrival—The Nuncio's Blessing—The Imperial Procession—Charles's Appearance—Enters Augsburg—Te Deum—The Benediction—Charles desires the Sermons to be discontinued—Brandenburg offers his Head—The Emperor's Request for Corpus Christi—Refusal of the Princes—Agitation of Charles—The Princes oppose Tradition—Procession of Corpus Christi—Exasperation of Charles.

IN proportion as the emperor drew near Augsburg, the anxieties of the Protestants continued increasing. The burghers of this imperial city expected to see it become the theatre of strange events. Accordingly they said that if the elector, the landgrave, and other friends of the Reformation were not in the midst of them, they would all desert it.¹ "A great destruction

places at once, but Zwingli himself, as Melancthon's words obviously imply, and as his works attest, preferred, or rather summed up all in the *scriptural* argument that our Lord himself rebuked the gross interpretation put on his words by the Jews. Notwithstanding such conversions from the doctrine of consubstantiation as those of Œcolampadius and Lambert, men whose orthodoxy was beyond suspicion, the idea that that doctrine could be opposed only on principles of interpretation subversive of all settled doctrines, seems to have taken such a hold of Luther and his friends that they could not throw it off. Thus Melancthon and Brent in the joint letter to the landgrave of Hesse, ascribed by the author to Melancthon alone, scruple not to lament the appearance of Zwingli's views as opening up the way to other unfounded and mischievous opinions. Denn dieser Zwiespalt ist uns von Herzen leid, haben auch auf Erden keine grössere Betrübniß, denn von dieser Sache, dass wir sehen wie man zufället auf ungegründete *opiniones*, daraus grosse Spaltung in der Kirche, darzu Ungerichtigkeit im Gewissen folget, dadurch man hernach weiter fället auf andre schaedliche Gedanken; wie wir dann sehen, dass vielen jetzund widerfahren, welche erstlich vom Abendmahl haben allegorisiret, kommen nun und allegorisiren von mehr Artikeln, als naemlich *Campanus, Martinus Cellarius, Felinus*. . . . (Corp. Ref. ii. p. 92.) Such a perverse idea is the only excuse that can be made for the violence and spite of the consubstantiationists. How little did these misguided men foresee that, revolting from a dogma opposed to common sense, their successors, the Lutherans of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, should run into those very courses to which they imagined Zwingli's views inevitably conducted, and doubt all Scripture because in one instance there had been an outrage committed on their reason, under the false pretext of Scripture demanding it.—D. D. S.

¹ Wo Sachsen, Hessen, und andere Lutherische nit hie wären. (Corp. Ref. ii. 89.)

threatens us," was repeated on every side.¹ One of Charles's haughty expressions above all disquieted the Protestants. "What do these electors want with me?" he had said impatiently; "I shall do what I please!"² Thus arbitrary rule was the imperial law destined to prevail in the diet.

To this agitation of men's minds was added the agitation of the streets, or rather one led to the other. Masons and locksmiths were at work in all the public places and crossings, laboriously fastening barriers and chains to the walls, that might be closed or stretched at the first cry of alarm.³ At the same time about eight hundred foot and horse soldiers were seen patrolling the streets, dressed in velvet and silk,⁴ whom the magistrates had enrolled in order to receive the emperor with magnificence.

Matters were in this state, and it was about the middle of May, when a number of insolent Spanish quartermasters arrived, who, looking with contemptuous eyes on these wretched burghers, entered their houses, conducted themselves with violence, and even rudely tore down the arms of some of the princes.⁵ The magistrates having delegated councillors to treat with them, the Spaniards made an impudent reply. "Alas!" said the citizens, "if the servants are so, what will their master be?" The ministers of Charles were grieved at their impertinence, and sent a German quartermaster who employed the forms of German politeness to make them forget this Spanish haughtiness.

That did not last long, and they soon felt more serious alarm. The council of Augsburg were asked what was the meaning of these chains and soldiers, and they were ordered, in the emperor's name, to take down the one and disband the other. The magistrates of the city answered in alarm, "For more than ten years past we have intended putting up these chains;⁶ and as for the soldiers, our object is simply to pay due

¹ *Minatur nobis Satan grande exitium.* (Corp. Ref. ii 92.)

² *Er wolte es machen, wie es Ihm eben ware.* (Ibid. 98.)

³ *Neu aufgerichte Ketten und Stock.* (Ibid. 66.)

⁴ *Mit Sammet und Seide auf's kostlichst ausgestrichen.* (Ibid.)

⁵ *Den jungen Fursten zu Neuburg ihre Wappen abgerissen.* (Ibid. 55.)

⁶ *Vor zehn Jahren in Sinn gehalt.* (Ibid. 66.)

honour to his majesty." After many parleys it was agreed to dismiss the troops, and that the imperial commanders should select afresh a thousand men, who should make oath to the emperor, but be paid by the city of Augsburg.

The imperial quartermasters then resumed all their insolence; and no longer giving themselves the trouble of entering the houses and the shops, they tore down the signboards of the Augsburg citizens, and wrote in their place how many men and horses the latter would be required to lodge.¹

Such were the preludes to the work of conciliation that Charles V. had announced, and that he was so slow in beginning. Accordingly his delay, attributed by some to the crowds of people who surrounded him with their acclamations; by others to the solicitations of the priests, who opposed his entry into Augsburg until he had imposed silence on the ministers; and by others, finally, to the lessons the pope had given him in the arts of policy and stratagem,² still more estranged the elector and his allies.

At last Charles, having quitted Innspruck two days after Gattinara's death, arrived at Munich on the 10th June. His reception was magnificent. About two miles from the town a temporary fortress had been erected, around which a sham-fight took place. Soldiers mounted to the assault, mines were exploded; discharges of artillery, clouds of smoke, the clash of arms, the shouts of the combatants, delighted the eyes and ears of the emperor;³ within the city, theatres had been raised in the open air,⁴ in which the *Jewish Esther*, the *Persian Cam-*

¹ Gehen nicht mehr in die Häuser und schrieben an die Thür. (Corp. Ref. ii. 89.)

² Casarem instructum arte pontificum querere causas morie. (L. Epp. iv. 31.)

³ Das hat Kais. Maj. wohl gefallen. (Forstemann, Urkunden, i. 246.)

⁴ These shows formed a marked feature of the times, and the preparation of them seems to have been one of the amusements by which the friars relieved the monotony of their lives, besides that they helped to maintain the influence of the Church of Rome over the masses. Nay, perhaps we may trace the mimic gesticulation of Romish preachers in most Romanist countries to the times when that order acted plays as well as preached sermons.

The work referred to in a former note (vol. II. p. 665), gives the following curious account of these theatricals at Lyons.

"This accomplished queen (Anne of Bretagne, second wife of Louis XII.), is known to have had no less piety than wit, and people endeavoured to meet both qualities in the fetes given her at Lyons during her frequent journeys and long residences there, alone or with the king. The pieces for her diversion were all taken from pious narratives in the Old and New Testament, and the lives of the

bysses, and other pieces not less famous, were represented; and the whole, combined with splendid fireworks, formed the wel-

saints. The associated friars of the Passion who were the actors and dramatic poets of that period, acted in her presence the life of St. Magdalen, with the applause of the court and the city. There is still to be seen in the archives of the town-hall, a consular act ordering Clement Trie to lend the actors, for the use of their theatre, the decorations that had been used at the solemn entries of the king and queen. Another consular act, much of the same date, allows the most Reverend Augustinian Fathers 'to have a large theatre erected on the waste ground at the fosses of the Lanthorn Gate, there to act the life of St. Nicolas de Tolentin, which the said Augustinian monastery wanted to have acted, but on condition of their not touching the city walls and putting the ground into its former state, for which they should give good burgess security.' . . . It would appear their own was insufficient. These plays were at that time called, *les beaux Mystères*.

"The great success enjoyed by these pious comedies, suggested a very singular project to one of our wealthiest citizens, John Neyron, about forty years afterwards, he having when a child been present at these plays, and perhaps been himself one of the players. Touched, it is said, with devotion towards the Passion of Jesus Christ, he employed his wealth in purchasing several houses betwixt the Church of the Augustinian fathers and that of the Desert. There he had a vast theatre erected, the upper part of which represented paradise, whose joys were exhibited, and the lower part hell, whose howlings might be heard. He had galleries and boxes erected all round for a great many spectators, and for three or four years he caused to be represented there the Mysteries of the Old and the New Testament on feast days and Sundays. One may judge, from a short specimen, of the odd taste shown in these first dramatical pieces, a collection of which was printed in 1542, under this title: *Le très excellent et Saint Mystère du Vieux Testament, représenté par personnages, auquel sont contenues les Histoires de la Bible*. This work, printed in two folio volumes, is now extremely rare."

As the pieces seem to have been confined to the Old and New Testament, excluding the lives of the saints, notwithstanding their manifold attractions to the lovers of the marvellous, there is little doubt that John Neyron was favourable to the Reformation, and took this singular method of directing men's minds to the long-neglected Word of God. That the reading and preaching of the Word, however, and not dramatic shows, were wisely ordained to teach men the way of salvation, appears from the unbefitting directions given by the famous poet Choquet, the author of the drama, to the actors. Note, says he, that he who enacts the part of God ought to be at the commencement, alone in paradise, until he has created the angels. God accordingly appears alone upon the scene, and utters the following monologue:

To give a proof that we are great,
To decorate these thrones so fine,
This day we purpose to create
Beings virtuous and divine.

But hardly have the angels been brought out of nothing, when Lucifer revolts against his Creator, and haughtily walking by himself, he says:

When I myself behold so bright
Irradiating all around,
I feel the wish, the hope I might
In higher place be found.

* * * * *

Wherefore, if you my worthy peers
Would lay aside unworthy fears
And trust me, we may surely rise
To rule supreme in paradise.
Yes! I'll the Trinity dethrone
And make the seat of God my own,
While ye shall stand around and see
My glory and felicity.

come given by the adherents of the pope to him whom they styled their saviour.

God then appears and hurls him into the abyss, addressing him thus:

Non ascendes sed descendes,
Lucifer, appear no more
Where thou wouldst rise presumptuously
Against the God thou shouldst adore;
Down to the lowest gulf of hell,
Infectious, vile, abominable.

Then St. Michael, filled with zeal in behalf of his Creator, chases Lucifer and his accomplices, addressing him thus:

Dragon vile, insatiable,
Thy pride shall be rewarded well,
Off with thee as devil damn'd
By omnipotent command;
Out with thee and take thy due,
Thou and all thy rebel crew;
Leave these heavens, so divine,
Where triumphant angels shine,
And with thee thy legion take
To the burning fetid lake.

The next scene represents hell with the rebel angels addressing each other after their fall. The reader will ere this have been reminded of our Milton's *Paradise Lost*. Very different, however, are the speeches put by Choquet into the mouths of his lost spirits, though horror and despair are rudely and powerfully represented in them. Here the French we fear is altogether untranslatable.

• • • • •
Harau, Harau je me repens
On sommes nous dyables infernaux ?

SATHAN.

Il n'est pas tems, il n'est pas tems.

LUCIFER.

Harau, harau, je me repens;
Plongés sommes avec serpens
Couleuvres, dragons et crappaux,
Harau, harau, je me repens.

ASTAROTH.

Au puit d'enfer sommes fêches
A jamais sans remission.

LEVIATHAN.

Pour rien nous rompons la tête
Car il n'est grace, ne mercy.

AGRAPPART.

Rien n'y vaudroit donner requeste,
Force est demourer icy.

• • • • •

LUCIFER.

Dyables, huyons et menons crys;
C'est le plus beau de notre chauce.

SATHAN.

Nous qui sommes en enfer ecrits
Dyables huyons et menons crys:
Etonnons les cieux par nos huys
En infernale residence.

ASMODEUS.

Dyables, huyons et menons crys;
C'est le plus beau de notre chauce.

A dreadful tempest being represented at the same time as accompanying these yells and howlings of the apostate angels, the whole scene must have been abund-

Charles was not far distant from Augsburg. As early as the 11th June, every day and every hour, members of the imperial household, carriages, waggons, and baggage entered the city, to the sound of the clacking whip and of the horn;¹ and the burghers in amazement gazed with dejected eyes on all this insolent train, that fell upon their city like a flight of locusts.²

At five o'clock in the morning of the 15th June,³ the elector, the princes, and their councillors, assembled at the town-hall, and ere long arrived the imperial commissaries, with orders for them to go out and meet Charles. At three in the afternoon the princes and deputies quitted the city, and, having reached a little bridge across the river Lech, they were halted and waited for the emperor. The eyes of every member of the brilliant assemblage, thus stopping on the smiling banks of an alpine torrent, were directed along the road to Munich. At length, after waiting two or three hours, clouds of dust and a loud noise announced the emperor. Two thousand of the imperial guard marched first; and as soon as Charles had come to within fifty paces of the river, the electors and princes alighted. Their sons, who had advanced beyond the bridge, perceiving the emperor preparing to do the same, ran to him and begged him to remain on horseback;⁴ but Charles dismounted without hesitation,⁵ and approaching the princes with an amiable smile, cordially shook hands with them. Albert of Maintz, in his quality of arch-chancellor of the empire, now welcomed the emperor, and the count-palatine Frederick replied in behalf of Charles.

While this was passing, three individuals remained apart on

anly fitted to excite the imaginations of a rude multitude. And, however open to censure such representations may have been in other respects, no doubt they made the people curious to see and read the Bible, on its being disseminated by the press in the translations executed by the reformers, seeing that it was the source of so many of these *mysteries*. The reader who wishes farther information on the subject of these *mysteries*, may consult *Etudes sur les Mystères, monumens historiques littéraires, la plupart inconnus, &c. &c.* Par M. Onesime Leroy, published in France about 10 years ago.—D. D. S.

¹ Alle Stund die Wagen, der Tross und viel gesinds nach einander herein. (Corp. Ref. ii. 90.)

² Finden aber wenig Freuden feuer. (Ibid.)

³ Zu morgens, um fünf Uhr. (F. Urkunden, i. 263.)

⁴ Ab Electorum filiis qui procurrerant rogatus. (Seck. ii. 101.)

⁵ Mox ab equis descenderunt. (Cochlous.)

a little elevation;¹ these were the Roman legate, proudly seated on a mule, glittering with purple, and accompanied by two other cardinals, the archbishop of Salzburg and the bishop of Trent. The Nuncio, beholding all these great personages on the road, raised his hands, and gave them his blessing. Immediately the emperor, the king, and the princes who submitted to the pope, fell on their knees; the Spaniards, Italians, Netherlanders, and Germans in their train, imitated their movements, casting however a side glance on the Protestants, who, in the midst of this humbly prostrate crowd, alone remained standing.² Charles did not appear to notice this, but he doubtless understood what it meant. The elector of Brandenburg then delivered a Latin speech to the legate.³ He had been selected because he spoke this language better than the princes of the Church; and accordingly Charles, when praising his eloquence, silyly put in a word about the negligence of the prelates.⁴ The emperor now prepared to remount his horse; the prince-electoral of Saxony, and the young princes of Luneburg, Mecklenburg, Brandenburg, and Anhalt, rushed towards him to aid him in getting into his saddle: one held the bridle, another the stirrup, and all were charmed at the magnificent appearance of their powerful sovereign.⁵ The procession began to move on.

First came two companies of lansquenets, commanded by Simon Seitz, a citizen of Augsburg, who had made the campaign of Italy, and was returning home laden with gold.⁶ Next advanced the households of the six electors, composed of princes, counts, councillors, gentlemen, and soldiers; the household of the dukes of Bavaria had slipped into their ranks, and the four hundred and fifty horsemen that composed it marched five abreast, covered with bright cuirasses, and wearing red doublets,

¹ Auf ein Ort geruckt. (F. Urkunden, i. 256.)

² Primum constantiæ specimen. (Seck. ii. 101.)

³ Frederick the Great of Prussia, in his Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg, tells us: "that Joachim II. distinguished himself among the party, not only by the controversial letters which he wrote to the king of Poland, but moreover by the eloquent speeches which he is said to have made at the diet of Augsburg in favour of the Protestants."—D. D. S.

⁴ Prielatorum autem negligentiam accusaret. (Seck. ii. 101.)

⁵ Consententem juniores principes adjuverunt. (Ibid. and F. Urkunden, i. 258.)

⁶ Bekleit von Gold. Lit. clothed with gold. (F. Urkunden, i. 258.)

while over their heads floated handsome many-coloured plumes. Bavaria was already in this age the main support of Rome in Germany.

Immediately after came the households of the emperor and of his brother, in striking contrast with this warlike show. They were composed of Turkish, Polish, Arabian, and other led horses; then followed a multitude of young pages, clad in yellow or red velvet, with Spanish, Bohemian, and Austrian nobles in robes of silk and velvet;¹ among these the Bohemians had the most martial air, and gracefully rode their superb and prancing coursers. Last the trumpeters, drummers, heralds, grooms, footmen, and the legate's cross-bearers, announced the approach of the princes.

In fact these powerful lords, whose contentions had so often filled Germany with confusion and war, now advanced riding peacefully side by side. After the princes appeared the electors; and the elector of Saxony, according to custom, carried the naked and glittering imperial sword immediately before the emperor.²

Last came the prince, on whom all eyes were fixed.³ Thirty years of age, of distinguished port and pleasing features, robed in golden garments that glittered all over with precious stones,⁴ wearing a small Spanish hat on the crown of his head,⁵ mounted on a beautiful Polish hackney of the most brilliant whiteness, riding beneath a rich canopy of red, white, and green damask, borne by six senators of Augsburg, and casting around him looks in which gentleness was mingled with gravity,⁶ Charles

¹ Viel sammete unde seiden Röcke. (L. Opp. xx. 201.)

² Noster princeps de more prætulit ensem. (Corp. Ref. ii. 118.)

³ Omnium oculos in se convertit. (Seck. ii. 160.)

⁴ Totus gemmis coruscabat. (Ibid.)

⁵ Ein klein Spanisch Hütlein. (F. Urkunden, i. 260.)

⁶ Justus Jonas, in writing to Luther about the 29th of June, thus describes the emperor's appearance when the Confession of Augsburg was read: "I had a nearer look of the emperor's features and expression (*faciem ac vultum*), than ten years ago at the diet of Worms. There seem to be imprinted in that prince all the indications of a liberal, generous, clement and truly royal mind, and of a certain innate humanity. I heard from a certain great man, who was himself at the meeting and a member of the councils, that as often as king Ferdinand says anything too vehemently and harshly, the emperor usually reprehends him, hinting that moderation and clemency become kings, that he abhorred precipitate counsels, and that princes could not have a worse counsellor than the passion of anger." (Corp. Ref. ii. p. 155.)

—D, D. S.

excited the liveliest enthusiasm, and every one exclaimed that he was the handsomest man in the empire, as well as the mightiest prince in the world.

He had at first desired to place his brother and the legate at his side; but the elector of Maintz, attended by two hundred guards arrayed in silk, had claimed the emperor's right hand; and the elector of Cologne, with a hundred well-armed attendants, had taken his station on the left. King Ferdinand and the legate came next; to whom succeeded the cardinals, ambassadors, and prelates, among whom was remarked the haughty bishop of Osma, the emperor's confessor. The imperial cavalry and the troops of Augsburg closed the procession.

Never, according to the historians, had anything so magnificent been seen in the empire;¹ but they advanced slowly, and it was between eight and nine o'clock in the evening before they reached the gates of Augsburg.² Here they met the burgomaster and councillors, who prostrated themselves before Charles, and at the same time the cannon from the ramparts, the bells from all the steeples in full peal, the noise of trumpets and kettle-drums, and the joyful acclamations of the people, re-echoed with loud din. Stadion, bishop of Augsburg, and his clergy robed in white, struck up the *Advenisti desiderabilis*; and six canons, advancing with a magnificent canopy, prepared to conduct the emperor to the cathedral, when Charles's horse, startled at this unusual sight, suddenly reared,³ and the emperor had some difficulty in mastering him. At length Charles entered the minster, which was ornamented with garlands and flowers, and suddenly illuminated by a thousand torches.

The emperor went up to the altar, and falling on his knees, raised his hands towards heaven.⁴ During the *Te Deum*, the Protestants observed with anxiety that Charles kept conversing in a low tone with the archbishop of Maintz; that he bent his ear to the legate who approached to speak to him, and nodded in a friendly manner to duke George. All this ap-

¹ Antea in imperio non erat visa. (Seck. ii. 160.)

² Ingressus est in urbem intra octavam et nonam. (Ibid. 114.)

³ Da entsetzt sich K. M. Hengst für solchem Himmcl. (F. Urkunden, i. 261.)

⁴ Ihr hand aufhebt. (Ibid.)

peared to them of evil omen; but at the moment when the priests sang the *Te ergo quæsumus*, Charles, breaking off his conversations, suddenly rose, and one of the acolytes running to him with a gold embroidered cushion, the emperor put it aside, and knelt on the bare stones of the church. All the assembly knelt with him; the elector and the landgrave alone remained standing. Duke George, astonished at such boldness, cast a threatening glance at his cousin. The margrave of Brandenburg, carried away by the crowd, had fallen on his knees; but having seen his two allies standing, he hastily rose up again.

The cardinal-archbishop of Salzburg then proceeded to pronounce the benediction; but Campeggio, impatient at having as yet taken no part in the ceremony, hastened to the altar, and rudely thrusting the archbishop aside, said sharply to him:¹ "This office belongs to me, and not to you." The other gave way, the emperor bent down, and the landgrave, with difficulty concealing a smile, hid himself behind a candelabrum. The bells now rang out anew, the procession recommenced its march, and the princes conducted the emperor to the palatinate (the name given to the bishop's palace), which had been prepared for him. The crowd now dispersed: it was after ten at night.

The hour was come in which the partisans of the papacy flattered themselves with the prospect of rendering the Protestants untrue to their faith. The arrival of the emperor, the procession of the holy sacrament that was preparing, the late hour,—all had been calculated beforehand; "the nocturns of treason were about to begin," said Spalatin.

A few minutes of general conversation took place in the emperor's apartments; the princes of the Romish party were then allowed to retire; but Charles had given a sign to the elector of Saxony, to the landgrave of Hesse, to George, margrave of Brandenburg, to the prince of Anhalt, and to the duke of Luneburg, to follow him into his private chamber.² His brother Ferdinand, who was to serve as interpreter, alone went

¹ Cardinalem legatus castigatum abegit. (Seck. ii. 161.)

² Ad conclave suum. (Corp. Ref. pp. 106, 114.)

in with them. Charles thought that so long as the Protestant princes were before the world, they would not yield; but that in a private and friendly interview, he might obtain all he desired of them.

"His majesty requests you to discontinue the sermons," said Ferdinand. On hearing these words the two elder princes (the elector and the margrave) turned pale and did not speak:¹ there was a long silence.

At last the landgrave said: "We entreat your majesty to withdraw your request, for our ministers preach only the pure Word of God, as did the ancient doctors of the Church, St. Augustine, St. Hilary, and so many others. Of this your majesty may easily convince yourself. We cannot deprive ourselves of the food of the Word of God, and deny his Gospel."²

Ferdinand, resuming the conversation in French³ (for it was in this language that he conversed with his brother), informed the emperor of the landgrave's answer. Nothing was more displeasing to Charles than these citations of Hilary and Augustine; the colour mounted to his cheeks, and he was nearly giving way to his anger.⁴ "His majesty," said Ferdinand in a more positive tone, "cannot desist from his demand."—"Your conscience," quickly replied the landgrave, "has no right to command ours."⁵ As Ferdinand still persisted, the margrave who had been silent until then, could contain himself no longer; and without caring for interpreters, stretched out his neck towards Charles, exclaiming in deep emotion: "Rather than allow the Word of the Lord to be taken from me, rather than deny my God, I would kneel down before your majesty and have my head cut off!" As he uttered these simple and magnanimous words, says a contemporary,⁶ the prince accompanied them with a significant gesture, and let his hands fall on his neck like the headsman's axe. The excitement of the princes was

¹ Die beede alte Fürsten zum höchsten entsetz. (Corp. Ref. pp. 106, 114.)

² Se non posse cibo verbi Dei carere, nec sana conscientia Evangelium negare. (Ibid. 115.)

³ In Französischer Sprache. (Ibid. 107.)

⁴ Sieh darob etwas angerot und erhitzt. (Ibid. 115.)

⁵ K. M. gewissen sey aber kein Herr und meyster über ihr gewissen. (Ibid.)

⁶ Ut simpliciter, ita magnanimitè, says Brentz. (Ibid.)

at its height: had it been necessary, they would all four have instantly walked to the scaffold. Charles was moved by it; surprised and agitated, he hastily cried out in his bad German, making a show of checking the landgrave: "Dear prince, not the head! not the head!" But he had scarcely uttered these few words, when he checked himself.

These were the only words that Charles pronounced before the princes during all the diet. His ignorance of the German language, and sometimes also the etiquette of the Escorial, compelled him to speak only by the mouth of his brother or of the count-palatine. As he was in the habit of consecrating four hours daily to divine worship, the people said: "He talks more with God than with men." This habitual silence was not favourable to his plans. They required activity and eloquence; but instead of that the Germans saw in the dumb countenance of their youthful emperor, a mere puppet, nodding his head and winking his eyes. Charles sometimes felt very keenly the faults of this position: "To be able to speak German," said he, "I would willingly sacrifice any other language, even were it Spanish or French, and more than that, one of my states."¹

Ferdinand saw that it was useless to insist on the cessation of these meetings; but he had another arrow in his quiver. The next day was the festival of *Corpus Christi*, and by a custom that had never as yet been infringed, all the princes and deputies present at the diet were expected to take part in the procession. Would the Protestants refuse this act of courtesy at the very opening of a diet to which each one came in a conciliatory spirit? Have they not declared that the body and blood of Christ are really in the Host? Do they not boast of their opposition to Zwingli, and can they stand aloof, without being tainted with heresy? Now, if they share in the pomp that surrounds "the Lord's body;" if they mingle with that crowd of clergy, glittering in luxury and swelling with pride, who carry about the God whom they have created; if they are present when the people bow down; will they not irrevocably compro-

¹ Es wäre Spanisch oder Französisch und dazu eines Landes minder. (Corp Ref. ii. 114.)

mise their faith? The machine is well prepared; its movements cannot fail; there is no more doubt! The craft of the Italians is about to triumph over the simplicity of these German boors!

Ferdinand therefore resumes, and making a weapon of the very refusal that he had just met with: "Since the emperor," said he, "cannot obtain from you the suspension of your assemblies, he begs at least that you will accompany him to-morrow, according to custom, in the procession of the Holy Sacrament. Do so, if not from regard to him, at least for the honour of Almighty God."¹

The princes were still more irritated and alarmed. "Christ," said they, "did not institute his sacrament to be worshipped." Charles persevered in his demand, and the Protestants in their refusal.² Upon this the emperor declared that he would not accept their excuse, that he would give them time for reflection, and that they must be prepared to reply early on the morrow.

They separated in the greatest agitation. The prince-electoral, who had waited for his father in the first hall along with other lords, sought, at the moment the princes issued from the emperor's chamber, to read on their countenance what had taken place. Judging from the emotion depicted on their features that the struggle had been severe, he thought that his father was incurring the greatest dangers, and accordingly, grasping him by the hand, dragged him to the staircase of the palace, exclaiming in affright, as if Charles's satellites were already at his heels, "Come, come quickly!"

Charles, who had expected no such resistance, was in truth confounded, and the legate endeavoured to exasperate him still more.³ Agitated, filled with anger and vexation, and uttering the most terrible threats,⁴ the young emperor paced hastily to and fro the halls of his palace; and unable to wait for the answer until the morrow, he sent in the middle of the night to demand the elector's final decision. "At present we require sleep," replied the latter; "to-morrow we will let you know

¹ Et saltem in honorem Dei illud facerent. (Corp. Ref. ii. 116.)

² Perstitit Cæsar in postulatione, perstiterunt illi in recusatione. (Ibid. 115.)

³ A sævitia Legati Romanensium captivi. (Ibid. 116.)

⁴ Hinc secutæ sunt gravissimæ minæ, jactatæ sævissimæ Cæsaris indignationes. (Ibid.)

our determination."¹ As for the landgrave, he could not rest any more than Charles. Scarcely had he returned home, when he sent his chancellor to the Nuremberg deputies, and had them awoke to make them acquainted with what had taken place.²

At the same time Charles's demand was laid before the theologians, and Spalatin, taking the pen, drew up their opinion during the night. "The sacrament," it bore, "was not instituted to be worshipped, as the Jews worshipped the brazen image."³ We are here to confess the truth, and not for the confirmation of abuses. Let us therefore stay away!" This opinion confirmed the evangelical princes in their determination; and the day of the 16th June began.

The elector of Saxony, feeling indisposed during the night, commissioned his son to represent him; and at seven o'clock the princes and councillors repaired on horseback to the emperor's palace.⁴

The margrave of Brandenburg was their spokesman. "You know," said he to Charles, "how, at the risk of our lives, my ancestors and myself have supported your august house. But, in the things of God, the commands of God himself oblige me to put aside all commandment of man. We are told that death awaits those who shall persevere in the sound doctrine: I am ready to suffer it." He then presented the declaration of the evangelical princes to the emperor. "We will not countenance by our presence," said they, "these impious human traditions, which are opposed to the Word of God. We declare, on the contrary, without hesitation, and with one accord, that we must expel them from the Church, lest those of its members that are still sound should be infected by this deadly poison."⁵ "If you will not accompany his majesty for the love of God," said Ferdinand, "do so at least for love of the emperor, and as vassals of the empire."⁶ His majesty commands you." "An act of worship is in question," replied the princes, "our con-

¹ *Quiete sibi opus esse dicens, responsum in diem alterum distulit.* (Seck. ii. 162.)

² *Hat Nächten uns aufwecken lassen.* (Corp. Ref. ii. 106.)

³ *Wie die Juden die Schlange haben angebethet.* (Ibid. 111.)

⁴ *Heute zu sieben Uhren sind gemeldete Fürsten.* (Ibid. iii. 107.)

⁵ *Colestin. i. 82.*

⁶ *Ut vassalli et principes imperii.* (Cochläus, p. 192.)

science forbids it." Then Ferdinand and Charles having conversed together in a low tone: "His majesty desires to see," said the king, "whether you will obey him or not."¹ At the same time the emperor and his brother quitted the room; but the princes, instead of following him, as Charles had hoped, returned full of joy to their palaces.

The procession did not begin till noon. Immediately behind the canopy under which the elector of Maintz carried the host, came the emperor alone, with a devout air, bearing a taper in his hand, his head bare and shorn like a priest's, although the noon-day sun darted on him its most ardent rays.² By exposing himself to these fatigues, Charles desired to profess aloud his faith in what constitutes the essence of Roman Catholicism. In proportion as the spirit and the life had escaped from the primitive churches, they had striven to replace them by forms, shows, and ceremonies. The essential cause of the Romish worship is found in that decline of charity and faith which catholic Christians of the first ages have often deplored; and the history of Rome is summed up in this expression of St. Paul, *Having a form of godliness, but denying the power thereof*.³ But as the *power* was then beginning to revive in the Church, the *form* began also to decline. Barely a hundred citizens of Augsburg had joined in the procession of the 16th June. It was no longer the pomp of former times: the Christian people had learned anew to love and to believe.

Charles, however, under an air of devotion concealed a wounded heart. The legate was less able to command himself, and said aloud that this obstinacy of the princes would be the cause of great mischief to the pope.⁴ When the procession was over (it had lasted an hour), Charles could no longer master his extreme irritation; and he had scarcely returned to his palace, when he declared that he would give the Protestant princes a safe-conduct, and that on the very next day these obstinate and

¹ Sie wolle sehen, ob sie I. M. gehorhsam leisten oder nicht. (Corp. Ref. ii. 108.)

² Clericaliter, detonso capillo. (Zw. Epp. ii. 471.) Nudo capite sub meridiani solis ardoribus. (Pallavicini, i. 228.)

³ 2 Timothy iii. 5.

⁴ Sarpi, Council of Trent, i. 99.

rebellious men should quit Augsburg;¹ the diet would then take such resolutions as were required for the safety of the Church and of the empire. It was no doubt the legate who had given Charles this idea, which, if executed, would infallibly have led to a religious war. But some of the princes of the Roman party, desirous of preserving peace, succeeded, though not without difficulty, in getting the emperor to withdraw his threatening order.²

CHAPTER V.

The Sermons prohibited—Compromise proposed and accepted—The Herald—Curiosity of the Citizens—The new Preachers—The Medley of Popery—Luther encourages the Princes—Veni Spiritus—Mass of the Holy Ghost—The Sermon—Opening of the Diet—The Elector's Prayer—Insidious Plan of the Romanists—Valdez and Melancthon—No Public Discussion—Evangelical Firmness prevails.

CHARLES, being defeated on the subject of the procession, resolved to take his revenge on the assemblies, for nothing galled him like these sermons. The crowd ceased not to fill the vast church of the Franciscans, where a Zwinglian minister of lively and penetrating eloquence was preaching on the Book of Joshua.³ He placed the kings of Canaan and the children of Israel before them: his congregation heard them speak and saw them act, and every one recognised in the kings of Canaan the emperor and the ultramontane princes, and in the people of God the adherents of the Reformation. In consequence, his hearers quitted the church enthusiastic in their faith, and filled with the desire of seeing the abominations of the idolaters fall to the ground. On the 16th June, the Protestants deliberated on Charles's demand, and it was rejected by the majority. "It is only a scarecrow," said they; "the Papists only desire to see if the nail shakes in the wall, and if they can start the hare from the thicket."

¹ Ut mox altera die, cum salvo-conductu, Lutherani abirent domum. (Cochl. p. 193.)

² Pacis et concordie avidi, supplicarunt ejus majestati ut sedata ira. (Ibid.)

³ Maximus populi concursus amplissima sede. (Ibid.)

The next morning (17th June) before breakfast, the princes replied to the emperor. "To forbid our ministers to preach purely the holy Gospel would be rebellion against God, who wills not that his Word be bound. Poor sinners that we are, we have need of this Divine Word to surmount our troubles.¹ Moreover, his majesty has declared, that in this diet each doctrine should be examined with impartiality. Now, to order us henceforward to suspend the sermons, would be to condemn ours beforehand."

Charles immediately convoked the other temporal and spiritual princes, who arrived at mid-day at the palatine palace, and remained sitting until the evening;² the discussion was exceedingly animated. "This very morning," said some of the speakers, "the Protestant princes, as they quitted the emperor, had sermons delivered in public."³ Exasperated at this new affront, Charles with difficulty contained himself. Some of the princes, however, entreated him to accept their mediation, to which he consented; but the Protestants were immovable. Did these heretics, whom they imagined to reduce so easily, appear in Augsburg only to humiliate Charles? The honour of the chief of the empire must be saved at any cost. "Let us ourselves renounce our preachers," said the princes; "the Protestants will not then persist in keeping theirs!"

The committee accordingly proposed that the emperor should set aside both Papist and Lutheran preachers, and should nominate a few chaplains, with authority to announce the pure Word of God, without attacking either of the two parties.⁴ "They shall be neutral men," said they to the Protestants; neither Faber nor his partisans shall be admitted."—"But they will condemn our doctrine."—"By no means. The preacher shall do nothing but read the text of the Gospels, Epistles, and a general confession of sins."⁵ The evangelical states required time to reflect upon it.

¹ Nec se illo animæ nutrimento carere. (Cælestinus, Hist. Comit. i. 88; Forst. Urkunden, i. 283.)

² Cæsar a meridie. (Seck. 165.) Den ganzen Tag. (Corp. Ref. ii. 113.)

³ Eo ipso die conciones continuatæ. (Seckend. p. 165.)

⁴ Cæsar omnes tam papistarum quam evangelicorum conciones. (Corp. Ref. ii. 116.)

⁵ Qui tantum recitent Evangelium et epistolam *γεννηματων*. (Ibid. 110.)

"We must accept it," said Melancthon; "for if our obstinacy should lead the emperor to refuse hearing our confession, the evil would be greater still."

"We are called to Augsburg," said Agricola, "to give an account of our doctrine, and not to preach."¹

"There is no little disorder in the city," remarked Spalatin. "The sacramentarians and enthusiasts preach here as well as we: we must get out of this confusion."²

¹ Non sumus parochi Augustanorum, added he. (Corp. Ref. ii. 119.)

² How strange this jealousy of the Sacramentarians! Did not Luther and Melancthon consider that the doctrine of justification by faith was *articulus stantis aut cadentis ecclesie*? Was not Melancthon ready to make almost any confession to Rome provided he and his friends should be allowed to preach this leading doctrine of Christianity? But he scruples not to say, in a letter already quoted, that "there is no mention of justifying faith in all the books of the Zwinglians." Let us turn then to the works of Zwingli himself. There we find that very subject treated with a fulness and an unction fully as impressive as Luther's paradoxical fervour or Melancthon's chastened suavity. Mark how he interprets John the Baptist's call to repentance, which one would suppose, from Melancthon's sneer, he would have taken advantage of to oppose the doctrine of justification by faith.

"I return to repentance. When John therefore taught that men should review and change their lives, pray what hopes did he set before them? Did he ever teach them, By acting thus or thus you shall be saved? By no means. But seeing he perfectly knew that it could not but be that were a man absolutely to expend himself, nay that the oftener he expended himself, the oftener and the more certainly would he utterly despair of himself and of his righteousness, (whence first self-disgust certainly originates,) forthwith he pointed out Him through whom salvation was to be had, directing his discourse to Him who was to come, Acts xix. and John i., affirming that salvation was to be found in Him who, in the order of time indeed, was to come after him, but in the divinity of his birth and in dignity, was to be far before him. For thus it is said in Matth. iii. 'I indeed baptize you with water unto repentance (by the baptism of water then we are initiated into repentance); but he that cometh after me is mightier than I, whose shoes I am not worthy to bear: he shall baptize you in the Holy Ghost and in fire.' Now what is it to be baptized in the Holy Ghost but to make the conscience at peace and joyful by his coming? But in what manner can the conscience be tranquillized but by having assured hopes of some one who it knows for a certainty cannot deceive. Baptism then with the Holy Ghost is nothing but Christ's giving us his Spirit, who so illuminates and draws our hearts that we trust in him, lean upon him who is the Son of God, who has been sent to us, whose brethren we are made by his mercy, not by our merits. John therefore shows our life to be such as needs amendment, although, where we have amended it, we do not find any ground on our part to hope for salvation. John then sends us to Christ, saying that he is the person in whom we shall find salvation even of 'free grace.'—O unutterable wisdom of God, O boundless liberality, O mercy above all these things, and transcending the hopes of all. God enlightens us that we may know ourselves; and when this has been done we are driven into despair. We fly to his mercy, but his justice terrifies us. Here eternal wisdom discovers how his justice may at once be satisfied, which to us was on all hands denied, and how we, trusting in his mercy, may come to enjoy him. He sends his Son, who satisfies his justice for us, and becomes the undoubted pledge of salvation. But so that we become a new creature, and walk as those who have put on Christ."

Now let the reader compare this passage from Zwingli's *Commentarius De*

"What do the papists propose?" said other theologians; "to read the Gospels and Epistles without explanation. But is not that a victory? What! we protest against the interpretations of the Church; and lo! priests who are to read the Word of God without their notes and commentaries, that is to say, transforming themselves into Protestant ministers!" "O! admirable wisdom of the courtiers!" exclaimed Melancthon, smiling.¹

To these motives were added the opinions of the lawyers. As the emperor ought to be considered the rightful magistrate of an imperial city, so long as he made it his residence, all jurisdiction in Augsburg really belonged to him.

"Well, then," said the Protestant princes, "we agree to silence our preachers, in the hope that we shall hear nothing offensive to our consciences. If it were otherwise, we should

Vera et Falsa religione, with the following from the Augsburg Confession by Melancthon.

"In the first place our works cannot reconcile us to God or merit the remission of sins, the favour of God, grace and justification, for this can only follow from faith believing that we are received into favour through Christ, the only Mediator and atoning sacrifice, by whom the Father is reconciled. Consequently, whoever trusts in his own works, despises the merit and the grace of Christ, and seeks a way to God without Christ, by human strength, although Christ avers: 'I am the way, the truth, and the life.'" Wherein does this doctrine differ from Zwingli's?

We may remark that the words quoted by Ranke (Popes, vol. i. p. 107), from a letter by M. A. Flaminiò, are so exact an epitome of the above passage from Zwingli, that one can hardly avoid supposing that they had been suggested by it.

That Zwingli went to the opposite extreme from transubstantiation by adopting what are called low views on the subject of the Eucharist, may be admitted without at all impeaching his orthodoxy in fundamental points. His error leant at least to virtue's side. With him as with Luther the Gospel and epistles of John were held in special esteem, and "feeding on Christ" he may have regarded too little as a sacramental privilege, only because he regarded it too exclusively as a daily and hourly one. Still he draws a line of distinction between the two, as may be seen from a passage beginning *spiritualiter edere corpus Christi*, in his *Christinæ Fidei a H. Zwinglio prædicatæ Brevis et Clara Expositio*, addressed to the king of France in 1536, and written with all the fervour of one who spoke to one who was a perishing sinner as well as a monarch. In his letter to Charles V. when at Augsburg, containing an account of his faith, he says: "I believe that in the sacred Eucharist, that is, the thanksgiving supper, the true body of Christ is present to the eye of faith: that is, that those who return thanks to the Lord for the benefit conferred on us in his Son, acknowledge his having taken upon him true flesh, his having truly suffered in it, truly washed away our sins in his blood, and thus that all that has been done by Christ for them is as it were present to the eye of faith."

What "the Enthusiasts" preached does not appear. That neither Zwingli nor any of his followers were Arians or Socinians is abundantly proved by their writings.—D. D. S.

¹ Vide miram sapientiam Alicorum. (Corp. Ref. ii. 110.)

feel ourselves constrained to repel so serious an insult.¹ Besides," added the elector, as he withdrew, "we expect that if at any time we desire to hear one of our chaplains in our own palace, we shall be free to do so."²

They hastened to the emperor, who desired nothing better than to come to an understanding with the Protestants on this subject, and who ratified everything.

This was Saturday. An imperial herald was immediately sent out, who, parading the streets of the city at seven in the evening to the sound of trumpets,³ made the following proclamation:—"O yes, O yes!"⁴ Thus ordains his imperial majesty, our most gracious lord: no one shall be allowed to preach in Augsburg except by his majesty's nomination, under penalty of incurring the displeasure and punishment of his majesty."

A thousand different remarks were exchanged in the houses of the citizens of Augsburg. "We are very impatient," said they, "to see the preachers appointed by the emperor, and who will preach (O! unprecedented wonder!) neither against the evangelical doctrine nor against the doctrine of the pope!"⁵ "We must expect," added another, "to behold some Tragelaph or some chimera with the head of a lion, a goat's body, and a dragon's tail."⁶ The Spaniards appeared well satisfied with this agreement, for many of them had never heard a single sermon in their lives; it was not the custom in Spain; but Zwingli's friends were filled with indignation and alarm.⁷

At length Sunday the 19th of June arrived; every one hastened to the churches, and the people who filled them, with eyes fixed on the priest and with attentive ears,⁸ prepared to listen to what these new and strange preachers would say.⁹ It was generally believed that their task would be to make an

¹ Ut de remediis propulsandæ injuriæ cogitent. (Seck. ii. 105.)

² Ob je einer einen Prediger in seiner Herberg für sich predigen liess. (Corp. Ref. ii. 113.)

³ Per tubicines et heraldum. (Sturm, Zw. Epp. v. 466.)

⁴ Hort. Hort. (Corp. Ref. ii. 124.)

⁵ Omnes hunc avidissime expectant. (Ibid. 116.)

⁶ Chimæram aut Tragelaphum aliquem expectamus. (Ibid.) The *Tragelaph* is a fabulous animal partaking of the nature of a goat and a stag. Representations of it were common on drinking-bowls and goblets among the ancient Greeks.

⁷ Multos deterreat. (Sturm to Zwingli, Epp. p. 466.)

⁸ Arrectis auribus. (Corp. Ref. ii. 116.)

⁹ Quid novi novus concionator allaturus sit. (Ibid. 117.)

evangelico-papistical discourse, and they were very impatient to hear this marvel. But

“The mountain in labour gave birth to a mouse!”

The preacher first read the common prayer; he then added the Gospel of the day, finished with a general confession of sins, and dismissed his congregation. People looked at one another in surprise: “Verily,” said they, “here is a preacher that is neither Gospeller nor Papist, but strictly textual.”¹ At last all burst into laughter; “and truly,” adds Brenz, “there was reason enough.”² In some churches, however, the chaplains, after reading the Gospel, added a few puerile words, void of Christianity and of consolation, and in no way founded on the Holy Scripture.³

After the so-called sermon, they proceeded to the mass. That in the cathedral was particularly noisy. The emperor was not present, for he was accustomed to sleep until nine or ten o'clock,⁴ and a late mass was performed for him; but Ferdinand and many of the princes were present. The pealing notes of the organ, the resounding voices of the choir, echoed through the minster, and a numerous and motley crowd, rushing in at all the doors, filled the aisles of the temple. One might have said that every nation in the world had agreed to meet in the cathedral of Augsburg. Here were Frenchmen, there Spaniards, Moors in one place, Moriscos in another, on one side Italians, on the other Turks, and even, says Brenz, those who are called Stratiots.^{5 6} This crowd was no bad representation of the medley of popery.

¹ Sic habes concionatorem neque evangelicum neque papisticum, sed nudum textualem. (Corp. Ref. ii. 117.)

² Ridet omnes, et certe res valde ridicula est. (Ibid.)

³ Paucula quedam, etque puerilia et inepta, nec Christiane, absque fundamento verbi Divini et consolatione. (Seck. ii. 165.)

⁴ Dormire solet usque ad nonam aut decimam. (Corp. Ref. ii. 117.)

⁵ Ibi videas hic Gallos, hic Hispanos, hic Ethiopes, illic etiam Ethiopissas, hic Italos, illic etiam Turcas, aut quos vocant Stratiotas. (Ibid.)

⁶ The author makes a slip here—the translation being, “here Italians, there Turks likewise, or whom they call Stratiots.” Now, these Stratiots were probably Greeks, or of the Greek Church. It is much to be regretted that there seems no evidence extant, of any interest felt or taken by the Greek Church in the proceedings of Augsburg. A very curious notice occurs in No. 73 of the appendix to Ranke's Popes, where, in a comparison instituted by Malaspina, between what had been done by earlier popes, and what had been done by Clement VIII., for the advance of Roman Catholicism, under the former of these two heads

One priest alone, a fervent Romanist, dared to offer an apology for the mass in the church of the Holy Cross. Charles, wishing to maintain his authority, had him thrown into the Grayfriars' prison, whence they contrived to let him escape. As for the evangelical pastors of Augsburg, almost all left the city to hear the Gospel elsewhere. The Protestant princes were anxious to secure for their churches the assistance of such distinguished men. Discouragement and alarm followed close upon this step, and even the firmest were moved. The elector was inconsolable at the privation imposed upon him by the emperor. "Our Lord God," said he, heaving a deep sigh, "has received an order to be silent at the diet of Augsburg."¹ From that time forward Luther lost the good opinion he had previously entertained of Charles, and foreboded the stormiest future. "See what will be the end of all this," said he. "The emperor, who has ordered the elector to renounce the assemblies, will afterwards command him to renounce the doctrine; the diet will enter upon its paroxysm, and nothing will remain for us but to rely upon the arm of the Lord." Then giving way to all his indignation, he added: "The papists, abandoned to devils, are transported with rage; and to live they must drink blood."² They wish to give themselves an air of justice, by giving us one of obstinacy. At Augsburg you have not to deal with men, but with the very gates of hell." Melancthon

we find, *l'offerta dagli heretici del primato di Pietro al patriarcha Constantinopolitano* [the offer of the heretics of the primacy of Peter to the Constantinopolitan patriarch]. Ranke marks this (??) evidently in utter ignorance of what it can mean. That it refers to some actual fact there can be little doubt, as it is the fifth of five particulars of which the other four were so—viz. Indian missions, the council of Trent, the holy league and the victory of Lepante, and the erection of colleges. All these, too, concerned the Church at large, so that we may conclude that this offer of the heretics to the patriarch of Constantinople did not refer only to the Hussites of Bohemia or any sect bordering on Turkey, but to the German and other Protestants also. Yet it seems the most improbable of all things that any of the popes should have ever proposed an accommodation of differences which, had it succeeded, would have strengthened both the Greek Church and the Reformation. Neither does it seem probable, unless the Greek Church was then much purer than at present, that the Protestants would have accepted the transference. Lastly, the question occurs, how did that offer benefit or advance Roman Catholicism? The only answer seems to be that the offer being rejected, the Protestants were thereby exposed to the odium of being held as heretics equally by the Greek and Roman churches.—D. D. S.

¹ *Hæc ratione, Deo ejusque verbo silentium est impositum.* (Seckendorf, ii. 165.)

² *Ut nisi sanguinem biberint, vivere non possint.* (Ibid.)

himself saw his hopes vanish.¹ "All, except the emperor," said he, "hate us with the most violent hatred. The danger

¹ So intense was the interest felt on this occasion that the *Corpus Reformatorum* gives us five letters, all dated on this memorable 19th of June, 1530. These enable us to enter fully into the feelings of the parties. First, we have the despatch of the Nuremberg deputies, Kress and Volkamer. Kress is delighted at the emperor's compliment to the German tongue, thinks it shows a good heart, (*Das acht ich auch für ein gut Herz*) and that Charles was resolved to give the subject of religion all due consideration. Then Brent writes at great length to Isenmann, relating what had passed since the emperor's arrival, as told by our author, and concluding with the request that his correspondent would inquire of his servant Elzebetha how the money he had left with her was holding out, and direct her to where she would get a farther supply if necessary. He adds a postscript after coming from church, describing how the people smiled at their own disappointment on hearing nothing but the Gospel and Epistle read.

The remaining three are from Melancthon, and show a mind more seriously impressed with the importance of the crisis, and so strangely divided betwixt hope and fear that, in writing to Luther at least, he seems to contradict himself. His correspondents are F. Myconius, Luther, and Camerarius. To the first he sends the following succinct note: "To the venerable Mr. Fred. Myconius, pastor of Gotha, his friend. Dear Sir, (lit. Hail Sir.) We were more than six weeks here before the emperor's arrival. At last he came the day before Corpus Christi, and good luck to it (*quod faustum felixque sit*). He began at once by forbidding our people to preach. There was a dispute about this for three whole days; at last it was agreed that the emperor should interdict preaching both to us and the adversaries. He reserved to himself the right of appointing a preacher, but on these terms that he was to recite the naked Gospel. Thus it was done to-day. These are the beginnings of our doings, and may they come to a good result. We know of nothing besides being done as yet. Nor indeed am I aware what hope I may hold out to you. In the emperor's court there is nothing milder than the emperor himself. All the rest hate us intensely. The pope's legate, Campeggio, advises the emperor to commence a war against us. And people think this is to be traced to Italian arts, that they may give the emperor something to do in Germany. I have tried to discover the mind of one and another of the Spanish scribes, with what success I shall see. On the whole the danger is great. Therefore do you pray to Christ to preserve us, and give us peace. Thus Antiochus suffers himself to be governed sufficiently as yet; and perhaps he might be in office, if we can obtain anything like equitable terms. Farewell. Augsburg, Sunday after the festival of Corpus Christi."

The Antiochus of this letter is evidently the Felinus of that to Camerarius. Melancthon must have weakened the favourable impression made by his fine scholarship, by his anxiety to discover from secretaries and clerks what was thought and done at court and among the Romish princes and divines. He would have served the cause of truth more effectually by doing his duty and leaving the event to God. Who could suppose a Luther, a Latimer or a Knox condescending to ferret out other men's intentions by such undignified practices?

To Luther, after a succinct statement of what had passed since the emperor's arrival, and suggesting that the papists (*Pontificii*) must rather injure their cause by the restriction of preaching to the simple reading of the Gospel and Epistle, he says: *Multas causas pro tua prudentia facile colligere poteris*—that is, that Luther's good sense would readily perceive many causes for that being the case. Now Luther's vexation at the suppression of the protestant preaching was extreme, and he seems to have taken offence at his friend's supposing that it could be otherwise. Poor Melancthon was thus placed between two fires, and his subsequent anguish was caused more perhaps by the consciousness of having so far deserved the anger of the friend whom he so profoundly venerated, than by alarm at threatened persecution, or any other cause.

In this letter of 19th June, he proceeds as follows, to say what he had discovered of the intentions of the court and the princes:—

is great, very great.¹.....Pray to Christ that he may save us!" But Luther, however full of sorrow he might be, far from being cast down, raised his head and endeavoured to re-animate the courage of his brethren. "Be assured and doubt not," wrote he to them, "that you are the confessors of Jesus Christ, and the ambassadors of the Great King."²

"So much for a beginning, no hope is shown from the imperial court. For Campeggio only recommends our being put down by force. Nor is there anything milder than the emperor in the whole court. For he himself has mitigated the bitterest opinions of the princes, as duke Henry of Brunswick related to me. There are only two princes that are affected at our danger, Maintz and Brunswick: The (elector) palatine and the margrave of Baden are not present. The Bavarian princes are marvellously insolent. You will pray to God for us. Cornelius says that there was some hope as long as Mercurinus (Gattinara) was alive. Now that he is dead, he affirms that there is nobody at court of any influence that advises peace but he jests in his own way, and seems to take particular care not to risk the suspicion of our friendship. Thus nothing aids us. There is a certain other Spanish secretary who makes kind promises, and has already conferred with the emperor and Campeggio about my opinion. But the whole matter is *ἐν γούνασι Θεοῦ* [lit. in the knees of God, that is, I suppose, depends upon prayer, laying hold of the knees being anciently the most expressive form of supplication]. Farewell."

It is not easy to say whether this letter is meant to represent matters in a hopeful or despondent light. One would suppose from what follows that there ought to be a mark of interrogation at the first sentence of the paragraph—"is there no hope shown from the court?" For he proceeds to say that Campeggio only (*Campegius tantum*) recommends force and that nothing is milder than the emperor—that he softens down the bitterest opinions of the papal princes. And yet, again, all this may be read differently, by applying the *tantum* (only) not to Campeggio but to his advice—that it was his *only* recommendation, and by supposing the emperor's mildness introduced only by contrast to make the bigotry of the rest appear more hopeless than ever. Again, he sets off against Cornelius's unfavourable opinion, that person's propensity for jesting and anxiety not to be thought friendly to the Protestants. In short, Melancthon seems really to have taken the desponding view, but to have been unwilling to communicate the same impression to Luther, dreading lest the latter should lay the blame on his friends by having conceded the suppression of the preaching of the Gospel. But if this was his intention, it failed. Luther was evidently not appeased by it.

His letter to Camerarius, who was then at Nuremberg, begins with referring to the objections made to the mildness of his apology.

"Dear Sir,—I doubted not our apology would seem to be milder than the wickedness of our adversaries deserves. However, I have embraced the leading heads of the case. I restore their whole jurisdiction *καὶ τὸ ἀξίωμα* [and dignity] to the bishops. This perhaps galls some who are impatient at being deprived of their liberty." He then relates the proceedings at Augsburg, and concludes with the following strange piece of intelligence: "You have all our news except one piece which sounds very like a fable, but is a certain and true story about the Jews who have collected an immense army for the invasion of Palestine."

It does not clearly appear what precise status and character Melancthon was willing to leave to the bishops, and whether the *ἀξίωμα* comprehended that prelatie superiority which was totally irreconcilable with Luther's doctrine of the universal priesthood of Christianity. But by leaving them their whole jurisdiction there must have been implied such a surrender of Christian liberty as destroyed all security for the preaching of the Gospel.—D. N. S.

¹ *Magnum omnino periculum est.* (Corp. Ref. ii. 118.)

² *Ea fides vivificabit et consolabitur vos, quia Magni Regis estis legati.* (L. Epp. iv. 59.)

They had need of these thoughts, for their adversaries, elated by this first success, neglected nothing that might destroy the Protestants, and taking another step forward, proposed forcing them to be present at the Romish ceremonies.¹ "The elector of Saxony," said the legate to Charles, ought in virtue of his office of grand-marshal of the empire to carry the sword before you in all the ceremonies of the diet. Order him therefore to perform his duty at the mass of the Holy Ghost, which is to open the sittings." The emperor did so immediately, and the elector, uneasy at this message, called together his theologians. If he refused, his dignity would be taken away; and if he obeyed, he would trample his faith under foot (thought he), and would do dishonour to the Gospel.

But the Lutheran divines removed the scruples of their prince. "It is for a ceremony of the empire," said they, "as grand-marshal, and not as a Christian, that you are summoned; the Word of God itself, in the history of Naaman, authorizes you to comply with this invitation."² The friends of Zwingli did not think so; their walk was more decided than that of Wittenberg. "The martyrs allowed themselves to be put to death," said they, "rather than burn a grain of incense before the idols." Even some of the Protestants, hearing that the *Veni Spiritus* was to be sung, said, wagging their heads: "We are very much afraid that the chariot of the Spirit, which is the Word of God, having been taken away by the papists, the Holy Ghost, despite their mass, will never reach Augsburg."³ Neither these fears nor these objections were listened to.

On Monday the 20th June, the emperor and his brother, with the electors and princes of the empire, having entered the cathedral, took their seats on the right side of the choir; on the left were placed the legate, the archbishops, and bishops; in the middle were the ambassadors. Without the choir, in a gallery that overlooked it, were ranged the landgrave and other Protestants, who preferred being at a distance from the host.⁴

¹ Sarpi, Hist. Council of Trent, book i. 99.

² 2 Kings v. 18. Exemplo Naamanis, Seck. ii. 167; Sarpi, p. 99.

³ Ne ablato Spiritus vehiculo, quod est verbum Dei, Spiritus Sanctus ad Augustam præ pedum inbecillitate pervenire non possit. (Corp. Ref. ii. 116.)

⁴ Abstinendo ab adoratione hostiæ. (Seck. ii. 119.)

The elector, bearing the sword, remained upright near the altar at the moment of the adoration. The acolytes, having closed the gates of the choir immediately after,¹ Vincent Pompinello, archbishop of Salerno, preached the sermon. He commenced with the Turks and their ravages, and then, by an unexpected turn, began suddenly to exalt the Turks even above the Germans. "The Turks," said he, "have but one prince whom they obey; but the Germans have many who obey no one. The Turks live under one sole law, one only custom, one only religion; but among the Germans there are some who are always wishing for new laws, new customs, new religions."² They tear the seamless coat of Christ; they abolish by devilish inspirations the sacred doctrines established by unanimous consent, and substitute for them, alas! buffoonery and obscenity.³ Magnanimous emperor, powerful king!" said he, turning towards Charles and his brother, "sharpen your swords, wield them against these perfidious disturbers of religion, and thus bring them back into the fold of the Church."⁴ There is no peace for Germany so long as the sword shall not have entirely eradicated this heresy.⁵ O St. Peter and St. Paul! I call upon you; upon you, St. Peter, in order that you may open the stony hearts of these princes with your keys; and upon you, St. Paul,

¹ Erant enim chori fores clausæ, nec quisquam orationi interfuit. (Corp. Ref. ii. 120.)

² It is singular that while Luther was censured for saying that Christians living under Solymán fared better than those subject to Charles, and for discouraging the enthusiasm of his countrymen against the Turks by alleging what was quite true, that the Turkish government was the more tolerant of the two, the Romanist preacher on this occasion should have set about lauding the Turks at the expense of the Germans. One thing is clear, that if the Turks presented a favourable contrast to the Germans under Luther, the Saxon Reformer is not so likely to have resembled Mahomet as a Jesuit father of our own day, Father Ravignan, attempted last year to demonstrate at the famous Conferences of Nôtre Dame in Paris. In England Father Ravignan has been lauded among his co-religionists as the gentlest of spirits, as all Christian love and meekness. In the pulpit of Nôtre Dame, however, this Jesuit disguise is thrown off, he shows his true temper and becomes another Vincent Pompinello in fierceness of invective and recklessness of slander. He does not just say like the archbishop, "sharpen your swords," &c.; but he gives such a description of the character and results of Lutheranism as at once suggests such a course. See the *Univers* of March 9th, and the *Archives du Christianisme* of March 22, 1845.—D. D. S.

³ Diabolica persuasione eliminant, et ad scurrilia ac impudica quæque deducunt. (Pallavicini. Hist. Trid. C. i. 23.)

⁴ Exaequant gladios quos in perversos illos perturbatores. (Corp. Ref. ii. 120.)

⁵ Nisi eradicata funditus per gladium hæresi illa. (Ibid.)

that if they show themselves too rebellious, you may come with your sword, and cut in pieces this unexampled hardness!"

This discourse, intermingled with panegyrics of Aristides, Themistocles, Scipio, Cato, the Curtii and Scævola, being concluded, the emperor and princes arose to make their offerings. Pappenheim returned the sword to the elector, who had intrusted it to him; and the grand-marshal, as well as the margrave, went to the offertory, but with a smile, as it is reported.¹ This fact is but little in harmony with the character of these princes.

At length they quitted the cathedral. No one, except the friends of the nuncio, was pleased with the sermon. Even the archbishop of Maintz was offended at it. "What does he mean," exclaimed he, "by calling on St. Paul to cut the Germans with his sword?" Nothing but a few inarticulate sounds had been heard in the nave; the Protestants eagerly questioned those of their party who had been present in the choir. "The more these priests inflame people's minds, and the more they urge their princes to bloody wars," said Brenz at that time, "the more we must hinder ours from giving way to violence."² Thus spoke a minister of the Gospel of peace after the sermon of the priests of Rome.

After the mass of the Holy Ghost, the emperor entered his carriage,³ and having reached the town-hall, where the sittings of the diet were to take place, took his seat on a throne covered with cloth of gold, while his brother placed himself on a bench in front of him; then all around them were ranged the electors, forty-two sovereign princes, the deputies from the cities, the bishops, and ambassadors, forming, indeed, that illustrious assembly which Luther, six weeks before, had imagined he saw sitting in the air.⁴

The count-palatine read the imperial proposition. It referred to two points; the war against the Turks, and the religious controversy. "Sacrificing my private injuries and interests to

¹ Protestantés etiam ad offerendum munuscula in altari, ut moris erat, accessisse, sed cum risu. (Spalat. Seck. ii. 167.)

² Ut nostros principes ab importuna violentia retineamus. (Corp. Ref. ii. 120.)

³ Imperator cum omnibus in curiam vectus est. (Sturm to Zw. Epp. ii. 430.)

⁴ Ex volucrium monedularumque regno. (L. Epp. iv. 13.)

the common good," said the emperor, "I have quitted my hereditary kingdoms, to pass, not without great danger, into Italy, and from thence to Germany. I have heard with sorrow of the divisions that have broken out here, and which, striking not only at the imperial majesty, but still more at the commandments of Almighty God, must engender pillage, conflagration, war, and death."¹ At one o'clock the emperor, accompanied by all the princes, returned to his palace.

On the same day the elector gathered around him all his co-religionists, whom the emperor's speech had greatly excited, and exhorted them not to be turned aside by any threats from a cause which was that of God himself.² All seemed penetrated with this expression of Scripture: "Speak the word, and it shall not stand; for God is with us."³

The elector had a heavy burden to bear. Not only had he to walk at the head of the princes, but he had further to defend himself against the enervating influence of Melancthon. Throughout the whole of the diet this prince offers to our notice no mere abstraction of the state, but the noblest individuality. Early on Tuesday morning, feeling the necessity of that invisible strength which, according to a beautiful figure in the Holy Scriptures, causes us to ride upon the high places of the earth; and seeing, as was usual, his domestics, his councillors, and his son assembled around him, John begged them affectionately to withdraw.⁴ He knew that it was only by kneeling humbly before God that he could stand with courage before Charles. Alone in his chamber he opened and read the Psalms; then falling on his knees, he offered up the most fervent prayer to God;⁵ next, wishing to confirm himself in the immovable fidelity that he had just vowed to the Lord, he went to his desk, and there committed his resolutions to writing. Dolzig and Melancthon afterwards saw these lines, and were filled with admiration as they read them.⁶

¹ Nicht anders dann zu Raub, Brandt, und Krieg. (F. Urkunden, i. 307.)

² Cohortatus est ad intrepidam causæ Dei assentionem. (Sekk. ii. 108.)

³ Isaiah viii. 10.

⁴ Mane remotis omnibus consiliariis et ministris. (Sekk. ii. 169.)

⁵ Precibus ardentissimis a Deo successum negotii petiisset. (Ibid.)

⁶ Quæ cum admiratione legisse dicuntur. (Ibid.)

Being thus tempered anew in heavenly thoughts, John took up the imperial proposition and meditated over it; then, having called in his son and the chancellor Bruck, and Melanchthon shortly after, they all agreed that the deliberations of the diet ought to commence with the affairs of religion; and his allies, who were consulted, concurred in this advice.

The legate had conceived a plan diametrically opposed to this. He desired to stifle the religious question, and for this end required that the princes should examine it in a secret committee.¹ The evangelical Christians entertained no doubt that if the truth was proclaimed in the great council of the nation, it would gain the victory; but the more they desired a public confession, the more it was dreaded by the pope's friends. The latter wished to take their adversaries by silence, without confession, without discussion, as a city is taken by famine without fighting and without a storm: to gag the Reformation, and thus reduce it to powerlessness and death, were their tactics. To have silenced the preachers was not enough: the princes must be silenced also. They wished to shut up the Reformation as in a dungeon, and there leave it to die, thinking they would thus get rid of it more surely than by leading it to the scaffold.

This plan was well conceived: it now remained to be put in execution, and for that purpose it was necessary to persuade the Protestants that such a method would be the surest for them. The person selected for this intrigue was Alphonso Valdez, secretary to Charles V., a Spanish gentleman, a worthy individual, and who afterwards showed a leaning towards the Reformation. Policy often makes use of good men for the most perfidious designs. It was decided that Valdez should address the most timid of the Protestants—Melanchthon.

On the 16th or 17th of June, immediately after the arrival of Charles, Valdez begged Melanchthon to call on him. "The Spaniards," said he, "imagine that the Lutherans teach impious doctrines on the Holy Trinity, on Jesus Christ, on the blessed Mother of God."² Accordingly, they think they do a

¹ Si acturi sunt secreto et inter sese, nulla publica disputatione vel audientia. (L. Epp. iv. 43.)

² Hispanis persuasum esse Lutheranos impie de Sanctissima Trinitate. (Ex relatione Spalatii in Seck. ii. 165.)

more meritorious work in killing a Lutheran than in slaying a Turk."

"I know it," replied Melanchthon, "and I have not yet been able to succeed in making your fellow-countrymen abandon that idea."

"But what, pray, do the Lutherans desire?"

"The Lutheran question is not so complicated and so unseemly as his majesty fancies. We do not attack the Catholic Church, as is commonly believed;¹ and the whole controversy is reducible to these three points: The two kinds in the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, the marriage of pastors, and the abolition of private masses.² If we could agree on these arti-

¹ Non adeo per eos Ecclesiam Catholicam oppugnari, quam vulgo putaretur (Ex relatione Spalati in Seck. ii. 100.)

² The reader will be astounded at such a limitation of the points of difference between Rome and the Reformation. Melanchthon, like Luther, as our author has shown in another publication, seems to have considered the doctrine of justification by faith, as involving the whole Gospel, and was satisfied that it was a doctrine of the Church of Rome. Intimately acquainted with the writings of the schoolmen he had doubtless discovered it there disguised, as our author says (vol. i. p. 68), "in an interminable web of subtleties and distinctions." Rome had not yet anathematized it, nay, it was still held, even in Italy, by prelates high in office and renown. See Ranke's Popes, vol. i. pp. 104-112, under the head, "Analogies of Protestantism in Italy," and pp. 149-156, under that of "First sittings of the Council of Trent." But while other differences were retained, how many doctrines and practices would have been tacitly sanctioned by the Reformers, each of which must have been a standing testimony to the church's right of adding to divine revelation, and thereby in too many instances contradicting it! Fearful must have been the sin of a compromise by which the whole influence of Lutheranism would have gone over to the side of Rome, thereby giving a mighty impulse to the persecutions she would proceed to inflict on all who scorned such a betrayal of the Gospel cause, a result which Rome, it will be seen, eagerly contemplated.

The reader may wish to know why Melanchthon insisted on the abolition of *private* masses only. What is a *private* mass? It was only a later corruption than the public mass; the difference is thus explained by Bingham. "That we call solitary mass, where the priest receives alone without any other communicants, and sometimes says the office alone without any assistants: such are all those private and solitary masses in the Roman Church, which are said at their private altars in the corners of their churches," (hence called *missæ angularis* by Luther) "without the presence of any but the priest alone, and all those public masses, where none but the priest receives, though there be many spectators of the action. As there is no agreement of either of these with the institution of Christ, but a direct opposition to it, (for that was designed to be a communion among many: "We being many are one bread and one body, for we are all partakers of that one bread," which is impossible where there are no communicants;) so there is not the least footstep of any such practice in the primitive Church." (*Origines Ecclesiasticæ*, book xv. ch. iv.)

But it must not be supposed that even the public mass which Melanchthon consented to retain was wrong only in there being but one communicant. The whole office is pagan, with psalms and other parts of Scripture, prayers, &c. interspersed, which, like the Scripture quoted in the Koran, only make worse what is essentially

cles, it would be easy to come to an understanding on the others."

bad, by making it more attractive. The author of *Rome Payenne* describes the pagan sacrificial usages in such a manner that Roman Catholics must at once recognise in it the most minute particulars of the mass, while Protestants fail to see a single trace of the Christian ordinance of which it is the perversion. "The following," says he, "are some of the details with respect to the manner in which sacrifices in general were offered: the account we are about to give is compiled from many passages found here and there in pagan authors, and brought together for the purpose of giving the reader a more correct idea of the whole. The sacrifice was to be celebrated before noon, the morning being regarded as the most favourable part of the day. The priest began by putting on a white robe called *alba* and a coloured tunic; his head was shaven, his breast bore a pectoral,* he wore a veil called *amict*. After having washed his hands, the priest, so dressed, made the circuit of the altar, bowing, and at length placed himself before the people who were present at the holy sacrifice. The altar was ornamented with lighted tapers, the assistants of the officiating priest burnt incense, the priest bowed his head from time to time before the altar, he spoke Latin, when the sacrifice was over the image of their god was locked up; at last he took his leave of the people with these words: *missio (missa?) est*. Then the people present, after having sprinkled themselves with salted water, called lustral water, went home convinced that God had forgiven them." *Rome Payenne*, Paris, 1838, pp. 10, 11. The references appear in a foot note. He might have added to the above particulars, prostration before the altar: *procumbebant aris advoluti*. See Adam's Roman Antiquities, under "Sacred Rites," where the reader, by comparing the account of the Lord's Supper given in the Gospels with the details given by Dr. Adam, will see that the mass is a hideous attempt to incorporate the most affecting of Christian ordinances with the heathen rites of ancient Italy.

But the external forms are less pagan than part of the words pronounced by the priest. He utters a confession which involves glaring polytheism and idolatry. He confesses "to Almighty God, the blessed Mary always a Virgin, to the archangel St. Michael, to St. John Baptist, to the Holy Apostles Peter and Paul, to all the Saints, and to the Father," &c. Here creatures are put in the same category with the Creator. Either they are supposed to hear the confession or not. In the one case they must be regarded as present in all places where the confession is made, as hearing it in them all, and therefore as gods. In the other case, vain words are addressed to them, the very instant that a confession of sin is made to Him who is a jealous God, and who will not give his glory to another.

Some light is thrown on this extraordinary compromise of principle by one of Luther's early writings, his popular sermons on the commandments. That on the first commandment naturally leads to his saying much on saint-worship. This he palliates as a weakness rather than a sin—nay, seems to think that *temporal* favours may be expected in answer to prayers made to the saints. The duty of honouring them he deduces by most inconclusive reasoning from certain passages in the Psalms. Like Mr. Newman he translates in *sanctis Ejus*, as in the Vulgate, "in his Saints," whereas, as the Quarterly Review remarks, it ought to be, "in his sanctuary"—"in his holy of holies." But Mr. N. admits that even the mistranslation involves no more than a hint which required *development* before it could grow into saint-worship. This development is traced by Luther in the above sermon in a way that may indeed make all modern saint-worshippers amazed at their folly as well as blasphemy.

Well might Melancthon, notwithstanding his many virtues, awaken the indignation and suspicion of bolder reformers in his own day. Luther's Sermons on the Commandments will be found at page 117 of the Jena edition of his works, 1570, under the title *Declamatiun. Popular. Decem Precepta Wittenburgensi predicata*, &c.—D. D. S.

* The pectoral of the Papal Church is a cross arm upon the breast. The emperor Joseph II. presented one to Pope Pius VI., on his leaving Vienna, enriched with diamonds, and valued at 500,000 florins. See Hist. and Phil. Memoirs of Pius the Sixth, &c., vol. i. p. 259.

"Well, I will report this to his majesty."

Charles V. was charmed at this communication. "Go," said he to Valdez, "and impart these things to the legate, and ask Master Philip to transmit to you in writing a short exposition of what they believe, and what they deny."

Valdez hastened to Campeggio. "What you relate pleases me tolerably," said the latter. "As for the two kinds in the sacrament, and the marriage of priests, there will be means of accommodation;¹ but we cannot consent to the abolition of private masses." This would have been in fact cutting off one of the greatest revenues of the church.

On Saturday, June 18, Valdez saw Melanchthon again. "The emperor begs of you a moderate and concise exposition," said he, "and he is persuaded that it will be more advantageous to treat of this matter briefly and privately,² avoiding all public hearing and all prolix discussion, which would only engender anger and division." "Well," said Melanchthon, "I will reflect upon it."

Melanchthon was almost won over: a secret conference agreed better with his disposition. Had he not often repeated that peace should be sought after above all things? Thus everything induced the legate to hope that a public struggle would be avoided, and that he might be content, as it were, to send mutes against the Reform, and strangle it in a dungeon.³

Fortunately the chancellor and the elector Frederick did not think fit to entertain the propositions with which Charles had commissioned the worthy Valdez. The resolution of these lay members of the Church saved it from the false step its doctors were about to take; and the wiles of the Italians failed against evangelical firmness. Melanchthon was only permitted to lay the Confession before the Spaniard, that he might look into it, and in despite of the moderation employed in it, Valdez exclaimed: "These words are too bitter, and your adversaries will never put up with them!"⁴ Thus finished the legate's manœuvre.

¹ Mit beider Gestalt Sacraments oder des Pfaffen und Mönch Ehe. (Corp. Ref. ii. 123.)

² Die Sache in einer Enge und Stille vorzu nehmen. (Ibid.)

³ Cælestin, Hist. Comit. August. p. 193. Intelligo hoc *vous aggrégés* moliri, ut omnino nihil agatur de negotiis ecclesiasticis. (Ibid. 57.)

⁴ Ac plane putarit *vincētorum* esse quam ut ferre possent adversarii. (Ibid. 140.)

CHAPTER VI.

The Elector's Zeal—The Signing of the Confession—Courage of the Princes—Melanchthon's Weakness—The Legate's Speech—Delays—The Confession in Danger—The Protestants are firm—Melanchthon's Despondency—Luther's Prayer and Anxiety—Luther's Texts—His Letter to Melanchthon—Faith.

CHARLES, compelled to resign himself to a public sitting, ordered on Wednesday, 22d June, that the elector and his allies should have their Confession ready for the ensuing Friday. The Roman party were also invited to present a confession of faith; but they excused themselves, saying that they were satisfied with the Edict of Worms.

The emperor's order took the Protestants by surprise, for the negotiations between Valdez and Melanchthon had prevented the latter from putting the finishing stroke to the Confession. It was not copied out fair; and the conclusions, as well as the exordium, were not definitively drawn up. In consequence of this, the Protestants begged the Archbishop of Maintz to obtain for them the delay of a day; but their petition was refused.¹ They therefore laboured incessantly, even during the night, to correct and transcribe the Confession.

On Thursday, 23d June, all the Protestant princes, deputies, councillors, and theologians met early at the elector's. The Confession was read in German, and all gave their adhesion to it, except the landgrave and the Strasburgers, who required a change in the article on the sacrament.² The princes rejected their demand.

The elector of Saxony was already preparing to sign it, when Melanchthon stopped him: he feared giving too political a colouring to this religious business. In his idea it was the Church that should appear, and not the State. "It is for the theologians and ministers to propose these things," said he;³

¹ Dasselbige abgeschlagen. (Corp. Ref. ii. 127.)

² Argentinenses ambierunt aliquid ut excepto articulo sacramenti susciperentur. (Ibid. 155.)

³ Non principum nomine edi sed doctum, qui theologi vocantur. (Camer. p. 120.)

"let us reserve for other matters the authority of the mighty ones of the earth."—"God forbid that you should exclude me," replied the elector; "I am resolved to do what is right without troubling myself about my crown. I desire to confess the Lord. My electoral hat and my ermine are not so precious to me as the cross of Jesus Christ. I shall leave on earth these marks of my greatness; but my Master's cross will accompany me to heaven."

How resist such Christian language! Melancthon gave way.

The elector then approached, signed, and handed the pen to the landgrave, who at first made some objections; however the enemy was at the door; was this a time for disunion? At last he signed, but with a declaration that the doctrine of the Eucharist did not please him.^{1 2}

¹ Landgravius subscribit nobiseum, sed tamen dicit sibi, de sacramento, a nostris non satisfieri. (Corp. Ref. ii. 155.)

² The landgrave, with all his faults, was remarkable for the sterling honesty of his character, and must have felt sorely embarrassed on this occasion. The Lutherans held, indeed, that the bread and wine in the Supper still remained bread and wine, and their idea of the real presence was of so subtle and transcendental a nature, that they would not even allow the elements to be worshipped. The Zwinglians, accordingly, in their anxiety not to break the bond of Christian brotherhood, were willing to believe that, after all, consubstantiation could mean no more than that eating and drinking *by faith*, and after a *spiritual* manner, which they themselves held. Unfortunately, however, to this acquiescence the Lutherans would not submit. "They (Bucer and Capito) constantly affirm," says Brentius, writing to Isenmann, on July 12th, "that we and they disagree only in words and way of speaking, but agree in the thing itself; this we constantly deny." (Corp. Ref. vol. ii. p. 187.) But the Lutherans erred, moreover, in ascribing to the act of communicating something like that magical effect which the Romanists ascribed to it, and on this ground Zwingli keenly attacks them for thereby bringing Christians again under bondage to works. Complaining of Luther's charge against Bucer, that in siding with Zwinglius he had fallen into a "monstrous blasphemy," the latter says: "I indeed plainly confess that were I assured by the Word of the Lord that by this supper my sins were forgiven, as often as my conscience feels anxious I should be a guest. Would not confidence then in works have already returned? Would not those who went about so sacred a matter regain their value? Believe me the papists had hardly any hope left but that of retaining this superstition of eating Christ's body in a bodily way. For think you that he (the pope) trusts to the promises and threats of certain princes? Nay, but what do you think princes could effect by slaughters and the power of command if the people are of another mind? He makes much of gifts and promises, but not for any length of time. But if that violent interpretation of our Lord's words obtains a footing and flourishes, he hopes all things will return to their old course. Hence that Vulean of lies, Faber, on the expiration of the diet at Spire, with erododile tears implored that, if nothing else, this at least might be seen to, that Christ, and therefore salvation altogether, should not be taken from us by this trampling on Christ's body, which those were now attempting who denied that he was eaten in the sacrament. To exercise faith in Christ, the Son of God, is a saving remedy against the wounds of sins, not the eating of his body. Salvation is promised to faith, not to manducation, except

The margrave and Luneburg having joyfully subscribed their names, Anhalt took the pen in his turn, and said, "I have tilted more than once to please others; now, if the honour of my Lord Jesus Christ requires it, I am ready to saddle my horse, to leave my goods and life behind, and rush into eternity, towards an everlasting crown." Then, having signed, this youthful prince said, turning to the theologians, "I would rather renounce my subjects and my states, rather quit the country of my fathers staff in hand, rather gain my bread by cleaning the shoes of the foreigner, than receive any other doctrine than that which is contained in this Confession." Nuremberg and Reutlingen alone of the cities subscribed their signatures;¹ and all resolved on demanding of the emperor that the Confession should be read publicly.²

The courage of the princes surprised every one. Rome had crushed the members of the Church, and had reduced them to a herd of slaves, whom she dragged silent and humiliated behind her: the Reformation enfranchised them, and with their rights it restored to them their duties. The priest no longer enjoyed the monopoly of religion; each head of a family again became priest in his own house, and all the members of the Church of God were thenceforward called to the rank of confessors. The laymen are nothing, or almost nothing, in the sect of Rome, but they are the essential portion of the Church of Jesus Christ. Wherever the priestly spirit is established, the Church dies; wherever laymen, as these Augsburg princes, understand their duty and their immediate dependence on Christ, the Church lives.

allegorical, which is nothing but to exercise faith (*fidere*). Hence it is clear that that is a pestilent doctrine, which, vitiating the name of faith, instead of trust to be entertained towards Christ, leads to the idea that here his body, as a body, is eaten, not to the idea which by faith understands nothing but trust in the Son of God (*fiduciam in Dei Filium*)."

Even such brief excerpts show how very keenly the question was agitated, and how painful must have been the position of men like the landgrave at this momentous crisis. And what a warning does this lamentable strife present to the professors of the Gospel at the present day, when the popedom is manifestly recovering much of its power to deceive, and when so much, under God, depends on the cordial union of all the friends of truth.—D. D. S.

¹ Confessioni tantum subscripserunt Nuremberga et Reutlingen. (Corp. Ref. ii. 155.)

² Decretum est ut publice recitandæ concessio ab Imperatore peteretur. (Seck. ii. 189.)

The evangelical theologians were moved by the devotedness of the princes. "When I consider their firmness in the confession of the Gospel," said Brenz, "the colour mounts to my cheeks. What a disgrace that we, who are only beggars beside them, are so afraid of confessing Christ!"¹ Brenz was then thinking of certain towns, particularly of Halle, of which he was pastor, but no doubt also of the theologians.

The latter, in truth, without being deficient in devotedness, were sometimes wanting in courage. Melanchthon was in constant agitation; he ran to and fro, slipping in everywhere (says Cochläus in his *Philippics*), visiting not only the houses and mansions of private persons, but also insinuating himself into the palaces of cardinals and princes, nay, even into the court of the emperor; and, whether at table or in conversation, he spared no means of persuading every person, that nothing was more easy than to restore peace between the two parties.²

One day he was with the archbishop of Salzburg, who in a long discourse gave an eloquent description of the troubles produced, as he said, by the Reformation, and ended with a peroration "written in blood," as Melanchthon characterized it.³ Philip in agony had ventured during the conversation to slip in the word conscience. "Conscience!" hastily interrupted the archbishop, "Conscience!—What does that mean? I tell you plainly that the emperor will not allow confusion to be thus brought upon the empire."—"Had I been in Melanchthon's place," said Luther, "I should have immediately replied to the archbishop: And our emperor, ours, will not tolerate such blasphemy."—"Alas," said Melanchthon, "they are all as full of assurance as if there was no God."⁴

Another day Melanchthon was with Campeggio, and conjured him to persevere in the moderate sentiments he appeared to entertain. And at another time, as it would seem, he was with the emperor himself.⁵ "Alas!" said the alarmed Zwin-

¹ Rubore suffundor non mediocri, quod nos, præ illis mendici, &c. (Corp. Ref. ii. 125.)

² Cursitabat hinc inde, perreptans ac penetrans. (Cochl. Phil. 4. in Apol.)

³ Addebat Epilogum plane sanguine scriptum. (Corp. Ref. ii. 126.)

⁴ Securi sunt quasi nullus sit Deus. (Ibid. 156.)

⁵ Melanchthon a Cesare, Salisburgensi et Campegio vocatus est. (Zw. Epp. ii. 473.)

glians, "after having qualified one-half of the Gospel, Melancthon is sacrificing the other."¹²

¹ Ut cum mitigarit tam multa, cedat et reliqua. (Zw. Epp. ii. 473.)

² Melancthon could not dread the Protestant princes yielding to the threatened storm. His friend Brenz probably expressed what were his own sentiments when, on June 21st, after describing Pimpinello's violent sermon, he says: "See, my dear Isenmann, what will not these bloody rascals attempt. As much as they incite and inflame their own friends, the papist princes, to bloody wars, so much the more necessary do we hold it to restrain our princes from unseasonable violence. O, could they effect as much by urging on their princes (*suos*), as we might by merely conniving at ours, they would forthwith indeed begin to perish. And should they yield, I dread lest our princes (*nostris* I presume is a misprint for *nostris*), despising and neglecting their monitors, should rush wherever their wilfulness (*animi libido*) may hurry them. For thus far, which, however, I commit to your own bosom, hardly are they kept within the bounds of duty. To such an extent is the whole matter now wrested out of our hands, and placed in those of powerful princes, who give heed meanwhile to their monitors only while it pleases them. See then that you join with the church in imploring the divine mercy. For as many of us as are here trust more to the prayers of our absent brethren than to all our own counsels and industry. Farewell. Salute our lords (the magistrates, no doubt,) most friendly brothers in Christ. Augsburg, &c. Your own BRENZ [*Brentius tuus*]."

This letter reveals a state of things which our author seems imperfectly to have apprehended. We see not only the papal divines, who had no domestic ties to make war terrible to them, urging the emperor to unsheath the sword; the emperor slow to be moved to a step which, if successful, might weaken himself and aggrandize Rome; the protestant princes more than ready to draw their swords in defence of the Gospel; but protestant divines earnestly restraining this zeal, war being terrible to them as husbands and fathers, and even the success of their masters, the princes, being regarded by them with anxious forebodings of its being taken advantage of to usurp the Church's independence. Melancthon and his brother divines seem to have been actuated, some will say by a wholesome, others will say by a most unwise and unworthy jealousy of the protestant princes, and at the part which, as magistrates and laymen, they were forward to take in the immediate concerns of the Church; this jealousy furnished one reason for their not wishing the princes to sign the confession, and suggested a powerful reason for tolerating the papal primacy, agreeing to the preservation of the jurisdiction and dignity of the bishops, and, in one word, seeking by a compromise with Rome, to preserve that independence of civil usurpation or Erastianism, which they saw no means of preserving in any other way. This jealousy, right or wrong in itself, supplies the true key, I conceive, to Melancthon's eagerness to purchase peace by almost any concessions. He was pusillanimous and fainthearted, it is true, but not from the apprehension of personal danger. What he trembled for was, lest the Gospel should be placed at the mercy of secular tyrants or demagogues, or even of well-meaning but injudicious princes and magistrates, in attempting to deliver it from the spiritual bondage of Rome. *Voilà un esprit bien organisatrice!* [There is a mind well suited for organization!] said a distinguished French statesman to the author of these notes at the mention of the name of Dr. Chalmers. But such was not the mind or talent of any Lutheran of that age. Luther indeed felt no weak jealousy of the princes. His faith would not allow him to entertain any fears likely to tempt to the compromise of principle. But there was no Calvin, no Knox, no Wesley, no Chalmers, at Augsburg, to suggest some method by which the Church might be freely organized without derogating either from the proper authority of the princes or from its own. How precious must be the blessing of spiritual independence, of freedom from secular control and interference, when the dread of jeopardizing it could lead a man like Melancthon to go so far towards compromising matters with the popedom. In the course of this history this subject must often recur, and it will be seen how the Reformed Churches of different countries attempted to secure what Melancthon was so anxious to preserve.—D.D.S.

The wiles of the Ultramontanists were added to Philip's dejection, in order to arrest the courageous proceedings of the princes. Friday, 24th June, was the day fixed for reading the Confession, but measures were taken to prevent it. The sitting of the diet did not begin till three in the afternoon; the legate was then announced; Charles went to meet him as far as the top of the grand staircase, and Campeggio, taking his seat in front of the emperor, in King Ferdinand's place, delivered a harangue in Ciceronian style. "Never," said he, "has St. Peter's bark been so violently tossed by such various waves, whirlwinds, and abysses.¹ The Holy Father has learnt these things with pain, and desires to drag the Church from these frightful gulfs. For the love of Jesus Christ, for the safety of your country and for your own, O mighty Prince! get rid of these errors, deliver Germany, and save Christendom!"

After a temperate reply from Albert of Maintz, the legate quitted the town-hall, and the evangelical princes stood up; but a fresh obstacle had been provided. Deputies from Austria, Carinthia, and Carniola, first received a hearing.²

Much time had thus elapsed. The evangelical princes, however, rose up again, and the chancellor Brück said: "It is pretended that new doctrines not based on Scripture, that heresies and schisms, are spread among the people by us. Considering that such accusations compromise not only our good name, but also the safety of our souls,³ we beg his majesty will have the goodness to hear what are the doctrines we profess."

The emperor, no doubt by arrangement with the legate, made reply that it was too late; besides, that this reading would be useless; and that the princes should be satisfied with putting in their Confession in writing. Thus the mine, so skilfully prepared, worked admirably; the Confession, once handed to the emperor, would be thrown aside, and the Reformation would be forced to retire, without the papists having even condescended to hear it, without defence, and overwhelmed with contumely.

¹ Neque unquam tam variis sectarum turbinibus navicula Petri fluctuaverit. (Seck. ii. 169.)

² Oratio valde lugubris et miserabilis contra Turcas. (Corp. Ref. ii. 154.)

³ Verum etiam ad animæ dispendium aut salutem æternam. (Seck. ii. 189.)

The Protestant princes, uneasy and agitated, insisted. "Our honour is at stake," said they; "our souls are endangered.¹ We are accused publicly; publicly we ought to answer." Charles was shaken; Ferdinand leant towards him, and whispered a few words in his ear:² the emperor refused a second time.

Upon this the elector and princes, in still greater alarm, said for the third time, with emotion and earnestness:³ "For the love of God, let us read our Confession! No person is insulted in it." Thus were seen, on the one hand, a few faithful men, desiring with loud cries to confess their faith; and on the other, the great emperor of the west, surrounded by a crowd of cardinals, prelates, and princes, endeavouring to stifle the manifestation of the truth.⁴ It was a serious, violent, and decisive struggle, in which the holiest interests were discussed!

At last Charles appeared to yield: "His majesty grants your request," was the reply to the princes; "but as it is now too late, he begs you to transmit him your written Confession, and to-morrow, at two o'clock, the diet will be prepared to hear it read at the Palatine Palace."

The princes were struck by these words, which, seeming to grant them everything, in reality granted nothing. In the first place, it was not in a public sitting at the town-hall, but privately in his own palace, that the emperor was willing to hear them;⁵ then they had no doubt that if the Confession left their hands it was all over with the public reading. They therefore remained firm. "The work has been done in great haste," said they, and it was the truth; "pray leave it with us to-night, that we may revise it." The emperor was obliged to yield, and the Protestants returned to their hotels full of joy; while the legate and his friends, perceiving that the Confession was inevitable, saw the morrow approach with continually increasing anxiety.

¹ Ihre Seele, Ehre und Glimpf belunget. (Corp. Ref. ii. 128.)

² Viderant enim eum subin'e aliquid illi in aurem insusurrare. (Seek. ii. 169.)

³ Zum dritten mal heftig angehalten. Corp. Ref. ii. 128.)

⁴ Circumsistebant Casarem magno numero cardinales et prelati ecclesiastici. (Seek. ii. 169.)

⁵ Non quidem publice in pretorio, sed privatim in palatio suo. (Corp. Ref. ii. 124.)

Among those who prepared to confess the evangelical truth, was one, however, whose heart was filled with sadness:—it was Melanchthon. Placed between two fires, he saw the reformed, and many even of his own friends, reproach his weakness; while the opposite party detested what they called his hypocrisy. His friend Camerarius, who visited Augsburg about this time, often found him plunged in thought, uttering deep sighs, and shedding bitter tears.¹ Brenz, moved with compassion, coming to the unhappy Philip, would sit down by his side and weep with him;² and Jonas endeavoured to console him in another manner, by exhorting him to take the book of Psalms, and cry to God with all his heart, making use of David's words rather than of his own.

One day intelligence arrived which formed a general topic of conversation in Augsburg, and which, by spreading terror among the partisans of the pope, gave a momentary relief to Melanchthon. It was said that a mule in Rome had given birth to a colt with crane's feet. "This prodigy," said Melanchthon thoughtfully, "announces that Rome is near its end;"³ perhaps because the crane is a bird of passage, and that the pope's mule thus gave signs of departure. Melanchthon had immediately written to Luther, who replied that he was exceedingly rejoiced that God had given the pope so striking a sign of his approaching fall.⁴ It is good to recall to memory these puerilities of the age of the reformers, that we may better understand the high range of these men of God in matters of faith.

These idle Roman stories did not long console Melanchthon. On the eve of the 25th of June, he was present in imagination at the reading of that Confession which he had drawn up, which was about to be proclaimed before the world, and in which one word too many or too few might decide on the approbation or the hatred of the princes, on the safety or ruin of the Reformation and of the empire. He could bear up no longer, and the

¹ Non modo suspirantem sed profundentem lacrymas consexi. (Camer. p. 121.)

² Brentius assidebat huic scribenti, una lacrymans. (Corp. Ref. ii. 126.)

³ Romæ quedam mula peperit, et partus habuit pedes gruis. Vides significari exitum Romæ per schismata. (Ibid. p. 126.)

⁴ Gaudeo Papæ signum datum in mula puerpera, ut citius pereat. (L. Epp. iv. 4.)

feeble Atlas, crushed under the burden of the world upon his shoulders, gave utterance to a cry of anguish. "All my time here is spent in tears and mourning," wrote he to Vitus Diedrich, Luther's secretary in the castle of Coburg;¹ and on the morrow he wrote to Luther himself: "My dwelling is in perpetual tears.² My consternation is indescribable.³ O my father! I do not wish my words to exaggerate my sorrows; but without your consolations it is impossible for me to enjoy here the least peace."

Nothing in fact presented so strong a contrast to Melancthon's distrust and dejection, as the faith, calmness, and exultation of Luther. It was of advantage to him that he was not then in the midst of the Augsburg vortex, and to be able from his stronghold to set his foot with tranquillity upon the rock of God's promises. He was sensible himself of the value of this peaceful hermitage, as he called it.⁴ "I cannot sufficiently admire," said Vitus Diedrich, "the firmness, cheerfulness, and faith of this man, so astonishing in such cruel times."

Luther, besides his constant reading of the Word of God,⁵ did not pass a day without devoting three hours at least to prayer, and they were hours selected from those the most favourable to study.⁶ One day, as Diedrich approached the reformer's chamber, he heard his voice,⁷ and remained motionless, holding his breath, a few steps from the door. Luther was praying, and his prayer (said the secretary) was full of adoration, fear, and hope, as when one speaks to a friend or to a father.⁸ "I know that thou art our Father and our God," said the reformer, alone in his chamber, "and that thou wilt scatter the persecutors of thy children, for thou art thyself endangered with us. All this matter is thine, and it is only by thy constraint that we have put our hands to it. Defend us then, O Father!" The secretary, motionless as a

¹ *Hic consumitur omne mihi tempus in lacrymis et luctu.* (Corp. Ref. ii. 126.)

² *Versamur hic in miserrimis curis et plane perpetuis lacrymis.* (Ibid. p. 140.)

³ *Mira consternatio animorum nostrorum.* (Ibid.)

⁴ *Ex eremo tacita.* (L. Epp. iv. 51.) It is thus he dates his letter.

⁵ *Assidue autem illa diligentiore verbi Dei tractatione alit.* (Corp. Ref. ii. 159.)

⁶ *Nullus abit dies, quin ut minimum tres horas easque studiis optimas in orationibus ponat.* (Ibid.)

⁷ *Semel mihi contigit ut orantem eum audirem.* (Ibid.)

⁸ *Tanta spe et fide ut eum patre et amico colloqui sentiat.* (Ibid.)

statue in the long gallery of the castle, lost not one of the words that the clear and resounding voice of Luther bore to his ears.¹ The reformer was earnest with God, and called upon him with such unction to accomplish his promises, that Die-drich felt his heart glow within him.² "Oh!" exclaimed he, as he retired, "how could not these prayers but prevail in the desperate struggle at Augsburg!"

Luther might also have allowed himself to be overcome with fear, for he was left in complete ignorance of what was taking place in the diet. A Wittenberg messenger, who should have brought him forests of letters (according to his own expression), having presented himself: "Do you bring any letters?" asked Luther. "No!" "How are those gentlemen?" "Well!" Luther, grieved at such silence, returned and shut himself up in his chamber.

Ere long there appeared a courier on horseback carrying despatches from the elector to Torgau. "Do you bring me any letters?" asked Luther. "No!" "How are those gentlemen?" continued he, fearfully. "Well!" "This is strange," thought the reformer. A waggon having left Coburg laden with flour (for they were almost in want of provisions at Augsburg), Luther impatiently awaited the return of the driver; but he returned empty. Luther then began to revolve the gloomiest thoughts in his mind, not doubting that they were concealing some misfortune from him.³ At last another individual, Jobst Nymptzen, having arrived from Augsburg, Luther rushed anew towards him, with his usual question: "Do you bring me any letters?" He waited trembling for the reply. "No!" "And how are those gentlemen?" "Well!" The reformer withdrew, a prey to anger and to fear.

Then Luther opened his Bible, and to console himself for the silence of men, conversed with God. There were some passages of Scripture in particular that he read continually. We point them out below.⁴ He did more; he wrote with his

¹ Tum orantem clara voce, procul stans, audivi. (Corp. Ref. ii. 159.)

² Ardebat mihi quoque animus singulari quodam impetu. (Ibid.)

³ Ille copè cogitare tristia, suspirans, vos aliquid mali me celare velle. (L. Epp. iv. 60.)

⁴ 2 Tim. iii. 12; Philip. ii. 12, 13; John x. 17, 18; Matth. xvi. 18; Psalm xli.

own hand many declarations of Scripture over the doors and windows, and on the walls of the castle. In one place were these words from the 118th Psalm: *I shall not die, but live, and declare the works of the Lord.* In another, those of the 12th chapter of Proverbs: *The way of the wicked seduceth them;* and over his bed, this passage from the 4th Psalm: *I will both lay me down in peace and sleep; for thou, O Lord, only makest me dwell in safety.* Never perhaps did man so environ himself with the promises of the Lord, or so dwell in the atmosphere of his Word and live by his breath, as Luther at Coburg.

At length letters came. "If the times in which we live were not opposed to it, I should have imagined some revenge," wrote Luther to Jonas; "but prayer checked my anger, and anger checked my prayer.¹ I am delighted at that tranquil mind which God gives our prince. As for Melanchthon, it is his philosophy that tortures him, and nothing else. For our cause is in the very hands of Him who can say with unspeakable dignity: *No one shall pluck it out of my hands.* I would not have it in our hands, and it would not be desirable that it were so.² I have had many things in my hands, and I have lost them all; but whatever I have been able to place in God's I still possess."

On learning that Melanchthon's anguish still continued, Luther wrote to him; and these are words that should be preserved:—

"Grace and peace in Christ! in Christ, I say, and not in the world, Amen. I hate with exceeding hatred those extreme cares which consume you. If the cause is unjust, abandon it; if the cause is just, why should we belie the promises of Him who commands us to sleep without fear? Can the devil do more than kill us? Christ will not be wanting to the work of justice and of truth. He lives; he reigns; what fear, then,

1, 2: 1 John iv. 4; Psalm lv. 23; xxvii. 14; John xvi. 33; Luke xvii. 5; Psalm xxxii. 11; cxlv. 18, 19; xci. 14, 15; Sirach ii. 11; 1 Maceab. ii. 61; Matth. vi. 31; 1 Peter v. 6, 7; Matth. x. 28; Rom. iv. and vi.; Heb. v. and xi.; 1 Sam. iv. 18; xxxi. 4-8; ii. 30; 2 Tim. ii. 17, 18, 19; i. 12; Eph. iii. 20, 21. Among these passages will be observed two verses taken from the Apocrypha, but whose equivalents might easily be found in the Word of God.

¹ Sed orandi tempus non sinebat irasci, et ira non sinebat orare. (L. Epp. iv. 46.)

² Nec vellem, nec consultum esset, in nostra manu esse. (Ibid.)

can we have? God is powerful to upraise his cause if it is overthrown, to make it proceed if it remains motionless, and if we are not worthy of it, he will do it by others.

"I have received your Apology,¹ and I cannot understand what you mean, when you ask what we must concede to the papists. We have already conceded too much. Night and day I meditate on this affair, turning it over and over, diligently searching the Scriptures, and the conviction of the truth of our doctrine every day becomes stronger in my mind. With the help of God, I will not permit a single letter of all that we have said to be torn from us.

"The issue of this affair torments you, because you cannot understand it. But if you could, I would not have the least share in it. God has put it in a "common place," that you will not find either in your rhetoric or in your philosophy: that place is called Faith.² It is that in which subsist all things that we can neither understand nor see. Whoever wishes to touch them, as you do, will have tears for his sole reward.

"If Christ is not with us, where is he in the whole universe? If we are not the Church, where, I pray, is the Church? Is it the dukes of Bavaria, is it Ferdinand, is it the pope, is it the Turk, who is the Church? If we have not the Word of God, who is it that possesses it?

"Only we must have faith, lest the cause of faith should be found to be without faith.³

"If we fall, Christ falls with us, that is to say, the Master of the world. I would rather fall with Christ, than remain standing with Cæsar."

Thus wrote Luther. The faith which animated him flowed from him like torrents of living water. He was indefatigable: in a single day he wrote to Melancthon, Spalatin, Brenz, Agricola, and John Frederick, and they were letters full of life. He was not alone in praying, speaking, and believing. At the same moment, the evangelical Christians exhorted one another

¹ The Confession revised and corrected.

² Deus posuit eam in locum quendam communem, quem in tua rhetorica non habes nec in philosophia tua; is vocatur *fides*. (L. Epp. iv. 53.)

³ Tantum est opus fide, ne causa fidei sit sine fide. (Ibid. 61.)

everywhere to prayer.¹ Such was the arsenal in which the weapons were forged that the confessors of Christ wielded before the diet of Augsburg.

CHAPTER VII.

The 25th June, 1530—The Palatine Chapel—Recollections and Contrast—The Confession—Prologue—Justification—The Church—Free Will and Works—Faith—Interest of the Hearers—The Princes become Preachers—The Confession—Abuses—Church and State—The two Governments—Epilogue—Argumentation—Prudence—Church and State—The Sword—Moderate Tone of the Confession—Its Defects—A New Baptism.

At length the 25th June arrived. This was destined to be the greatest day of the Reformation, and one of the most glorious in the history of Christianity and of mankind.

As the chapel of the Palatine Palace, where the emperor had resolved to hear the Confession, could contain only about two hundred persons,² before three o'clock a great crowd was to be seen surrounding the building and thronging the court, hoping by this means to catch a few words; and many having gained entrance to the chapel, all were turned out except those who were, at the least, councillors to the princes.

Charles took his seat on the throne. The electors or their representatives were on his right and left hand; after them, the other princes and states of the empire.³ The legate had refused

¹ Wittembergæ scribunt, tam diligenter ibi Ecclesiam orare. (L. Epp. iv. 69.)

² Capiebat forsan ducentos. (Jonas, Corp. Ref. ii. 157.)

³ The author has not given the numbers present at this famous diet. Curious details appear at page 862, vol. xvi. of Walch's edition of Luther's Works on this point; the arrivals from 2d May to the entrance of the emperor being first given, and then a list follows of all who were present personally or by deputy. The bustle and excitement must have been immense. I shall first give a few specimens of the arrivals, and then state the numbers of each class of persons present, so that the reader who connects those proceedings with the accomplishment of prophecy, may see how very open a proclamation of the Gospel was involved in the reading of the Confession. The individual arrivals give some idea of the vast host of retainers that must have been crowded together in Augsburg.

"May 2d. Rode in the electoral prince duke John of Saxony, with him his grace's son, duke John Frederick, duke Francis of Luneburg, count Wolf of Anhalt, count Wolf of Henneberg, count of Mansfeldt, count of Gleiche, they had about 160 well-equipped horses, all with fire-arms, in liver-coloured uniform; they were preceded by an immense baggage and many waggons, with about 100 horses.

to appear in this solemnity, lest he should seem by his presence to authorize the reading of the Confession.¹

Then stood up John elector of Saxony, with his son John Frederick, Philip landgrave of Hesse, the margrave George of Brandenburg, Wolfgang prince of Anhalt, Ernest duke of Brunswick-Luneburg, and his brother Francis, and last of all the deputies of Nuremberg and Reutlingen. Their air was animated and their features radiant with joy.² The apologies of the early Christians, of Tertullian and Justin Martyr, hardly reached in writing the sovereigns to whom they were addressed. But now, to hear the new apology of resuscitated Christianity, behold that puissant emperor, whose sceptre, stretching far beyond the Columns of Hercules, reaches the utmost limits of the world, his brother the king of the Romans, with electors, princes, prelates, deputies, ambassadors, all of whom desire to destroy the Gospel, but who are constrained by an invisible power to listen, and, by that very listening, to honour the Confession!

One thought was involuntarily present in the minds of the

"May 10th. Rode in duke George son of Saxony, with him prince Joachim of Anhalt, had 30 horse, in liver-coloured uniform and fire-arms.

"May 12th. Rode in the electoral prince margrave Joachim, had 100 horses, with him his grace's sons, arquebusiers, in liver-coloured uniform. Further, duke Henry of Brunswick, with about 30 horses, in gray livery, and almost all carried boar-spears. Further, the landgrave of Hesse, with 120 horse, in gray uniforms, and all with fire-arms."

The bishop of Spire arrived on the 15th, with 50 horse in red livery. The elector bishop of Cologne on the 16th, with 60 horse in red, some with fire-arms, some with arrows (shaftlein), and these were in addition to 60 similarly equipped who had arrived some days before. The electoral bishop of Mainz came on the 18th, with 160 horse in red, all with boar-spears, and in light head gear. The bishop of Würzburg on the 22d, with 90 horse in all, in red. On the 24th came margrave George of Brandenburg, and with him the young duke of Munsterberg; they had 160 horse, in green, with light head gear, and spears, and so on.

Thus, even before the arrival of the immense train of the emperor, accompanied by a far more numerous body of princes and bishops, nobles and deputies, 22 princes and 7 bishops, with a collective retinue of about 1500 horsemen, exclusive of baggage, had entered Augsburg.

Then follows a list in four sections. The first is headed with the emperor and king Ferdinand, and contains 57 names of the higher order of princes and nobles, including 2 archbishops and 16 ecclesiastics, bishops or of episcopal rank. All these were present. Section 2d presents us with 19 names of equal rank, absent but represented by deputies. Several abbots indeed are placed in this list as appearing in person. Section 3d comprises the names of 22 counts and lords, and the last section gives the names of 45 Free Imperial cities.

The whole must have formed a magnificent assemblage, and doubtless contributed immensely to the dissemination of the truth.—D. D. S.

¹ Sarpi, Hist. Council Trent, i. 101.

² *Læto et alacri animo et vultu.* (Sculdet. i. 273.)

spectators,—the recollection of the diet of Worms.¹ Only nine years before, a poor monk stood alone for this same cause in a hall of the town-house at Worms, in presence of the empire. And now in his stead behold the foremost of the electors, princes, and cities! What a victory is declared by this simple fact! No doubt Charles himself cannot escape from this recollection.

The emperor, seeing the Protestants stand up, motioned them to sit down; and then the two chancellors of the elector, Bruck and Bayer, advanced to the middle of the chapel, and stood before the throne, holding in their hands, the former the Latin and the other the German copy of the Confession. The emperor required the Latin copy to be read.² “We are Germans,” said the elector of Saxony, “and on German soil; I hope therefore your majesty will allow us to speak German.” If the Confession had been read in Latin, a language unknown to most of the princes, the general effect would have been lost. This was another means of shutting the mouth of the Gospel. The emperor complied with the elector’s demand.

Bayer then began to read the evangelical Confession, slowly, seriously, distinctly, with a clear, strong, and sonorous voice, which re-echoed under the arched roof of the chapel, and carried even to the outside this great testimony paid to the truth.³

“Most serene, most mighty, and invincible emperor and most gracious lord,” said he, “we who appear in your presence, declare ourselves ready to confer amicably with you on the fittest means of restoring one sole, true, and same faith, since it is for one sole and same Christ that we fight.⁴ And in case that these religious dissensions cannot be settled amicably, we then offer to your majesty to explain our cause in a general, free, and Christian council.”⁵

This prologue being ended, Bayer confessed the Holy Trinity,

¹ Ante decennium in conventu Wormatensi. (Corp. Ref. ii. 153.)

² Cæsar Latinum prælegi volebat. (Seek. ii. 170.)

³ Qui clare, distincte, tarde et voce adeo grandi et sonora eam pronunciavit. (Seultet. p. 276.)

⁴ Ad unam veram concordem religionem, sicut omnes sub uno Christo sumus et militamus. (Confessio, Præfatio. Urkund. i. 474.)

⁵ Causam dicturos in tali generali, libero, et Christiano concilio. (Ibid. 479.)

conformably with the Nicene Council,¹ original and hereditary sin, "which bringeth eternal death to all who are not born again,"² and the incarnation of the Son, "very God and very man."³

"We teach, moreover," continued he, "that we cannot be justified before God by our own strength, our merits, or our works; but that we are justified freely for Christ's sake through faith,⁴ when we believe that our sins are forgiven in virtue of Christ, who by his death has made satisfaction for our sins: this faith is the righteousness that God imputeth to the sinner."⁵

¹ Et tamen tres sunt personæ ejusdem essentiae. (Confessio, Præfatio. Urkund. i. 682.)

² Vitium originis, afferens æternam mortem his qui non renascuntur. (Ibid. 483.)

³ Unus Christus, vere Deus, et vere homo. (Ibid.)

⁴ Quod homines non possint justificari coram Deo, propriis viribus, meritis, aut operibus, sed gratis, propter Christum, per fidem. (Ibid. 484.)

⁵ This sufficiently agrees with Dr. Cox's abbeviated (Life of Melancthon, p. 310). But I suspect both our author and he, by translating from the Latin, make the English bear what the German does not, and the Latin was not intended to mean. I allude particularly to faith being represented as the righteousness which God imputes to the sinner. The reference is to Romans iv. 5, where our English version has, "his faith is counted for," not "imputed as righteousness." The authors of the Confession evidently held that the believer is saved through Christ's righteousness being imputed to him, not his own faith as righteousness. The article from the German of Waleh's Luther's Schriften, runs thus:—

"The IVth Article.

"Further it is taught that we have no power to obtain forgiveness of sins and righteousness before God through our merit, work, and satisfaction, but that we obtain forgiveness of sins and become righteous before God, out of grace, for the sake of Christ, through faith, on our believing (or if we believe), that Christ has suffered for us, and that for his sake our sins are forgiven us, and righteousness and eternal life bestowed upon us. For this faith God will hold and reckon for righteousness, as St. Paul says to the Romans, ch. iii. 28, and ch. iv. 5."

The author wholly omits the 4th article. But it is highly important when viewed as a protest against papal error. The universal belief among Romanists was, that a man is regenerated by the *opus operatum* of baptism. The Protestants, after defining the faith which was counted for righteousness, and through which salvation comes to the sinner, proceed to answer the next obvious question, viz., how that faith comes to the sinner—how he obtains it. The answer is as follows:

"Vth Article.

"For obtaining such faith, God has appointed the office of preaching, and has given gospel and sacrament; thereby he, as by a means (instrumentally), gives the Holy Ghost, who works faith where and when He wills, in those who hear the Gospel, which then teaches that we through Christ's merit, not through our merit, have a gracious God, provided we believe so.

"And the Anabaptists and others are condemned, who teach that we obtain the Holy Ghost without the external (lit. bodily) Word, through our own preparation, thoughts, and works."

Here there is a twofold protest—1st. against that neglect of preaching and of the announcement of the Gospel, which the Rev. E. B. Elliott, in his *Home Apocalypticæ*, notes as having almost universally prevailed throughout Christendom previous to the Reformation; and 2d. against that disrespect of the external or written Word, and those pretensions to immediate revelations from God, which

"But we teach, at the same time, that this faith ought to bear good fruits, and that we must do all the good works commanded by God, for the love of God, and not by their means to gain the grace of God."

The Protestants next declared their faith in the Christian Church, "which is," said they, "the assembly of all true believers and all the saints,"¹ in the midst of whom there are, nevertheless, in this life, many false Christians, hypocrites even, and manifest sinners; and they added, "that it is sufficient for the real unity of the Church that they agree on the doctrine of the Gospel and the administration of the sacraments, without the rites and ceremonies instituted by men being everywhere the same."² They proclaimed the necessity of baptism, and declared "that the body and blood of Christ are really present and administered in the Lord's Supper to those who partake of it."³

The chancellor then successively confessed the faith of the evangelical Christians touching confession, penance, the nature of the sacraments, the government of the Church, ecclesiastical ordinances, political government, and the last judgment. "As regards free will," continued he, "we confess that man's will has a certain liberty of accomplishing civil justice, and of loving the things that reason comprehends; that man can do the good that is within the sphere of nature—plough his fields, eat, drink, have a friend, put on a coat, build a house, take a wife, feed cattle, exercise a calling; as also he can, of his own movement, do evil, kneel before an idol, and commit murder.

proved the prolific source of so many wild vagaries in what were called the enthusiastic sects.

Dr. Cox's translation of the 5th article seems both mistranslated and misprinted.

The Confession, as quoted by the Rev. John Scott, in his *Continuation of Milner*, is manifestly from a much more copious version than that which was read by Beyer; and, strange to say, at the beginning of the 5th article of that fuller version, one seems to recognise the unction with which Zwingli loved to state Gospel truth, as a thing in which the heart was more interested than the understanding.—D. D. S.

¹ *Congregatio sanctorum et vere credentium.* (Confessio, Præfatio. Urkund. i. 487.)

² *Ad veram unitatem Ecclesiæ, satis est consentire de doctrina Evangelii et administratione sacramentorum, nec necesse est, &c.* (Ibid. 486.)

³ *Quod corpus et sanguis Christi vere adsint et distribuuntur vescentibus in cœna Domini.* (F. Urkund. i. 488.)

But we maintain that without the Holy Ghost he cannot do what is righteous in the sight of God."

Then, returning to the grand doctrine of the Reformation, and recalling to mind that the doctors of the pope "have never ceased impelling the faithful to puerile and useless works, as the custom of chaplets,¹ invocations of saints, monastic vows, processions, feast-days, brotherhoods," the Protestants added,

¹ The nature of the chaplet, or rosary, could not be better explained to the Protestant reader than by quoting the able author of the article on the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisition, in the *Quarterly Review* for December, 1811.

"These are a sample of the miscellaneous miracles of St. Dominic. There remain two distinct and important classes which must be noticed: those relating to the rosary, which are the original stock in trade of the order; and those which refer to the Virgin Mary, having been invented to play off against the Franciscans.

"When Dominic borrowed the rosary from the Moors (who themselves probably adopted it from the Hindoos), the Romish Church had established an opinion, that prayer was a thing of actual, not of relative value; that it was received as currency in the treasury of heaven, where due account was kept; and that credit was given to every soul, for all which he had himself placed there, or which had been paid over for his use, for the stock was transferable by gift or purchase. The bead string was an admirable device upon this principle, if it had been merely for abridging the arithmetic. But it had also its peculiar earthly advantages. The full rosary consists of one hundred and sixty-five beads, that is, of fifteen decades, with a large bead at the end of each, which is for the Pater Noster (Lord's prayer), the smaller ones being for the Ave Marias (Hail Marys). It is apparent that if the Ave Marias were repeated one hundred and fifty times continuously, the words would necessarily become unconnected with thought or feeling, and soon pass into confused and scarcely articulate sounds. But by this invention, when ten beads have been dropped, the larger one comes opportunely in to jog the memory; sufficient attention is thus awakened to satisfy the conscience of the devotee, and yet no effort, no feeling, no fervour are required; the heart may be asleep, the understanding may wander; the lips and the fingers are all that are needed for this act of most acceptable and efficient devotion. 'It is a means,' says one of our English Romanists, 'to kindle and nourish devotion, and with great facility to pray and obtain, by the most effectual intercession of so great an advocate (as the Virgin), all manner of good and perfect gifts, from which so fruitful means should be excluded neither the husbandman in the fields, nor the traveller in his journey, nor the labourer with his toiling, nor the simple by his unskilfulness, nor the woman by her sex, nor the married by their estate, nor the young by their ignorance, nor the aged by their impotency, nor the poor for want of ability, nor the blind for want of sight; a devotion which repugneth to no estate or condition, not requiring more knowledge than to say the Pater Noster and Ave Maria, nor more charge than the price of a pair of beads, nor any choice of place or situation of body, but as it shall like the party, either to stand, sit, lie, walk, or kneel, especially having no burden of conscience or charge if it be omitted; who seeth not how easy it is?' Such manifold advantages could not fail to bring the rosary into vogue; nor indeed can the beauty of this religious implement be without its effect. Nothing can be conceived more interesting than the bead string, with its appendant cross or crucifix, hanging round the neck of the young, or in the trembling hands of the aged.

"It was naturally to be expected that the Virgin, the Magna Mater of (Roman) Catholicism, would take especial delight in a form of devotion so peculiarly addressed to herself. Accordingly, she often appeared garlanded with roses in the proportion of one red to ten white ones. There is no end to the miracles by which she has proved the efficacy of this religious prescription." See *Quarterly Review* as above, p. 322.—D. D. S.

that as for themselves, while urging the practice of truly Christian works, of which little had been said before their time,¹ "they taught that man is justified by faith alone; not by that faith which is a simple knowledge of the history, and which wicked men and even devils possess, but by a faith which believes not only the history, but also the effect of the history;² which believes that through Christ we obtain grace; which sees that in Christ we have a merciful Father; which knows this God; which calls upon him; in a word, which is not without God, as the heathen are."

"Such," said Bayer, "is a summary of the doctrine professed in our churches, by which it may be seen that this doctrine is by no means opposed to Scripture, to the universal Church, nor even to the Romish Church, such as the doctors describe it to us;³ and since it is so, to reject us as heretics is an offence against unity and charity."

Here terminated the first part of the Confession, the aim of which was to explain the evangelical doctrine. The chancellor read with so distinct a voice, that the crowd which was unable to enter the hall, and which filled the court and all the approaches of the episcopal palace, did not lose a word.⁴ This reading produced the most marvellous effect on the princes who thronged the chapel. Jonas watched every change in their countenances,⁵ and there beheld interest, astonishment, and even approbation depicted by turns. "The adversaries imagine they have done a wonderful thing by forbidding the preaching of the Gospel," wrote Luther to the elector; "and they do not see, poor creatures! that by the reading of the Confession in the presence of the diet, there has been more preaching than in the sermons of ten doctors. Exquisite subtlety! admirable expedient! Master Agricola and the other ministers are re-

¹ De quibus rebus olim parum docebant coneionatores; tantum puerilia et non necessaria opera urgebant. (F. Urkund. i. 495.)

² Non tantum historię notitiam, sed fidem quę credit non tantum historiam, sed etiam effectum historię. (Ibid. 498.)

³ Nihil inesse quod discrepat a Scripturis vel ab Ecclesia Catholica, vel ab Ecclesia Romana, quatenus ex Scriptoribus nota est. (Ibid. 501.)

⁴ Verum etiam in area inferiori et vicinis locis exaudiri potuerit. (Scultet. p. 274.)

⁵ Jonas scribit vidisse se vultus omnium de quo mihi spondet narrationem coram. (L. Epp. iv. 71.)

duced to silence; but in their place appear the elector of Saxony and the other princes and lords, who preach before his imperial majesty and the members of the whole empire, freely, to their beard, and before their noses. Yes, Christ is in the diet, and he does not keep silence; *the Word of God cannot be bound*. They forbid it in the pulpit, and are forced to hear it in the palace; poor ministers cannot announce it, and great princes proclaim it; the servants are forbidden to listen to it, and their masters are compelled to hear it; they will have nothing to do with it during the whole course of the diet, and they are forced to submit to hear more in one day than is heard ordinarily in a whole year..... When all else is silent, the very stones cry out, as says our Lord Jesus Christ.”¹

That part of the Confession destined to point out errors and abuses still remained. Bayer continued: he explained and demonstrated the doctrine of the two kinds; he attacked the compulsory celibacy of priests, maintained that the Lord's Supper had been changed into a regular fair, in which it was merely a question of buying and selling, and that it had been re-established in its primitive purity by the Reformation, and was celebrated in the evangelical churches with entirely new devotion and gravity. He declared that the sacrament was administered to no one who had not first made confession of his faults, and he quoted this expression of Chrysostom: “Confess thyself to God the Lord, thy real Judge; tell thy sin not with the tongue, but in thy conscience and in thy heart.”

Bayer next came to the precepts on the distinction of meats and other Roman usages. “Celebrate such a festival,” said he; “repeat such a prayer, or keep such a fast; be dressed in such a manner, and so many other ordinances of men—this is what is now styled a spiritual and Christian life; while the good works prescribed by God, as those of a father of a family who toils to support his wife, his sons, and his daughters—of a mother who brings children into the world, and takes care of them—of a prince or of a magistrate who governs his subjects, are looked upon as secular things, and of an imperfect nature.”

¹ L. Epp. iv. 82.

As for monastic vows in particular, he represented that, as the pope could give a dispensation from them, those vows ought therefore to be abolished.

The last article of the Confession treated of the authority of the bishops: powerful princes crowned with the episcopal mitre were there; the archbishops of Maintz, Cologne, Salzburg, and Bremen, with the bishops of Bamberg, Würzburg, Eichstädt, Worms, Spire, Strasburg, Augsburg, Constance, Coire, Passau, Liege, Trent, Brixen, and of Lebus and Ratzburg, fixed their eyes on the humble confessor. He fearlessly continued, and energetically protesting against that confusion of Church and State which had characterized the Middle Ages, he called for the distinction and independence of the two societies.

"Many," said he, "have unskilfully confounded the episcopal and the temporal power; and from this confusion have resulted great wars, revolts, and seditions.¹ It is for this reason, and to re-assure men's consciences, that we find ourselves constrained to establish the difference, which exists between the power of the Church and the power of the sword."²

"We therefore teach that the power of the keys or of the bishops is, conformably with the Word of the Lord, a commandment emanating from God, to preach the Gospel, to remit or retain sins, and to administer the sacraments. This power has reference only to eternal goods, is exercised only by the minister of the Word, and does not trouble itself with political administration. The political administration, on the other hand, is busied with everything else but the Gospel. The magistrate protects, not souls, but bodies and temporal possessions. He defends them against all attacks from without, and, by making use of the sword and of punishment, compels men to observe civil justice and peace."³

"For this reason we must take particular care not to mingle

¹ Nonnulli incommode commiscuerunt potestatem ecclesiasticam et potestatem gladii; et ex hac confusione, &c. (Urkund. Confes. Augs. i. 539.)

² Coacti sunt ostendere discrimen ecclesiasticæ potestatis gladii. (Ibid.)

³ Politica administratio versatur enim circa alias res quam Evangelium; magistratus defendit non mentes sed corpora — et coercet homines gladio. (Ibid. 541.)

the power of the Church with the power of the State.¹ The power of the Church ought never to invade an office that is foreign to it; for Christ himself said: *My kingdom is not of this world.* And again: *Who made me a judge over you?* St. Paul said to the Philippians: *Our citizenship is in heaven.*² And to the Corinthians: *The weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God.*

“It is thus that we distinguish the two governments and the two powers, and that we honour both as the most excellent gifts that God has given here on earth.

“The duty of the bishops is therefore to preach the Gospel, to forgive sins, and to exclude from the Christian Church all who rebel against the Lord, but without human power, and solely by the Word of God.³ If the bishops act thus, the churches ought to be obedient to them, according to this declaration of Christ: *Whoever heareth you, heareth me.*

“But if the bishops teach anything that is contrary to the Gospel, then the churches have an order from God which forbids them to obey (Matt. vii. 15; Gal. i. 8; 2 Cor. xiii. 8, 10). And St. Augustine himself, in his letter against Pertilian, writes: ‘We must not obey the catholic bishops, if they go astray, and teach anything contrary to the canonical Scriptures of God.’”⁴

After some remarks on the ordinances and traditions of the Church, Bayer came to the epilogue of the Confession.

“It is not from hatred that we have spoken,” added he, “nor to insult any one; but we have explained the doctrines that we maintain to be essential, in order that it may be understood that we admit of neither dogma nor ceremony which is contrary to the Holy Scriptures, and to the usage of the universal Church.”⁵

¹ *Nōn igitur commiscendæ sunt potestates ecclesiasticæ et civilis.* (Urkund. Confes. Augs. i. 541.)

² Greek, *πολιτεία.* (Philip iii. 20. Scott and Henry Comment.)

³ *Excludere a communione Ecclesiæ, sine vi humana sed verbo.* (Urkund. Confes. Augs. i. 541.)

⁴ *Nec catholicis episcopis consentiendum est, sicuti forte falluntur, aut contra canonicas Dei scripturas aliquid sentiunt.* (Ibid.)

⁵ The Augsburg Confession is too long for insertion in any ordinary history. It occupies 51 pages of Walch's Ed. of Luther's Works, and 76 closely printed 8vo pages in the Oxford *Sylloge Confessionum*. It is divided as follows:—

Bayer then ceased to read. He had spoken for two hours: the silence and serious attention of the assembly were not once disturbed.¹

This Confession of Augsburg will ever remain one of the masterpieces of the human mind enlightened by the Spirit of God.²

Articles concerning the Faith.

- | | |
|---|--|
| 1. The Trinity. | 12. Confession. |
| 2. Original sin. | 13. Sacraments. |
| 3. The person and the work of Christ. | 14. Ministering in Church. |
| 4. Justification. | 15. Ceremonies. |
| 5. The Holy Spirit and the Word. | 16. Civil Institutions. |
| 6. Good Works—necessary and acceptable. | 17. Judgment and the Future State. |
| 7. The Church. | 18. Freewill. |
| 8. Unworthy ministers. | 19. The cause of sin. |
| 9. Baptism. | 20. Faith and Good Works. |
| 10. The Lord's supper. | 21. Prayer and the Invocation of Saints. |
| 11. Repentance. | |

Nos. 1, 3, 8, 9, 10, 13, 14, 16, 17, and 18, were altogether omitted by the papal divines appointed to examine it, except that in the 13th they wanted the recognition of seven sacraments. No. 10, originally declared merely: "That the body and blood of Christ are truly present, and distributed to the receivers;" and in that form was not disapproved. But lest it should be interpreted to mean transubstantiation it was afterwards altered into: "That with the *bread and wine* the body and blood of Christ are truly and substantially present." Nos. 4, 5, 6, 7, 20, and 21, were rejected altogether. See Scott's Continuation of Milner, where the Confession is compared with the Thirty-nine Articles and the Homilies of the Church of England. The articles relating to Abuses are as follows: 1. On the Mass, 2. Communion in both kinds, 3. Confession, 4. Distinction of meats and on Traditions, 5. Marriage of Priests, 6. Monastic Vows, 7. The Ecclesiastical power.

—D. D. S.

¹ Mit grosser Stille und Ernst. (Brüch's Apologie, p. 59.)

² How admirably fitted Melancthon was for the task of bringing out and exhibiting the doctrines of the Bible, separate from all human admixture, may be seen from our author's remarks in a previous volume on his *Loci Communes*. His respect for Scripture, and his independence of the fathers and doctors of the Church, were no blind impulses, but the result of a profound study of the former, and a minute acquaintance with both. A letter of his appears in the 1st vol. of the Corp. Ref. p. 510, in which, after explaining what led him to publish on Paul's Epistle to the Romans, namely, the publication of notes from his lectures on that epistle without his cognisance, he goes on to say: "Now, as it was not in my power to suppress that small work, it seemed proper that I should revise and re-construct it. For most parts of it called for a more accurate discussion, and most of them correction also. Moreover, as for the sum of the argument, in it you find the chief heads of a course of a Christian scholarship indicated, so that young people may understand both what things are mainly to be looked for (*requirenda*) in the Scriptures, and what abominable hallucinations these have fallen into everywhere in theology, who have delivered to us Aristotle's quirks and subtleties for the doctrine of Christ. But we treat everything sparingly and shortly, performing the part of an index rather than of a commentary, while we merely make up a nomenclature of the topics to which one must direct his attention in wandering through the inspired volumes, and note, in a few words only, on what hangs the sum and substance of Christian doctrine. I do this, not that I may call students from the Scriptures to certain obscure and knotty disputations, but that I may invite as many as possible to the Scriptures. For upon the whole I am not very favourable

The language that had been adopted, while it was perfectly natural, was the result of a profound study of character. These princes, these warriors, these politicians who were sitting in the Palatine Palace, entirely ignorant as they were of divinity, easily understood the Protestant doctrine; for it was not explained to them in the style of the schools, but in that of everyday life, and with a simplicity and clearness that rendered all misunderstanding impossible.

At the same time the power of argumentation was so much the more remarkable, as it was the more concealed. At one time Melanchthon (for it was really he who spoke through the mouth of Bayer) was content to quote a single passage of Scripture or of the Fathers in favour of the doctrine he maintained; and at another he proved his thesis so much the more strongly, that he appeared only to be declaring it. With a single stroke he pointed out the sad consequences that would follow the rejection of the faith he professed, or with one word showed its importance for the prosperity of the Church; so that, while listening to him, the most violent enemies were obliged to acknowledge to themselves that there was really something to say in favour of the new sect.

To this force of reasoning the apology added a prudence no less remarkable. Melanchthon, while declining with firmness the errors attributed to his party, did not even appear to feel the injustice of these erroneous imputations; and while pointing out those of popery, he did not say expressly they were

to commentaries, certainly not to the ancient ones; so far am I from desiring, by any long writing of mine, to withdraw any one from the study of the canonical Scriptures. Nay nothing should I desire so much as that, if it were possible, all Christians should be most freely conversant with the inspired writings alone, and that they should be evidently transformed into the natural strain of Scripture. For seeing that in them the Divinity has expressed the most perfect image of himself, he cannot elsewhere be known either more certainly or more near at hand. *That man is deceived who would look for the form of Christianity anywhere but in canonical Scriptures.* For how far removed from its purity are the commentaries? In this you will find nothing that does not command your respect (*augustum*); in those how many things that hang on philosophy, on the estimate of human reason, and that are diametrically repugnant in fact to the mind of the Spirit."

But it had been well had Melanchthon's services ceased after having fully elaborated the Confession, the grand fault of which seems to be that it is too much of the nature of an apology, which indeed it used to be called, too little of a bold appeal to conscience and testimony to the truth. That Melanchthon was not equally capable in other matters will shortly be seen as the reader proceeds.—D.D.S.

those of his adversaries; thus carefully avoiding everything that might irritate their minds. In this he showed himself wise as a serpent and harmless as a dove.

But the most admirable thing of all is the fidelity with which the Confession explains the doctrines most essential to salvation. Rome is accustomed to represent the reformers as the creators of the Protestant doctrines; but it is not in the sixteenth century that we must look for the days of that creation. A bright track of light, of which Wickliffe and Augustine mark the most salient points, carries us back to the apostolic age: it was then that shone in all their brilliancy the creative days of evangelical truth. Yet it is true (and if this is what Rome means, we fully concur in the idea), never since the time of St. Paul had the Christian doctrine appeared with so much beauty, depth, and life, as in the days of the Reformation.

Among these doctrines, that of the Church, which had been so long disfigured, appeared at this time in all its native purity. With what wisdom, in particular, the confessors of Augsburg protest against that confusion of religion and politics which, since the deplorable epoch of Constantine, had changed the kingdom of God into an earthly and carnal institution! Undoubtedly what the Confession stigmatizes with the greatest energy is the intrusion of the Church into the affairs of the state; but can it be thought that it was to approve the intrusion of the state in Church affairs? The evil of the Middle Ages was the having enslaved the state to the Church, and the confessors of Augsburg rose like one man to combat it. The evil of the three centuries which have passed away since then, is to have subjected the Church to the state; and we may believe that Luther and Melancthon would have found against this disorder thunders no less powerful. What they attack in a general sense, is the confusion of the two societies; what they demand, is their independence, I do not say their separation, for separation of Church and state was quite unknown to the reformers. If the Augsburg confessors were unwilling that things from above should monopolize those of the earth, they would have been still less willing for things of earth to oppress those from heaven.

There is a particular application of this principle, which the Confession points out. It wills the bishops should reprimand those who obey wickedness, "but without human power, and solely by the Word of God." It therefore rejects the use of the sword in the chastisement of heretics.¹ This we see is a

¹ It does not, however, restrict the civil magistrate to the vindication of the second table of the law only, and thus, apparently, room is left for involving it in the same condemnation with Popery for punishing men for their religious opinions. Thus Servetus, after being condemned for heresy by the Roman Church, was tried and condemned for the same offence by the civil magistrate of Reformed Geneva; and their sentence was approved by Calvin and all the leading Reformers of that day. Shall we say then that here there is no difference betwixt Popery and the Reformation? The difference is immense. First of all, under the latter, blasphemy, sacrilege, heresy, profaneness, &c. are defined according to the infallible Word of God, and the civil magistrate is not absurdly called upon, under pretence of its being his duty and interest to promote respect for religion, to patronise practices and ceremonies, the *proved* effect of which, wherever they exclusively prevail, is to make one part of the people despise all religion, while it makes fanatics and bigots of the rest. Next, except in cases where a religious sect proves a political enemy, the civil magistrate is bound by the Scriptural principles of the Reformation to respect the just rights of conscience, instead of attempting by force to supersede conscientious convictions by a simulated conformity. But, which is perhaps of most consequence, the spirit of Christianity, as deduced from the Scriptures alone, is no less mild and tolerant than unchecked and rampant Popery is essentially cruel and domineering. Here the lessons of history crowd upon us as illustrations of the fact that the nearer the Christianity of a people approaches to a purely Scriptural standard, and the more they are practically influenced by it, the milder will they be in their treatment of nonconformists and heretics. Compare Calvin, in the instance above alluded to, and as he relates his own feelings on the occasion (see his *Tractatus Theologici*, pp. 511, 522-5) with Saint Dominic when he had to do with alleged heretics. The one considering himself bound by his oath to prosecute Servetus, after every attempt to escape from that painful duty, does prosecute him. Yet he is unwearied in his efforts to save Servetus. Personal insults do not arrest him for a moment in these endeavours. And when nothing else will avail, he endeavours at least to procure such an alleviation of the sentence as shall diminish the personal suffering of the condemned. No doubt he took a wrong view of his and the state's duty in the matter, but this error was then almost universal. Servetus himself owned that a heretic should suffer death. But, indeed, it was not for heresy but for blasphemy, for calling the Trinity a three-headed Cerberus, &c., that Calvin approved of the sentence. Mere heresy the Reformers could never deem culpable to the extent that Romanists did, and still do, for they tolerated differences of opinion and diversities of doctrine which would have been suppressed by the Roman Church with fire and sword. However, take the case at the worst, and compare Calvin with Saint Dominic, by whose order, and in whose sight, fourscore persons were beheaded and four hundred burnt alive in one day!

As for the anti-papal penal laws of England and Scotland, it is notorious that the constitution in both countries had for a long period no more formidable enemies than the spiritual subjects of the Pope, and the League of Bayonne, the St. Bartholomew massacre, the wars of the League carried on by subjects against their legitimate sovereign, solely because of his profession as a Protestant, the gunpowder plot, and the Irish massacre, all produced a very natural impression that Popery was irreconcilable with the independence of the British crown, and the safety and freedom of its subjects. And granting that the laws were severe, how were they executed? Is it not notorious that the spirit of a Protestant government and people proved so averse to persecution that no provocation could ever lead them to enforce those laws? Look at this moment at the old Roman

primitive principle, fundamental and essential to the Reformation, as the contrary doctrine is a primitive principle, fundamental and essential to the Papacy. If among Protestants we find some writing, or even some example opposed to this, it is but an isolated fact, which cannot invalidate the official principles of the reform—it is one of those exceptions which always serve to confirm the rule.

Finally, the Augsburg Confession does not usurp the rights of the Word of God; it desires to be its handmaid and not its rival; it does not found, it does not regulate the faith, but simply professes it. "Our churches teach," it says; and it will be remembered that Luther considered it only as a sermon preached by princes and kings. Had it desired more, as has since been maintained, by that very circumstance it would have been nullified.

Was, however, the Confession able to follow in all things the exact path of truth? We may be permitted to doubt it.¹

Catholic families in England and Scotland, in the full possession of their splendid ancestral estates, while not a vestige of the property belonging to the Huguenots of France before the revocation of the edict of Nantes remains in the hands of their descendants, nor was to be found in their hands long before the revolution of 1793 led to a general confiscation of almost all property. Nay, even the popular tumults of an ignorant and only nominally Protestant people are not to be compared in atrocity with the fierce outbursts which history records of Papist mobs. The Lord George Gordon riots were accompanied with abundance of excitement, but *no massacre*.—D. D. S.

¹ Yet as compared with those partial exhibitions of Gospel truth which Wickliffe, Huss, and other precursors of the Reformation, had put forth, it certainly displays a wonderful advance. One may even find a proof of this in the charge that has often been brought against Luther that he concentrated all former heresies in himself; that is, that those partial views of Scriptural truth, which had called forth isolated remonstrances and protests from time to time during preceding centuries, seemed all to have met in Luther's mind, and to have entered into his theology. Thus Fl. Raemond charges him with having been a fatalist with Abelard; with Jovinianus to have denied the merit of fasting and the distinction of meats; with Monialius to have held that marriage was as pleasing to God as celibacy, and that all sins were equal; with Vigilantius that the intercession of the saints was to be hissed at; with Arius that there should be no oblations for the dead, and that there is no difference between priests and bishops; with the Eutychians that pilgrimages on account of religion, and, with the Waldenses, that indulgences were to be despised; with the Manicheans that the water of baptism did no good; with the Pelagians that unbaptized infants might be saved; with the Wickliffites that part of the mass should be abolished; with the Armenians that marriage is not a sacrament, (from whom also he alleges Luther learned that the sacramental wine ought not to be mingled with water); with the Donatists that the church had been for many ages invisible, although he afterwards retracted that article; with the Waldenses and Poor Men of Lyons that the pastors and prelates of the church should not possess temporal property; that with the followers of Berenger he denied the wonderful and supernatural transubstantiation in the eucharist; and with

It professes not to separate from the teaching of the Catholic Church, and even from that of the Romish Church—by which is no doubt signified the ancient Roman Church—and rejects the popish particularism which, for about eight centuries, imprisoned men's consciences. The Confession, however, seems overlaid with superstitious fears when there is any question of deviating from the views entertained by some of the Fathers of the Church, of breaking the toils of the hierarchy, and of acting as regards Rome, without blamable forbearance. This, at least, is what its author, Melancthon, professes. "We do not put forward any dogma," said he, "which is not founded on the Gospel or on the teaching of the Catholic Church; we are prepared to concede everything that is necessary for the episcopal dignity;¹ and, provided the bishops do not condemn the Gospel, we preserve all the rites that appear indifferent to us. In a word, there is no burden that we reject, if we can bear it without guilt."²

Many will think, no doubt, that a little more independence would have been proper in this matter, and that it would have been better to have passed over the ages that have followed the times of the apostles, and have frankly put in practice the grand principle which the Reformation had proclaimed: "There is for articles of faith no other foundation than the Word of God."^{3,4}

Nestorius that the body of Jesus Christ is in the eucharist, even without the use of the sacrament; that with the Greek heretics and schismatics he affirmed that the taking of both kinds, both bread and wine, is necessary in the eucharist; that with Wickliffe he rejected the effect and power of excommunication; with the Waldensian laity the ecclesiastical power or authority; with Novatus the power of remitting sins; that with Arius he wished all remembrance of the traditions of the church abolished, being attached hand and foot to the sole written Word; nay, that he disclaimed not to borrow from the Jews, in exploding penance, as being a burthen imposed by man, which no man or angel was entitled to lay upon him.

It will be seen that the popish historian sometimes misrepresents Luther's doctrines, as when he calls him a fatalist, and would fain prepossess his readers against the reformer by associating him with Manicheans, Pelagians, Arians, and other heretics; still, we perceive, at the same time, that he had adopted nearly every individual portion of God's truth that had ever called forth the persecuting spirit of Rome.—D. D. S.

¹ *Concessuros omnia quæ ad dignitatem Episcoporum stabilendam pertinent. (Corp. Ref. ii. 431.)*

² *Nullum detractavimus onus, quod sine scelere suspici posset. (Ibid.)*

³ *Solum verbum Dei condit articulos fidei.*

⁴ To this principle the Churches of the Reformation seem all likely to be driven at last. This is admirably shown in the review of "Newman on Development," in the *North British Review*, No. X., where the theory of development is proved

Melanchthon's moderation has been admired; and, in truth, while pointing out the abuses of Rome, he was silent on what is most revolting in them, on their disgraceful origin, their scandalous consequences, and is content to show that they are in contradiction to the Scripture. But he does more; he is silent on the divine right claimed by the pope, on the number of the sacraments, and on several other points. His great business is to justify the renovated, and not to attack the deformed, Church. "Peace, peace!" was his cry. But if, instead of all this circumspection, the Reformation had advanced with courage, had wholly unveiled the Word of God, and had made an energetic appeal to the sympathies of reform then spread in men's hearts, would it not have taken a stronger and more honourable position, and would it not have secured more extensive conquests?

The interest that Charles V. showed in listening to the Confession seems doubtful. According to some, he endeavoured to understand that foreign language;¹ according to others, he fell asleep.² It is easy to reconcile these contradictory testimonies.

When the reading was finished, chancellor Bruck, with the two copies in his hand, advanced towards the emperor's secretary and presented them to him. Charles V., who was wide awake at this moment, himself took the two Confessions, handed the German copy, considered as official, to the elector of Maintz, and kept the Latin one for himself.³ He then made reply to the elector of Saxony and to his allies, that he had graciously heard their Confession;⁴ but as this affair was one of extreme importance, he required time to deliberate upon it.

to be a last resource for giving some sort of plausibility to extra-Scriptural theology, as it may be called, from all the other modes of reasoning in support of it having proved as broken reeds in the hands of those who have used them. The North British Reviewer slays Mr. Newman as with the blow of a mace, or rather he cuts away the ground from under the prop of popery which he has laboured to raise. The Quarterly critic has dissected him as with a scalpel, and proved the entire structure of his theory to be unsound in every part — p. v. s.

¹ *Satis attentus erat Cæsar.* (Jonas in Corp. Ref. ii. 184.)

² *Cum nostra confessio legeretur, obdormivit.* (Brentius in Corp. Ref. ii. 245.)

³ The Latin copy, deposited in the archives of the imperial house, should be found at Brussels; and the German copy, sent afterwards to the Council of Trent, ought to be in the Vatican.

⁴ *Gnedichlich vernahmen.* (F. Urkund. ii. 3.)

The joy with which the Protestants were filled shone in their eyes.¹ God had been with them; and they saw that the striking act which had so recently been accomplished imposed on them the obligation of confessing the truth with immovable perseverance. "I am overjoyed," wrote Luther, "that I have lived until this hour, in which Christ has been publicly exalted by such illustrious confessors and in so glorious an assembly."² The whole evangelical church, excited and renovated by this public confession of its representatives, was then more intimately united to its Divine Chief, and baptized with a new baptism. "Since the apostolic age," said they (these are the words of a contemporary), "there has never been a greater work or a more magnificent confession."³

The emperor, having descended from his throne, approached the Protestant princes, and begged them in a low tone not to publish the Confession;⁴ they acceded to his request, and every one withdrew.

CHAPTER VIII.

Effect on the Romanists—Luther demands religious Liberty—His dominant Idea—Song of Triumph—Ingenuous Confessions—Hopes of the Protestants—Failure of the Popish Intrigues—The Emperor's Council—Violent Discussions—A Refutation proposed—Its Authors—Rome and the civil Power—Perils of the Confessors—Melanchthon's Minimum—The Emperor's Sister—Melanchthon's Fall—Luther opposes Concession—The Legate repels Melanchthon—The Pope's Decision—Question—Melanchthon's School-matters—Answer.

THE Romanists had expected nothing like this. Instead of a hateful controversy, they had heard a striking confession of Jesus Christ; the most hostile minds were consequently disarmed. "We would not for a great deal," was the remark on every side, "have missed being present at this reading."⁵ The effect was so prompt, that for an instant the cause was thought

¹ Cum incredibili protestantium gaudio. (Seck. ii. 170.)

² Mihi vehementer placet vixisse in hanc horam. (L. Epp. iv. 71.)

³ Grosser und hoher Werk. (Mathesius, Hist. p. 93-98.)

⁴ In still angeredet und gebethen. (Corp. Ref. ii. 143.)

⁵ Brucks Geschichte der Handl. in den Sachen des Glaubens zu Augsburg. (Förstemann Archiv. p. 50.)

to be definitively gained. The bishops themselves imposed silence on the sophisms and clamours of the Fabers and the Ecks.¹ "All that the Lutherans have said is true," exclaimed the bishop of Augsburg; "we cannot deny it."²—"Well, doctor," said the duke of Bavaria to Eck, in a reproachful tone, "you had given me a very different idea of this doctrine and of this affair."³ This was the general cry; accordingly the sophists, as they called them, were embarrassed. "But, after all," said the duke of Bavaria to them, "can you refute by sound reasons the Confession made by the elector and his allies?"—"With the writings of the apostles and prophets—no!" replied Eck; "but with those of the Fathers and of the councils—yes!"⁴ "I understand," quickly replied the duke; "I understand. The Lutherans, according to you, are in Scripture; and we are outside."⁵

¹ *Multj episcopi ad pacem sunt inclinati.* (L. Epp. iv. 70.)

² *Illæ quæ recitata sunt, vera sunt, sunt pura veritas; nec possunt inficiari.* (Corp. Ref. ii. 154.)

³ *So haben Im vor nicht gesagt.* (Matthea. Hist. p. 99.)

⁴ *Mit Propheten und Aposteln schriften—nicht.* (Ibid.)

⁵ These differences of opinion on the subject of the Confession strikingly illustrate the want of a fixed theology at that time in the popedom. One naturally asks, was there no extended creed in the Romish Church by which the orthodoxy of the Augsburg Confession might at once have been tested? Strange to say there was none. That body which perpetually boasts of a certainty of belief unattainable elsewhere, was at this period all uncertainty. Indeed, where religion was left so much to the fancy, and worship was almost wholly external, there was not much need of doctrine. But the Protestants had a standard by which to test the Confession—namely, the Word of God. Judged by that, it compelled Eck's approval. And what was the other by which he could prove it heterodox? The Fathers and the Councils? But these unfortunately are not agreed among themselves, and far from defining the faith, had obscured all its articles. In further illustration of the fact that until the Council of Trent published its decrees, the popedom could offer nothing but perplexities, we find Luther, in the dedication of his Commentary on the Epistle to the Galatians, saying that he was driven from the uncertainty of the Church to the certainty of Scripture. After saying that he would have every one subject to the yoke of the apostolic injunction: "Prove all things, hold fast that which is good," he proceeds: "And the rather, as in our age we have seen councils reprobated and others again confirmed, theology governed by mere opinions, the meaning of the laws made to hang on the arbitrary will of one man, and all things so confounded that nothing certain almost is left to us, so that the very necessity of things compels us to fly to the most solid rock of Divine Scripture, and not readily to trust all, whoever they be, who speak, decree, and act beyond its authority. How far the decrees of the Council of Trent mended a state of matters in which hardly anything was left certain, how far they became a more solid rock than Divine Scripture, may be guessed from the fact that had that council been held before, instead of after, the publication of the doctrines of the Reformers, and the rise of the Jesuits, they would certainly have been different from what they now are, the general hostility to the Reformation, the absence of the Protestant divines, and the influence of the Jesuits, having led to or permitted important changes in doctrine, while the worldly intrigues that

The archbishop Hermann, elector of Cologne, the count-palatine Frederick, duke Erick of Brunswick-Luneburg, duke Henry of Mecklenburg, and the dukes of Pomerania, were gained over to the truth; and Hermann sought ere long to establish it in his electorate.

The impression produced in other countries by the Confession was perhaps still greater. Charles sent copies to all the courts; it was translated into French, Italian,¹ and even into Spanish and Portuguese; it circulated through all Europe, and thus accomplished what Luther had said: "Our Confession will penetrate into every court, and the sound thereof will spread through the whole earth."² It destroyed the prejudices that had been entertained, gave Europe a sounder idea of the Reformation, and prepared the most distant countries to receive the seeds of the Gospel.

Then Luther's voice began to be heard again. He saw that it was a decisive moment, and that he ought now to give the impulse that would gain religious liberty. He boldly demanded this liberty of the Roman Catholic princes of the diet;³ and at the same time endeavoured to make his friends quit Augsburg. Jesus Christ had been boldly confessed. Instead of that long series of quarrels and discussions which was about to become connected with this courageous act, Luther would have wished for a striking rupture, even should he seal with his blood the testimony rendered to the Gospel. The stake, in his idea, would have been the real catastrophe of this tragedy. "I absolve you from this diet, in the name of the Lord,"⁴ wrote he to his friends. "Now home, return home, again I say home!

influenced the proceedings and the votes, are matters of historical notoriety. And as the creed of Trent was certainly not that of the popedom at earlier periods, far less of the primitive church, there is little reason for assuming that it will continue to be so. Nothing could be in more flagrant contradiction to facts than that all Roman Catholics at this moment believe alike; and most justly, as well as sarcastically, does Mr. Newman's late reviewer in the *Quarterly Review* say, that he might add another title to his work on the Development of Christian Doctrine, and call it "The History of the Mutability of the Immutable Church."—
D. D. S.

¹ *Cæsar sibi fecit nostram confessionem reddi Italica et Gallica lingua.* (Corp. Ref. ii. 165.) The French translation will be found in *Forstemann's Urkunden*, i. 357.—*Articles principaux de la foy.*

² *Perrumpet in omnes aulas Principum et Regum.* (L. Epp. iv. 96.)

³ *Epistle to the elector of Maintz.* (Ibid. 74.)

⁴ *Igitur absolve vos in nomine Domini ab isto conventu.* (Ibid. 96.)

Would to God that I were the sacrifice offered to this new council, as John Huss at Constance!"¹

But Luther did not expect so glorious a conclusion: he compared the diet to a drama. First, there had been the exposition, then the prologue, afterwards the action, and now he waited for the tragic catastrophe, according to some, but which, in his opinion, would be merely comic.² Every thing, he thought, would be sacrificed to political peace, and dogmas would be set aside. This proceeding, which, even in our own days, would be in the eyes of the world the height of wisdom, was in Luther's eyes the height of folly.

He was especially alarmed at the thought of Charles's intervention. To withdraw the Church from all secular influence, and the governments from all clerical influence, was then one of the dominant ideas of the great reformer. "You see," wrote he to Melancthon, "that they oppose to our cause the same argument as at Worms, to wit, still and for ever the judgment of the emperor. Thus Satan is always harping on the same string, and that emaciated strength³ of the civil power is the only one which this myriad-wiled spirit is able to find against Jesus Christ." But Luther took courage, and boldly raised his head. "Christ is coming," continued he; "he is coming, sitting at the right hand.....Of whom? not of the emperor, or we should long ago have been lost, but of God himself: let us fear nothing. Christ is the King of kings and the Lord of lords. If he loses this title at Augsburg, he must also lose it in all the earth, and in all the heavens."

Thus a song of triumph was, on the part of the confessors of Augsburg, the first movement that followed this courageous act, unique doubtless in the annals of the Church. Some of their adversaries at first shared in their triumph, and the others were silent; but a powerful re-action took place ere long.

On the following morning, Charles having risen in ill-humour and tired for want of sleep, the first of his ministers who ap-

¹ Vellem ego sacrificium esse hujus novissimi concilii, sicut Johannes Huss Constantiæ. (L. Epp. iv. 110.)

² Sed catastrophæ illi tragicam, nos comicam expectamus. (Ibid. 85.)

³ Sic Satan chærdæ semper oberrat eadem, et mille-artifex ille non habet contra Christum, nisi unum illud elumbe robur. (Ibid. 100.)

peared in the imperial apartments was the count-palatine, as wearied and embarrassed as his master. "We must yield something," said he to Charles; "and I would remind your majesty that the emperor Maximilian was willing to grant the two kinds in the eucharist, the marriage of priests, and liberty with respect to the fasts." Charles V. eagerly seized at this proposition as a means of safety. But Granvelle and Campeggio soon arrived, who induced him to withdraw it.

Rome, bewildered for a moment by the blow that had struck her, rose up again with energy. "I stay with the mother," exclaimed the bishop of Wartzburg, meaning by it the church of Rome; "the mother, the mother!" "My lord," wittily replied Brenz, "pray, do not, for the mother, forget either the Father or the Son!"—"Well! I grant it," replied the archbishop of Salzburg to one of his friends, "I also should desire the communion in both kinds, the marriage of priests, the reformation of the mass, and liberty as regards food and other traditions.....But that it should be a monk, a poor monk, who presumes to reform us all, is what we cannot tolerate."¹—"I should have no objection," said another bishop, "for Divine worship to be celebrated everywhere as it is at Wittenberg; but we can never consent that this new doctrine should issue from such a corner."² And Melancthon insisting with the archbishop of Salzburg on the necessity of a reform of the clergy:³ "Well! and how can you wish to reform us?" said

¹ Sed quod unus monachus debeat nos reformare omnes. (Corp. Ref. ii. 155.)

² Aus dem Loeh und Winckel. (L. Opp. xx. 307.)

³ Romanists widely differ in their representations of the state of morals in their church previous to the Reformation. Some will have it that the preceding centuries formed a golden age in that respect. Thus the Abbé Robelet sets himself gravely to demonstrate that catholicism had no need of *epuration* at the time of Luther, and that it was useless. Our Tractarians too, and others who have preceded them in crying up the ages of superstition as the ages of faith, have laboured to impress the public with the idea that the Reformation, morally considered, was a curse instead of a blessing. Cobbett for the common people, and the author of "the Broadstone of Honour" for the aristocracy, have immensely aided the Rome-ward movement by persisting in this view, and have illustrated it with more artifice than candour, in the face of historical evidence and the no less significant testimony of tradition and popular proverbs. But, indeed, in every department of literature we find symptoms of the delusion that monasteries and convents were the abodes of purity and active as well as contemplative piety, long before they were subjected to the surveillance of protestant criticism and a free press.

One body, however, in the Church of Rome, the Jesuits, seem willing to admit gross abuses in the church of the sixteenth century, inasmuch as such admissions only add to their own lustre as reformers *within* the church. Thus M. Cretineau-

the latter abruptly: "we priests have always been good for nothing." This is one of the most ingenuous confessions that

Joly, in his voluminous history of that order, published last year in Paris, and who, though he says he is not a Jesuit, is the enthusiastic eulogist of the order, would fain prove that it was wanted at that time, not only from the rapid progress of heresy without the church, but also from the *fearful corruption that prevailed within*. He even publishes extracts from a report in the Vatican, to which Ranke seems not to have had access, and yet without which his work on the "Popes in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries" must be considered incomplete. I give the whole passage as it stands in the *Histoire Religieuse, Politique et Littéraire de la Compagnie de Jesus*. It occurs at page 36 of volume 1st.

"The church had still more desperate enemies within her own bosom: corruption had penetrated into the very sanctuary; a frightful corruption, for it even made use of holy things in order to spread its germ everywhere. It sat upon the altar; it reigned in the cloister; it supplied the sectaries with their most formidable weapons; for it is not religion that people discuss, it is its minister, it is the priest. But the priest had come to cast doubts upon religion in surrendering himself without restraint, and without shame, to all the disorders against which he was commissioned to pretest.

"Paul III. was with good reason alarmed at a state of things which could not but go on from bad to worse if instant remedies were not applied. The evil reigned everywhere, in the Roman court, in the dioceses, in the convents. Its extirpation was absolutely indispensable before one could dream of opposing heresy."

M. Cretineau-Joly then mentions the congregation (or commission) of four cardinals and five prelates or abbots mentioned by Ranke, at p. 113 of the 1st vol. of his History of the Popes. He proceeds to say of these commissioners of inquiry: After having spoken of all that ought to be lopped off in the different branches of the ecclesiastical tree, they added:

"Another abuse requiring correction, is presented in the religious orders, owing to their being so corrupt as to be a great scandal to men of the world and very hurtful by their example. We believe there is an urgent call to abolish the whole, without, however, doing an injury to any person whatsoever, but by interdicting them from receiving novices. In this manner they will soon be extinct without prejudice to any one, and in their place there may be substituted good monks. As for the present, we believe the best way would be for all young persons who have not yet made profession" (taken monkish vows on them), "to be sent away from the monasteries.

"Another abuse troubles the Christian people by reason of the nuns who are under the direction of the Conventual Friars. In most part of the nunneries public sacrileges" (prostitution being sacrilege in a nun), "are committed, to the great scandal of the citizens. Let Your Holiness then deprive the Conventuals of all authority over the nuns, and let him give the direction of these convents to bishops, or other persons."

"This desolating picture," says M. Cretineau-Joly, "is not traced by the hand of an enemy; it is found in the archives of the Vatican, and stops not at these revelations." . . . The commission continues thus:—

"A great and pernicious abuse exists in the public schools, chiefly in Italy, where many professors of philosophy teach impiety. Scandalous disputes are held in the very churches; and if some are orthodox, divine things are treated of in the people's presence in a very irreverent manner."

Such then was "the development" of morals in the Romish Church down to the times of Luther. Not even Mr. Newman, De Maistre, or Möhler, would dare to say that this exhibits a legitimate development of the moral precepts of the New Testament—that it is but "the increase and expansion of the Christian" moral code. But who does not see that from the intimate and necessary connection between doctrines and morals, the doctrines that accompanied such morality may justly be charged with having produced, or at least connived at it, and that the Protestants alone acted agreeably to sound reason and common sense when

the Reformation has torn from the priests. Every day fanatical monks and doctors, brimful of sophisms, were seen arriving at Augsburg, who endeavoured to inflame the hatred of the emperor and of the princes.¹ "If we formerly had friends," said Melanchthon on the morrow of the Confession, "now we possess them no longer. We are here alone, abandoned by all, and contending against measureless dangers."²

Charles, impelled by these contrary parties, affected a great indifference. But without permitting it to be seen, he endeavoured, meanwhile, to examine this affair thoroughly. "Let there not be a word wanting," he had said to his secretary, when requiring from him a French translation of the Confession. "He does not allow anything to be observed," whispered the Protestants one to another, convinced that Charles was gained; "for if it were known, he would lose his Spanish states: let us maintain the most profound secrecy." But the emperor's courtiers, who perceived these strange hopes, smiled and shook their heads. "If you have money," said Schepper, one of the secretaries of state, to Jonas and Melanchthon, "it will be easy for you to buy from the Italians whatever religion you please;³ but if your purse is empty, your cause is lost." Then assuming a more serious tone: "It is impossible," said he, "for the emperor, surrounded as he is by bishops and cardinals, to approve of any other religion than that of the pope."

This was soon evident. On the day after the Confession (Sunday, 26th June), before the breakfast hour,⁴ all the deputations from the imperial cities were collected in the emperor's antechamber. Charles, desirous of bringing back the states of the empire to unity, began with the weakest. "Some of the cities," said the count-palatine, "have not adhered to the last diet of Spire: the emperor calls upon them to submit to it."

Strasburg, Nuremberg, Constance, Ulm, Reutlingen, Heil-

they insisted on the doctrines of the Church being brought back to the scriptural standard as a matter of even prior necessity, before one could expect that New Testament morality could be restored as well.—D. D. S.

¹ Quotidie confluit huc sophistæ ac monachi. (Corp. Ref. ii. 141.)

² Nos hic soli ac deserti. (Ibid.)

³ Nos, si pecuniam haberemus, facile religionem quam vellent emturos ab Italis. (Ibid. 156.)

⁴ Heute vor dem morgenessen. (Ibid. 143.)

bronn, Memmingen, Lindau, Kempten, Windsheim, Isny, and Weissenburg, which were thus summoned to renounce the famous protest, thought the moment curiously chosen. They asked for time.

The position was complicated: discord had been thrown in the midst of the cities, and intrigue was labouring daily to increase it.¹ It was not only between the popish and the evangelical cities that disagreement existed; but also between the Zwinglian and the Lutheran cities, and even among the latter, those which had not adhered to the Confession of Augsburg manifested great ill-humour towards the deputies of Reutlingen and Nuremberg. This proceeding of Charles V. was therefore skilfully calculated; for it was based on the old axiom, *Divide et impera*.

But the enthusiasm of faith overcame all these stratagems, and on the next day (27th June), the deputies from the cities transmitted a reply to the emperor, in which they declared that they could not adhere to the *Recess* (edict) of Spire "without disobeying God, and without compromising the salvation of their souls."²

Charles, who desired to observe a just medium, more from policy than from equity, wavered between so many contrary convictions. Desirous nevertheless of essaying his mediating influence, he convoked the states faithful to Rome, on Sunday, 26th June, shortly after his conference with the cities.

All the princes were present: even the pope's legate and the most influential Roman divines appeared at this council, to the great scandal of the Protestants. "What reply should be made to the Confession?" was the question set by Charles V. to the senate that surrounded him.³

Three different opinions were proposed. "Let us beware," said the men of the papacy, "of discussing our adversaries' reasons, and let us be content with executing the edict of Worms against the Lutherans, and with constraining them by

¹ Es sind unter uns Städten, viel practica und Seltsames wesens. (Corp. Ref. ii. 151.)

² Ohne Verletzung der gewissen gegen Gott. (F. Urkund. ii. 6.)

³ Adversarii nostri jam deliberant quid velint respondere. (Corp. Ref. ii. 26th June.)

arms.”¹—“Let us submit the Confession to the examination of impartial judges,” said the men of the empire, “and refer the final decision to the emperor. Is not even the reading of the Confession an appeal of the Protestants to the imperial power?” Others, in the last place (and these were the men of tradition and of ecclesiastical doctrine), were desirous of commissioning certain doctors to compose a refutation, which should be read to the Protestants and ratified by Charles.

The debate was very animated: the mild and the violent, the politic and the fanatical, took a decided course in the assembly. George of Saxony and Joachim of Brandenburg showed themselves the most inveterate, and surpassed in this respect even the ecclesiastical princes.² “A certain clown, whom you know well, is pushing them all from behind,”³ wrote Melancthon to Luther; “and certain hypocritical theologians hold the torch and lead the whole band.” This clown was doubtless duke George. Even the princes of Bavaria, whom the Confession had staggered at first, immediately rallied around the chiefs of the Roman party. The elector of Maintz, the bishop of Augsburg, the duke of Brunswick, showed themselves the least unfavourable to the evangelical cause. “I can by no means advise his majesty to employ force,” said Albert. “If his majesty should constrain their consciences, and should afterwards quit the empire, the first victims sacrificed would be the priests; and who knows whether, in the midst of these discords, the Turks would not suddenly fall upon us?” But this somewhat interested wisdom of the archbishop did not find many supporters, and the men of war immediately plunged into the discussion with their harsh voices. “If there is any fighting against the Lutherans,” said count Felix of Werdenberg, “I gratuitously offer my sword, and I swear never to return it to its scabbard until it has overthrown the stronghold of Luther.” This nobleman died suddenly a few days after, from the consequences of his intemperance. Then the moderate men again interfered: “The Lutherans attack no

¹ Rem agendam esse vi, non audiendam causam. (Corp. Ref. ii. 154.)

² Hi sunt duces, et quidem acerrimi alterius partis. (Ibid.)

³ Omnes unus gubernat rusticus. (Ibid. 26th June, 1540.)

one article of the faith," said the bishop of Augsburg; "let us come to an arrangement with them; and to obtain peace, let us concede to them the sacrament in both kinds and the marriage of priests. I would even yield more, if it were necessary." Upon this loud cries arose: "He is a Lutheran," they exclaimed, "and you will see that he is fully prepared to sacrifice even the private masses!"—"The masses! we must not even think of it," remarked some with an ironical smile; "Rome will never give them up, for it is they which maintain her cardinals and her courtiers, with their luxury and their kitchens."¹ The archbishop of Salzburg and the elector of Brandenburg replied with great violence to the motion of the bishop of Augsburg. "The Lutherans," said they abruptly, "have laid before us a Confession written with black ink on white paper. Well: if I were emperor, I would answer them with *red ink*."²—"Sirs," quickly replied the bishop of Augsburg, "take care then that the red letters do not fly in your faces!" The elector of Mainz was compelled to interfere and calm the speakers.

The emperor, desirous of playing the character of an umpire, would have wished the Roman party at least to have placed in his hands an act of accusation against the Reform: but all was now altered; the majority, becoming daily more compact since the Diet of Spiers, no longer sided with Charles. Full of the sentiment of their own strength, they refused to assume the title of a party, and to take the emperor as a judge. "What are you saying," cried they, "of diversity between the members of the empire? There is but one legitimate party. It is not a question of deciding between two opinions whose rights are equal, but of crushing rebels, and of aiding those who have remained faithful to the constitution of the empire."

This haughty language enlightened Charles: he found they had outstripped him, and that, abandoning his lofty position of arbiter, he must submit merely to be the executer of the orders of the majority. It was this majority which hencefor-

¹ Cardinel, Churstusanen, Pracht und Küchen. (Brück Apol. p. 63.)

² Wir wokten antworten mit einer Schrift mit Rubriken geschrieben. (Corp. Ref. ii. 147.)

ward commanded in Augsburg. They excluded the imperial councillors who advocated more equitable views, and the archbishop of Mainz himself ceased for a time to appear in the diet.¹

The majority ordered that a refutation of the Evangelical doctrine should be immediately drawn up by Romish theologians. If they had selected for this purpose moderate men like the bishop of Augsburg, the Reformation would still have had some chance of success with the great principles of Christianity; but it was to the enemies of the Reform, to the old champions of Rome and of Aristotle, exasperated by so many defeats, that they resolved to intrust this task.

They were numerous at Augsburg, and not held in very great esteem. "The princes," said Jonas, "have brought their learned men with them, and some even their *unlearned* and their *fools*."² Provost Faber and Doctor Eck led the troop; behind them was drawn up a cohort of monks, and above all of Dominicans, tools of the Inquisition, and impatient to recompense themselves for the opprobrium they had so long endured. There was the provincial of the Dominicans, Paul Hugo, their vicar John Bourkard, one of their priors Conrad Koelein, who had written against Luther's marriage; with a number of Carthusians, Augustines, Franciscans, and the vicars of several bishops. Such were the men who, to the number of twenty, were commissioned to refute Melancthon.

One might beforehand have augured of the work by the workmen. Each one understood that it was a question, not of refuting the Confession, but of branding it. Campeggio, who doubtless suggested this ill-omened list to Charles, was well aware that these doctors were incapable of measuring themselves with Melancthon; but their names formed the most decided standard of popery, and announced to the world clearly and immediately what the diet proposed to do. This was the essential point. Rome would not leave Christendom even hope.

It was, however, requisite to know whether the diet, and the emperor who was its organ, had the right of pronouncing in

¹ Non venit in senatum. (Corp. Ref. ii. 175.)

² Quidem etiam suos inruditos et ineptos.

this purely religious matter. Charles put the question both to the Evangelicals and to the Romanists.¹

"Your highness," said Luther, who was consulted by the elector, "may reply with all assurance: Yes, if the emperor wish it, let him be judge! I will bear everything on his part; but let him decide nothing contrary to the Word of God. Your highness cannot put the emperor above God himself.² Does not the first commandment say, *Thou shalt have no other Gods before me?*"

The reply of the papal adherents was quite as positive in a contrary sense. "We think," said they, "that his majesty, in accord with the electors, princes, and states of the empire, has the right to proceed in this affair, as Roman Emperor, guardian, advocate, and sovereign protector of the Church and of our most holy faith."³ Thus, in the first days of the Reformation, the Evangelical Church frankly ranged itself under the throne of Jesus Christ, and the Roman Church under the sceptre of kings. Enlightened men, even among Protestants, have misunderstood this double nature of Protestantism and Popery.

The philosophy of Aristotle and the hierarchy of Rome, thanks to this alliance with the civil power, were at length about to see the day of their long-expected triumph arrive. So long as the schoolmen had been left to the force of their syllogisms and of their abuse, they had been defeated; but now Charles V. and the diet held out their hands to them; the reasonings of Faber, Eck, and Wimpina were about to be countersigned by the German chancellor, and confirmed by the great seals of the empire. Who could resist them? The Romish error has never had any strength except by its union with the secular arm; and its victories in the Old and in the New World are owing, even in our days, to state patronage.⁴

These things did not escape the piercing eye of Luther. He saw at once the weakness of the argument of the papist doctors and the power of Charles's arm. "You are waiting

¹ See the document extracted from the archives of Bavaria in F. Urkund. ii. 9.

² *Können den Kaiser nicht über Gott setzen.* (L. Epp. iv. 83.)

³ *Römischen Kaiser, Vogt, Advocaten und Obristen Beschirmer der Kirchen.* (F. Urkund. ii. 10.)

⁴ *Otaheite* for instance.

for your adversaries' answer, wrote he to his friends in Augsburg; "it is already written, and here it is: The Fathers, the Fathers, the Fathers; the Church, the Church, the Church; usage, custom; but of the Scriptures—nothing!"¹²—"Then the emperor, supported by the testimony of these arbiters, will pronounce against you;³ and then will you hear boastings from all sides that will ascend up to heaven, and threats that will descend even to hell."

Thus changed the situation of the Reform. Charles was obliged to acknowledge his weakness; and, to save the appearance of his power, he took a decisive part with the enemies of Luther. The emperor's impartiality disappeared: the state turned against the Gospel, and there remained for it no other saviour than God.

¹ Patres, Patres, Patres; Ecclesia, Ecclesia; usus, consuetudo, præterea e Scriptura nihil. (L. Epp. iv. 96.)

² While Melancthon was peculiarly fitted, by his fine analytical powers, to bring out of Scripture the truths of theology really to be found in it, and to present these in a systematical form and in all their entirety, he was nowise equally fitted to preserve these from being afterwards mingled with patristic as distinguished from Scriptural theology. Here Luther was decidedly his superior, and seems to have owed it to the burning sense which his experience of internal conflicts had given him of the infinite superiority of the Bible to all human compositions, of its paramount authority and importance, and of the jealousy with which it ought to be distinguished from all human inventions and will-worship. This comes strongly out in the correspondence of this period between these two leading reformers; and one cannot but feel thankful that both were not at Augsburg, otherwise what was committed to writing and thus preserved would all have passed in conversation and been lost for ever. To Melancthon, it is true, the questions he proposed to Luther did not spontaneously suggest themselves. They had evidently been started either by his Romanist adversaries or by his own inventive genius, as excuses for the errors of the papacy, and plausible reasons for the Protestants acquiescing in these rather than precipitate the rending of Catholic unity. Thus he would fain deduce the lawfulness of monastic vows from the lawfulness of thank-offerings, of the nature of which he thought vows might be considered; what was offensive in the mass he seems to think might fall under the head of some kind of worship; and traditions and non-Scriptural ceremonies he suggests might be considered authoritative because originally introduced by bishops having a legitimate authority in the church. It is by such a dangerous process of inference, or as some would call it, development, that while he points to the Confession he had drawn up, on the one hand, as containing all that the Bible reveals, he points with the other to the whole mass of post-Scriptural traditions and ceremonies, as possibly entitled to a respect which it was better to admit than to rend the church, and yet all this very fearfully and with an anxious eye to Luther's sentiments on these points.

Now all this seems to have been to Luther utterly nauseous and insufferable. He knew too well the exclusive authority of Scripture, and the anti-Scriptural tendency of post-Scriptural Christianity, to endure the idea of the one being overlaid by the other, and of poor sinners under such mental conflicts as he had passed through being again left to toil their weary way to peace through the dross and rubbish of popery.—D. D. 8.

³ Pronuntiabit Cæsar contra vos. (L. Epp. iv. 96.)

At first many gave way to extreme dejection: above all, Melanchthon, who had a nearer view of the cabals of the adversaries, exhausted moreover by long vigils, fell almost into despair.¹ "In the presence of these formidable evils," cried he, "I see no more hope."² And then, however, he added—"Except the help of God."

The legate immediately set all his batteries to work. Already had Charles several times sent for the elector and the landgrave, and had used every exertion to detach them from the Evangelical Confession.³ Melanchthon, uneasy at these secret conferences, reduced the Confession to its *minimum*, and entreated the elector to demand only the two kinds in the Eucharist and the marriage of priests. "To interdict the former of these points," said he, "would be to alienate a great number of Christians from the communion; and to forbid the second would be depriving the Church of all the pastors capable of edifying it. Will they destroy religion and kindle civil war, rather than apply to these purely ecclesiastical constitutions a mitigation that is neither contrary to sound morals nor to faith?"⁴ The protestant princes begged Melanchthon to go himself and make these proposals to the legate.⁵

Melanchthon agreed: he began to flatter himself with success; and, in truth, there were, even among the papists, individuals who were favourable to the Reformation.⁶ There had recently

¹ Quadam tristitia et quasi desperatione vexatur. (Corp. Ref. ii. 163.)

² Quid nobis sit sperandum in tantis odiis inimicorum. (Ibid. 145.)

³ Legati Norinberg ad Senatum. (Ibid. 161.)

⁴ Melanchthon ad Duc. Sax. Elect. (Ibid. 162.)

⁵ Principes nostri miserunt nos ad R. D. V. (Ibid. 171.)

⁶ Under date of 4th July, Osiander writes to Link as follows:—

"Grace and peace from God our Father and Lord Jesus Christ. What is to be the end of this diet it is impossible to conjecture, although we have good ground to hope that Christ will conduct matters gloriously, and many among the papists favour us. There are certain learned men in Italy who are heartily tired of pontifical tyranny. There have even reached us certain Italian propositions, sufficiently Lutheran, which Philip (Melanchthon) has seen and approves; moreover the monk who is the emperor's confessor, is on familiar terms with Philip, openly approves our doctrine on justification and good works, and condemns those German blockheads who yelp at us on those points and stir up discord without cause. The emperor's chaplain likewise is much more candid, and approves of our whole doctrine, and enjoins us to keep up our spirits. In fine there is nobody that does not desire this matter to be settled on fair and Christian terms, except certain German bishoplings, petty tyrants, and mock theologasters (Episcopulos, Tyranniculos et Pseudo-theologastros), who truly as if beset by the furies, thirst for nothing but blood. The Lord reward them, if they repent not, according to their works."

arrived at Augsburg, from beyond the Alps, certain propositions tolerably Lutheran,¹ and one of the emperor's confessors boldly professed the doctrine of justification by faith, cursing "those asses of Germans," said he, "who are incessantly braying against this truth."² One of Charles's chaplains approved even the whole of the confession. There was something farther still: Charles V. having consulted the grandees of Spain, who were famous for their orthodoxy: "If the opinions of the Protestants are contrary to the articles of the faith," they had replied, "let your majesty employ all his power to destroy this faction; but if it is a question merely of certain changes in human ordinances and external usages, let all violence be avoided."³ "Admirable reply!" exclaimed Melancthon, who persuaded himself that the Romish doctrine was at the bottom in accordance with the Gospel.

The Reformation found defenders in even still higher stations. Mary, sister of Charles V., and widow of King Louis of Hungary, arriving at Augsburg three days after the reading of the Confession, with her sister-in-law the Queen of Bohemia, Fer-

Here the very phraseology is full of meaning. Within the Romish Church the Protestants constantly distinguished at that time the papists (*papistæ*), perhaps from the general body of the church, certainly at least from those who agreed with them on the doctrine of justification by faith, and who were tired of pontifical tyranny. But the Council of Trent brought all Romanists within the category of *papists*, and that unquestionably is now their most appropriate name. The pope is the crown and centre of the system—the most active and proselyting part of Romanism by far, is the Jesuit institute, and the Jesuits are the papal janissaries, holding directly of the pope and at his immediate and absolute disposal.

But while Osiander hoped much from those Romanists whom he did not consider papists, he was very jealous of Melancthon's intimacy with them. He plainly says, indeed, that he, their leader in Augsburg, required to be watched.

"Philip, reduced to skin and bone, and utterly worn out by excessive labours, watchings and anxieties, is oppressed at times with a certain melancholy sadness and almost despair, without there being any cause for it, which has thrown most of us into great dejection. But I have perceived at once and have learned from others, that this is the natural movement of melancholic blood; yet while in such a state of morbid feeling (*passione*), he thinks, speaks, writes, and does things that do not improve our affairs, and is to be watched (*observandus*) and elidden, lest he should admit what all of us may repent of. This coming to Luther's knowledge, gave occasion for his writing severely to him, and of exhorting the rest, to reprove him for it. I send you some of his epistles, having nothing better at present, but shall be delighted to write pleasanter things to you in future, if I can."

Luther, it will be seen, did not spare even his beloved and gentle friend, at the call of duty.—D. D. S.

¹ Pervenerunt ad nos propositiones quedam Italice satis Lutherane. (Corp. Ref. ii. 163.)

² Istis Germanis asinis, nobis in hac parte obgannientibus. (Ibid.)

³ Hispanici proceres præclare et sapienter responderunt Cesari. (Ibid. 179.)

dinand's wife, assiduously studied the Holy Scriptures; she carried them with her to the hunting parties, in which she found little pleasure, and had discovered therein the jewel of the Reform,—the doctrine of gratuitous salvation. This pious princess made her chaplain read evangelical sermons to her, and often endeavoured, although with prudence, to appease her brother Charles with regard to the Protestants.¹²

Melanchthon, encouraged by these demonstrations, and at the same time alarmed by the threats of war that the adversaries did not cease from uttering, thought it his duty to purchase peace at any cost, and resolved in consequence to descend in his propositions as low as possible. He therefore demanded an interview with the legate in a letter whose authenticity has been unreasonably doubted.³ At the decisive moment the heart of the reform champion fails,—his head turns—he staggers—he falls; and in his fall he runs the risk of dragging with him the cause which martyrs have already watered with their blood.

Thus speaks the representative of the Reformation to the representative of the papacy:—

“There is no doctrine in which we differ from the Roman Church;⁴ we venerate the universal authority of the Roman Pontiff, and we are ready to obey him, provided he does not reject us, and that of his clemency, which he is accustomed to show towards all nations, he will kindly pardon or approve certain little things that it is no longer possible for us to change.⁵

¹ “Ἡ ἀδελφὴ αὐτοκρατορος studet nobis placare fratrem. (Corp. Ref. ii. 178.)

² That there were evangelical, if not decidedly protestant, influences in the court of Charles V. may be presumed, among other things, from the young prince of Orange being attached to it with the consent of his parents, of whom his mother in particular was a pious and enlightened Protestant. The queen of Hungary is again mentioned in the correspondence of that time (see Corp. Ref. vol. ii. p. 233), where Melanchthon sends Luther certain questions, “which,” says he, “have been proposed to us to-day by the catechist (chaplain?) of the emperor’s sister, that they might be sent to you, and on which your opinion is looked for. He seems to us to be endued with consummate candour, καὶ ἡ δέσποινα δοκίμῃ πάντων εἶναι εὐσεβιστάτη [and the lady seems to all to be most pious]. We have already seen how favourable were the sentiments of the emperor’s chaplain and monk-confessor.—D. D. S.

³ See the Corp. Ref. ii. 168.

⁴ Dogma nullum habemus diversum ab Ecclesia Romana. (Ibid. 170.)

⁵ One is more at a loss to account for Melanchthon’s admission of the papal supremacy, remembering how strongly Luther held that the pope was Antichrist, and the views of John Huss on the subject.

.....Now then, will you reject those who appear as suppliants before you? Will you pursue them with fire and sword?..... Alas! nothing draws upon us in Germany so much hatred, as the unshaken firmness with which we maintain the doctrines of the Roman Church.¹ But with the aid of God, we will remain faithful, even unto death, to Christ and to the Roman Church, although you should reject us."²

Thus did Melancthon humble himself. God permitted this

Bossuet, in the xiiith Book of his "Variations," makes much account of the difference betwixt Luther and Melancthon on this point, and would fain have it that the pope, instead of "sitting in the temple of God as God," is the humblest and the meekest of men, confessing his sins, praying for forgiveness through Christ's merits, and so forth. But Luther's views continue to be justified to this day by the pope's assuming to be Christ's vicar, by the shocking blasphemy of his denouncing in that character all institutions or books offensive to the popedom, such as the Bible Society, and this very history of Dr. Merle D'Aubigné, by his directly and indirectly promulgating in the same character monstrous falsehoods, as God's truths, as well as by acquiescing in acts of worship to himself which we have the testimony of the Word of God that even angels would repudiate. The popedom, it is true, is now on its guard, and seems to prefer the milder course of Encyclical letters, to the harsher thunders of direct anathemas. Thus in the late Pope Gregory XVIth's Encyclical letter of May 8th, 1844, addressed to all patriarchs, primates, archbishops, and bishops, care has been taken not to shock modern ears by threatening the subscribers to Evangelical societies, in the name of an old man clothed in mock divine authority, with the wrath of Almighty God and of the apostles Peter and Paul. That would be hazardous at a time when the friendship and patronage of protestant courts are so eagerly sought after. But could an inspired apostle have announced the command of God more distinctly than in the following sentence issued by this pseudo-vicar of Christ? "Hence be it known that all such persons will be guilty of a grave crime (in the original, it runs *gravissimi*—the gravest) before God and the Church, who shall presume to give their name, or lend their help, or in any way to favour any of the said societies." Here it is not the pope's opinion, but the solemn verdict of God Almighty, that is announced. Now it so happens that the sovereigns of Great Britain and Ireland, at least from George the III. downwards, the kings of Prussia, and others have all given their "names, help and favour" to one or more of these denounced societies. Their Roman Catholic subjects accordingly, nay all men, are commanded to believe (for the word of Christ's vicar who dare doubt?) that these sovereigns have been guilty of a most heinous crime before God and the Church! Oh, admirable clarity on the part of protestant governments, ostentatiously to give their names, "lend their help and in many ways to favour" that power which denounces their sovereigns as guilty of the gravest crimes! Oh, admirable encouragement to the loyalty and affection of subjects, to be taught to view their sovereign as a very grievous criminal! How little did Melancthon and those who agreed with him, foresee the consequences flowing from the admission of papal supremacy! The above Encyclical has been published in Latin, Italian, and English, by Sir Culling Eardly Smith, Bart., and may be had for 6d. It is mainly directed against a society called The Christian Alliance of New York. Among its monstrous falsehoods we may safely reckon its pronouncing that to the Virgin Mary it has been given to destroy (*interimere*) all heresies throughout the whole world. So while the Holy Ghost leads to all truth, the Virgin Mary is the heaven-appointed destroyer of heresies!—D. D. S.

¹ *Quam quia Ecclesie Romanæ dogmata summa constantia defendimus.* (Corp. Ref. ii. 170.)

² *Vel si recusabitis nos in gratiam recipere.* (Ibid.)

fall, that future ages might clearly see how low the Reformation was willing to descend in order to maintain unity, and that no one might doubt that the schism had come from Rome; but also, assuredly, that they might learn how great, in every important work, is the weakness of the noblest instruments.

Fortunately there was then another man who upheld the honour of the Reformation. At this very time Luther wrote to Melanchthon: "There can be no concord between Christ and Belial. As far as regards me, I will not yield a hair's breadth.¹ Sooner than yield, I should prefer suffering everything, even the most terrible evils. Concede so much the less, as your adversaries require the more. God will not aid us until we are abandoned by all."² And fearing some weakness on the part of his friends, Luther added: "If it were not tempting God, you would long ago have seen me at your side!"³

Never, in fact, had Luther's presence been so necessary, for the legate had consented to an interview, and Melanchthon was about to pay court to Campeggio.⁴

The 8th of July was the day appointed by the legate. His letter inspired Philip with the most sanguine hopes. "The cardinal assures me that he will accede the usage of the two kinds, and the marriage of priests," said he; "I am eager to visit him!"⁵

This visit might decide the destiny of the Church. If the legate accepted Philip's *ultimatum*, the evangelical countries would be replaced under the power of the Romish bishops, and all would have been over with the Reformation; but it was saved through the pride and blindness of Rome. The papists, believing it on the brink of the abyss, thought that a last blow would settle it, and resolved, like Luther, to concede nothing, "not even a hair's breadth." The legate, however, even while refusing, assumed an air of kindness, and of yielding to foreign influence. "I might have the power of making certain con-

¹ At certe pro mea persona, ne pilum quidem cedam. (L. Epp. iv. 88.)

² Neque enim juvabimur ni deserti prius simus. (Ibid. 91.)

³ Certe jamdudum coram vidissetis me. (Ibid. 98.)

⁴ Ego multos prehensare soleo et Campegium etiam. (Corp. Ref. ii. 193.)

⁵ Proprio enim ad Campegium. (Ibid. 174.)

cessions, but it would not be prudent to use it without the consent of the German princes;¹ their will must be done; one of them in particular conjures the emperor to prevent us from yielding the least thing. I can grant nothing." The Roman prince, with the most amiable smile, then did all he could to gain the chief of the Protestant teachers. Melancthon retired filled with shame at the advances he had made, but still deceived by Campeggio. "No doubt," said he, "Eck and Cochläus have been beforehand with me at the legate's."² Luther entertained a different opinion. "I do not trust to any of these Italians," said he; "they are scoundrels. When an Italian is good, he is very good; but then he is a black swan."

It was truly the Italians who were concerned. Shortly after the 12th of July arrived the pope's instructions.³ He had

¹ *Se nihil posse decernere, nisi de voluntate principum Germaniæ.* (Corp. Ref. ii. 174.)

² *Forte ad legatum veniebant Eccius et Cochläus.* (Ibid. 175.)

³ Under date of the 10th of July, the *Corpus Reformatorum* gives the opinion of a certain divine, the editor thinks possibly Agricola, on the question whether more abuses might not have been detailed in the Augsburg Confession. It shows that some interpreted Melancthon's consent to the bishops retaining their dignities, but only as of human institution, in a way that he could not have intended, and by which the opposite party would only have been all the more incensed. It is as follows:—

"The most illustrious princes and our most clement lords have been called to Augsburg to answer for the doctrine that has till now been proclaimed and propounded to the people within the bounds of their jurisdictions. Now the whole matter is comprised in two points; the one doctrine, the other ceremonies. I hope there is no controversy or doubt about the first. I know that on the subject of the Church there are different and dissentient opinions. In our Confession, however, it is plainly said that bishops, by whatever name they may be called, are appointed *jure humano* (are of human appointment) only, and therefore, which necessarily follows, are antichrists. For their ecclesiastical *status*, which, perhaps, they are by no means ever likely to surrender, is a reproach to the divine name, and the doctrine they teach respecting the distinction of meats and days, the power of the keys, indulgences, purgatory, matrimonial causes and many other traditions, by which they constrain and burden men's consciences, making divine worship of such things, and thus obscuring, extenuating and effacing the merit of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, is plainly diabolical.

"Seeing then that all this is comprised in our Confession and repeated in the epilogue, it is not our opinion that more articles should be set forth, with this short clause that we seriously reject all doctrine, and truly condemn, execrate and exterminate from the Church all constitutions, that are repugnant to the prophetic and apostolical writings, and that profane and overturn the true use of the sacraments."

I have literally translated the first line. If "*our*" (*nostri*) is to be applied only to Lords (*Domini*) and not to Princes (*Principes*), the author could not well have been Agricola who was under the elector, a *prince*, not under the magistrates of a free city, usually styled *lords*. The cities, moreover, particularly disliked the bishops who, it must be remembered, were really secular princes, and to such we must apply this very pungent piece of writing.—D. D. S.

received the Confession by express,¹ and sixteen days had sufficed for the transmission, the deliberation, and the return. Clement would hear no mention either of discussions or of council. Charles was to march straight to the mark, to send an army into Germany, and stifle the Reformation by force. At Augsburg, however, it was thought best not to go so quickly to work, and recourse was had to other means.

"Be quiet; we have them," said the Romish doctors. Sensible of the reproach that had been made against them, of having misrepresented the Reformation, they accused the Protestants themselves of being the cause. "These it is," they said, "who, to give themselves an air of being in accord with us, now dissemble their heresy; but we will catch them in their own nets. If they confess to not having inserted in their Confession all that they reject, it will be proved that they are trifling with us. If, on the contrary they pretend to have said everything, they will by that very circumstance be compelled to admit all that they have not condemned." The Protestant princes were therefore called together, and they were asked if the Reformation was confined to the doctrines indicated in the Apology, or if there was something more.²

The snare was skilfully laid. The papacy had not even been mentioned in Melanchthon's Confession; other errors besides had been omitted, and Luther himself complained of it aloud. "Satan sees clearly," said he, "that your Apology has passed lightly over the articles of purgatory, the worship of saints, and, above all, of the pope and of Antichrist." The princes requested to confer with their allies of the towns; and all the Protestants assembled to deliberate on this momentous incident.

They looked for Melanchthon's explanation, who did not decline the responsibility of the affair. Easily dejected through his own anxiety, he became bold whenever he was directly attacked. "All the essential doctrines," said he, "have been set forth in the Confession, and every error and abuse that is

¹ *Nostra Confessio ad Romam per veredarios missa est.* (Corp. Ref. ii. 186, 219.)

² *An plura velimus Cæsari præponere controversa quam fecerimus.* (Ibid. 188.)

opposed to them has been pointed out. But was it necessary to plunge into all those questions so full of contention and animosity, that are discussed in our universities? Was it necessary to ask if all Christians are priests, if the primacy of the pope is of right divine, if there can be indulgences, if every good work is a deadly sin, if there are more than seven sacraments, if they may be administered by a layman, if divine election has any foundation in our own merits, if sacerdotal consecration impresses an indelible character, if auricular confession is necessary to salvation?.....No, no! all these things are in the province of the schools, and by no means essential to faith."¹

It cannot be denied that in the questions thus pointed out by Melancthon there were important points. However that may be, the evangelical committee were soon agreed, and on the morrow they gave an answer to Charles's ministers, drawn up with as much frankness as firmness, in which they said "that the Protestants, desirous of arriving at a cordial understanding, had not wished to complicate their situation, and had proposed not to specify all the errors that had been introduced into the Church, but to confess all the doctrines that were essential to salvation; that if, nevertheless, the adverse party felt itself urged to maintain certain abuses, or to put forward any point not mentioned in the Confession, the Protestants declared themselves ready to reply in conformity with the Word of God."² The tone of this answer showed pretty clearly that the evangelical Christians did not fear to follow their adversaries wherever the latter should call them. Accordingly the Roman party said no more on this business.

¹ Melancthonis Judicium. (Corp. Ref. ii. 182.)

² Aus Gottes Wort, weiter bericht zu thun. (F. Urkundenbuch, ii. 19.)

CHAPTER IX.

The Refutation—Charles's Dissatisfaction—Interview with the Princes—The Swiss at Augsburg—Tetrapolitan Confession—Zwingli's Confession—Afflicting Divisions—The Elector's Faith—His Peace—The Lion's Skin—The Refutation—One Concession—Scripture and the Hierarchy—Imperial Commands—Interview between Melancthon and Campeggio—Policy of Charles—Stormy Meeting—Resolutions of the Consistory—The Prayers of the Church—Two Miracles—The Emperor's Menace—The Princes' Courage—The Mask—Negotiations—The Spectres at Spire—Tumult in Augsburg.

THE commission charged to refute the Confession met twice a-day,¹ and each of the theologians who composed it added to it his refutations and his hatred.

On the 13th July the work was finished. "Eck with his band,"² said Melancthon, "transmitted it to the emperor." Great was the astonishment of this prince and of his ministers at seeing a work of two hundred and eighty pages filled with abuse.³ "Bad workmen waste much wood," said Luther, "and impious writers soil much paper." This was not all; to the Refutation were subjoined eight appendices on the heresies that Melancthon had dissembled (as they said), and wherein they exposed the contradictions and "the horrible sects" to which Lutheranism had given birth. Lastly, not confining themselves to this official answer, the Romish theologians, who saw the sun of power shining upon them, filled Augsburg with insolent and abusive pamphlets.

There was but one opinion on the Papist Refutation; it was found confused, violent, thirsting for blood.⁴ Charles V. had too much good taste not to perceive the difference that existed between this coarse work and the noble dignity of Melancthon's Confession. He rolled, handled, crushed, and so damaged the two hundred and eighty pages of his doctors, that when he returned them two days after, says Spalatin, there

¹ *Bis die convenire dicuntur.* (Zw. Epp. ii. 472.)

² *Eccius cum sua commanipulatione.* (Corp. Ref. ii. 193.)

³ *Longum et plenum conviciis scriptum.* (Ibid.)

⁴ *Adeo confusa, incondita, violenta, sanguinolenta et crudelis ut puduerint.* (Ibid. 198.)

were not more than twelve entire. Charles would have been ashamed to have such a pamphlet read in the diet, and he required, in consequence, that it should be drawn up anew, shorter and in more moderate language.¹ That was not easy, "for the adversaries, confused and stupified," says Brenz, "by the noble simplicity of the evangelical Confession, neither knew where to begin nor where to end; they accordingly took nearly three weeks to do their work over again."²

Charles and his ministers had great doubts of its success; leaving, therefore, the theologians for a moment, they imagined another manœuvre. "Let us take each of the protestant princes separately," said they: "isolated, they will not resist." Accordingly, on the 15th July, the margrave of Brandenburg was visited by his two cousins, the electors of Maintz and of Brandenburg, and by his two brothers the margraves Frederick and John Albert. "Abandon this new faith," said they to him, "and return to that which existed a century ago. If you do so, there are no favours that you may not expect from the emperor; if not, dread his anger."³

Shortly after, the duke Frederick of Bavaria, the count of Nassau, De Rogendorf, and Truchses were announced to the elector on the part of Charles. "You have solicited the emperor," said they, "to confirm the marriage of your son with the princess of Juliers, and to invest you with the electoral dignity; but his majesty declares, that if you do not renounce the heresy of Luther, of which you are the principal abettor, he cannot accede to your demand." At the same time the duke of Bavaria, employing the most urgent solicitations, accompanied with the most animated gestures⁴ and the most sinister threats,⁵ called upon the elector to abandon his faith. "It is asserted," added Charles's envoys, "that you have made an alliance with the Swiss. The emperor cannot believe it; and he orders you to let him know the truth."

¹ *Hodie auctoribus ipsis Sophistis, a Cesare rursus esse redditam ut emendetur et civilius componatur.* (Corp. Ref. ii. 198.)

² *Nostra confessione ita stupidos, attonitos, et confusos.* (Ibid.)

³ Corp. Ref. ii. 206; F. Urkund. ii. 93.

⁴ *Mit reden und Gebärden prächtig erzeugt.* (Ibid. 207.)

⁵ *Minas diras promissis ingentibus adjiciens.* (Zw. Epp. ii. 181.)

The Swiss! it was the same thing as rebellion. This alliance was the phantom incessantly invoked at Augsburg to alarm Charles V. And in reality deputies, or at least friends of the Swiss, had already appeared in that city, and thus rendered the position still more serious.

Bucer had arrived two days before the reading of the Confession, and Capito on the day subsequent to it.¹ There was even a report that Zwingli would join them.² But for a long time all in Augsburg, except the Strasburg deputation, were ignorant of the presence of these doctors.³ It was only twenty-one days after their arrival that Melanchthon learnt it positively,⁴ so great was the mystery in which the Zwinglians were forced to enshroud themselves. This was not without reason: a conference with Melanchthon having been requested by them: "Let them write," replied he; "I should compromise our cause by an interview with them."

Bucer and Capito in their retreat, which was like a prison to them, had taken advantage of their leisure to draw up the *Tetrapolitan Confession*, or the confession of the four cities. The deputies of Strasburg, Constance, Memmingen, and Lindau, presented it to the emperor.⁵ These cities purged themselves from the reproach of war and revolt that had been continually objected against them. They declared that their only motive was Christ's glory, and professed the truth "freely, boldly, but without insolence and without scurrility."⁶

Zwingli about the same time caused a private confession to be communicated to Charles,⁷ which excited a general uproar. "Does he not dare to say," exclaimed the Romanists, "that the *mitred and withered race* (by which he means the bishops) is in the Church what hump-backs and the scrofula are in the

¹ Venimus huc, ego pridie solemnitate Divi Johannis, Capito die dominica sequente. (Zw. Epp. ii. 472.)

² Rumor apud nos est, et te cum tuis Helvetiis comitia advelaturum. (Ibid. 431, 467.)

³ Ita latent ut non quibuslibet sui copiam faciant. (Corp. Ref. p. 196.)

⁴ Capito et Bucerus adsunt. Id hodie certo comperi. (Ibid.)

⁵ Cingliane civitates propriam Confessionem obtulerunt Cesari. (Ibid. p. 187.) This Confession will be found in Niemeyer, Collectio Confessionum, p. 740.

⁶ Ingenue ac fortiter; citra procaciam tamen et sannas, id fateri et dicere quod res est. (Zw. Epp. ii. 485.)

⁷ See Niemeyer Coll. Conf. p. 16.

body?"¹—"Does he not insinuate," said the Lutherans, "that we are beginning to look back after the onions and garlic of Egypt?"—"One might say with great truth that he had lost his senses," exclaimed Melanchthon.² "All ceremonies, according to him, ought to be abolished; all the bishops ought to be suppressed. In a word, all is perfectly *Helvetic*, that is to say, supremely barbarous."

One man formed an exception to this concert of reproaches, and this was Luther. "Zwingli pleases me tolerably," wrote he to Jonas, "as well as Bucer."³ By Bucer, he meant no doubt the Tetrapolitan Confession: this expression should be noted.

Thus three Confessions, laid at the feet of Charles V., attested the divisions that were rending Protestantism. In vain did Bucer and Capito endeavour to come to an understanding with Melanchthon, and write to him: "We will meet where you will, and when you will; we will bring Sturm along with us, and if you desire it, we will not even bring him."⁴ All was unavailing. It is not enough for a Christian to confess Christ; one disciple should confess another disciple, even if the latter lies under the shame of the world; but they did not then comprehend this duty. "Schism is in the schism," said the Romanists, and the emperor flattered himself with an easy victory. "Return to the Church," was the cry from every side, "which means," interrupted the Strasburgers, "let us put the bit in your mouths, that we may lead you as we please."⁵

All these things deeply afflicted the elector, who was besides still under the burden of Charles's demands and threats. The emperor had not once spoken to him,⁶ and it was everywhere said that his cousin George of Saxony would be proclaimed elector in his stead.

On the 28th July, there was a great festival at the court.

¹ *Pedatum et mitratum genus Episcoporum, id esset in Ecclesia, quod gibbi et strumata in corpore.* (Niemeyer Coll. Conf. p. 16.) Zwingli compares the bishops to the dry and fruitless props that support the vines.

² *Dicas simpliciter mente captum esse.* (Corp. Ref. p. 193.)

³ *Zwinglius mihi sane placet, et Bucerus.* (L. Epp. iv. 110.)

⁴ *Veniemus quo et quando tu voles.* (Corp. Ref. ii. 208.)

⁵ *Una tamen omnium vox: Revertimini ad Ecclesiam.* (Zw. Epp. ii. 484.)

⁶ *Colloquium ejus nondum frui potuisse.* (Seck. ii. 154.)

Charles, robed in his imperial garments, whose value was said to exceed 200,000 gold ducats, and displaying an air of majesty which impressed respect and fear,¹ conferred on many princes the investiture of their dignities; the elector alone was excluded from these favours. Ere long he was made to understand more plainly what was reserved for him, and it was insinuated, that if he did not submit, the emperor would expel him from his states, and inflict upon him the severest punishment.²

The elector turned pale, for he doubted not that such would certainly be the termination. How with his small territory could he resist that powerful monarch who had just vanquished France and Italy, and now saw Germany at his feet? And besides, if he could do it, had he the right? Frightful nightmares pursued John in his dreams. He beheld himself stretched beneath an immense mountain under which he lay painfully struggling, while his cousin George of Saxony stood on the summit and seemed to brave him.

John at length came forth from this furnace. "I must either renounce God or the world," said he. "Well! my choice is not doubtful. It is God who made me elector,—me, who was not worthy of it. I fling myself into his arms, and let him do with me what shall seem good to him." Thus the elector by faith stopped the mouths of lions and subdued kingdoms.³

All evangelical Christendom had taken part in the struggle of John the Persevering. It was seen that if he should now fall, all would fall with him; and they endeavoured to support him. "Fear not," cried the Christians of Magdeburg, "for your highness is under Christ's banner."⁴ "Italy is in expectation," wrote they from Venice; "if for Christ's glory you must die, fear nothing."⁵ But it was from a higher source that John's courage was derived. "I beheld Satan as lightning fall from Heaven," said his Master.⁶ The elector, in like manner,

¹ Apparuit Caesar majestate.....insignitus vestibus suis imperialibus. (Corp. Ref. ii. 242.)

² Müller, *Gesch. der Protestation*, p. 715.

³ Hebrews xi. 33, 34.

⁴ Unter dem Heerpannyr Jesu Christi. (Müller, *Gesch. der Protestation*, p. 131.)

⁵ Etiam si mors subeunda tibi foret ob Christi gloriam. (Corp. Ref. ii. 228. L. P. Roselli.)

⁶ Luke x. 18.

beheld in his dreams George fall from the top of the mountain, and lie dashed in pièces at his feet.

Once resolved to lose everything, John, free, happy, and tranquil, assembled his theologians. These generous men desired to save their master. "Gracious lord," said Spalatin, "recollect that the Word of God, being the sword of the Spirit, must be upheld, not by the secular power, but by the hand of the Almighty."¹—"Yes!" said all the doctors, "we do not wish that, to save us, you should risk your children, your subjects, your states, your crown..... We will rather give ourselves into the hands of the enemy, and conjure him to be satisfied with our blood."² John, touched by this language, refused, however, their solicitations, and firmly repeated these words, which had become his device: "I also desire to confess my Saviour."

It was on the 20th July that he replied to the pressing arguments by which Charles had endeavoured to shake him. He proved to the emperor that, being his brother's legitimate heir, he could not refuse him the investiture, which, besides, the diet of Worms had secured to him. He added, that he did not blindly believe what his doctors said, but that, having recognised the Word of God to be the foundation of their teaching, he confessed anew, and without any hesitation, all the articles of the Apology. "I therefore entreat your majesty," continued he, "to permit me and mine to render an account to God alone of what concerns the salvation of our souls."³ The margrave of Brandenburg made the same reply. Thus failed this skilful manœuvre, by which the Romanists had hoped to break the strength of the Reformation.

Six weeks had elapsed since the Confession, and as yet there was no reply. "The Papists, from the moment they heard the Apology," it was said, "suddenly lost their voice."⁴ At length the Romish theologians handed their revised and corrected performance to the emperor, and persuaded this prince to present it in his own name. The mantle of the state seemed to them

¹ Gottes Wort keines wegs durch weltlich Schwert. (F. Urkund. ii. 82.)

² Sie wollen ihnen an ihrem Blute genügen lassen. (Ibid. 90.)

³ Forstemann's Urkundenbuch, pp. 80-92, 113-119.

⁴ Papistas obmutuisse ad ipsorum Confessionem. (Cochl. p. 195.)

admirably adapted to the movements of Rome. "These sycophants," said Melanchthon, "have desired to clothe themselves with the lion's skin, to appear to us so much the more terrible."¹ All the states of the empire were convoked for the next day but one.

On Wednesday, 3d August,² at two o'clock in the afternoon, the emperor, sitting on his throne in the chapel of the Palatine Palace, attended by his brother, with the electors, princes, and deputies, the elector of Saxony and his allies were introduced, and the count-palatine, who was called "Charles's mouthpiece," said to them: "His majesty having handed your Confession to several doctors of different nations, illustrious by their knowledge, their morals, and their impartiality, has read their reply with the greatest care, and submits it to you as his own."³

Alexander Schweiss then took the papers and read the Refutation. The Roman party approved some articles of the Confession, condemned others, and in certain less salient passages, it distinguished between what must be rejected and what accepted.

It gave way on an important point; the *opus operatum*. The Protestants having said in their 13th Article that faith was

¹ Voluerunt sycophantæ theologi λατρεῖν illam sibi circumdare, ut essent nobis formidabiliores. (Corp. Ref. p. 252.)

² About this time a very likely result of the diet seemed to be the death of both Luther and Melanchthon. Both were overtasking their minds, the one by involving himself in a maze of subtle distinctions, in which we perceive a manifest desire to reason himself into the toleration of many of the abuses of the popedom, the other by his patient efforts to answer his friend's innumerable questions on such points. The consequence of all this was, that while the state of Luther's health gave serious alarm to his friends, Melanchthon complains of a violent cough brought on by a few nights' want of sleep (*Ego tussi odiosissima laboro quam ex paucarum noctium insomnia contraxi*). This complaint he makes to Luther on the 30th of July, and only three days before he had written to Vitus that the physician's injunction to Luther was that he must give up the very severe study (*acerrimum studium*), which was the cause of his illness. One would have thought that Melanchthon, out of regard to his friend's health as well as his own, would have intermitted his labours, at least for a day or two. But no; in this very letter to Vitus he tells him that though the doctor (Luther) seemed angry at his "disputations," yet he would not let him off, and begs Vitus to conciliate him, and induce him to reply; nay, the very next day the poor doctor has a letter from his tormentor, with a *Mitto tibi questiones* (I send you the questions), and a *Respondetis igitur* (You will reply then). In short, Melanchthon was in a state of such extreme excitement that he could neither take rest himself nor allow others to take it. The questions in this last case were those submitted by the chaplain of the queen of Hungary.—D. P. S.

³ Velut suam suaque publica auctoritate roboratam. (Urkundenbuch, ii. 144)

necessary in the sacrament, the Romish party assented to it; thus abandoning an error which the papacy had so earnestly defended against Luther in that very city of Augsburg, by the mouth of Cajetan.

Moreover, they recognised as truly Christian the evangelical doctrine on the Trinity, on Christ, on baptism, on eternal punishment, and on the origin of evil.

But on all the other points, Charles, his princes, and his theologians, declared themselves immovable. They maintained that men are born with the fear of God, that good works are meritorious, and that they justify in union with faith. They upheld the seven sacraments, the mass, transubstantiation, the withdrawal of the cup, the celibacy of priests,¹ the invocation of saints, and denied that the Church was an assembly of the saints.

This Refutation was skilful in some respects, and, above all, in what concerned the doctrine of works and of faith. But on other points, in particular on the withdrawal of the cup and the celibacy of priests, its arguments were lamentably weak, and contrary to the well-known facts of history.

While the Protestants had taken their stand on the Scriptures, their adversaries supported the divine origin of the hierarchy, and laid down absolute submission to its laws. Thus, the essential character, which still distinguishes Rome from the Reformation, stood prominently forth in this first combat.

Among the auditors who filled the chapel of the Palatinate Palace, concealed in the midst of the deputies of Nuremberg, was Joachim Camerarius, who, while Schweiss was reading, leant over his tablets and carefully noted down all he could collect. At the same time others of the Protestants, speaking to one another, were indignant, and even laughed, as one of their opponents assures us.² "Really," said they with one consent,

¹ In an opinion of Melancthon's, written in German, and supposed by the editor of the *Corp. Ref.* to be of the date of August, a pithy practical reason is given for not consenting to the celibate of the clergy. Were that concession made by the Protestants, he submits an immense number of priests who had married, would be dismissed. Others not married would have to take their places. If these were really good men, he considers that for a certainty they would marry. Hence the only chance of having unmarried priests, lay in the untoward alternative of having wicked ones!—D. N. S.

² *Multi e Lutheranis inepte cachinnabantur.* (Cochleus, p. 895.)

“the whole of this Refutation is worthy of Eck, Faber, and Cochläeus!”

As for Charles, little pleased with these theological dissertations, he slept during the reading;¹ but he awoke when Schweiss had finished, and his awakening was that of a lion.

The count-palatine then declared that his majesty found the articles of this Refutation orthodox, catholic, and conformable to the Gospel; that he therefore required the Protestants to abandon their Confession, now refuted, and to adhere to all the articles which had just been set forth;² that, if they refused, the emperor would remember his office, and would know how to show himself the advocate and defender of the Roman church.

This language was clear enough: the adversaries imagined they had refuted the Protestants by commanding the latter to consider themselves beaten. Violence—arms—war—were all contained in these cruel words of Charles’s minister.³ The princes represented that, as the Refutation adopted some of their articles and rejected others, it required a careful examination, and they consequently begged a copy should be given them.

The Romish party had a long conference on this demand; night was at hand; the count-palatine replied that, considering the late hour and the importance of this affair, the emperor would make known his pleasure somewhat later. The diet separated, and Charles V., exasperated at the audacity of the evangelical princes, says Cochläeus, returned in ill-humour to his apartments.⁴

The Protestants, on the contrary, withdrew full of peace; the reading of the Refutation having given them as much confidence as that of the Confession itself.⁵ They saw in their adversaries a strong attachment to the hierarchy, but a great ignorance of the Gospel—a characteristic feature of the Romish party; and this thought encouraged them. “Certainly,” said they, “the Church cannot be where there is no knowledge of Christ.”⁶

¹ Imperator iterum obdormivit. (Corp. Ref. ii. 245.)

² Petit Caesar ut omnes in illos articulos consentiant. (Ibid.)

³ Orationis summa atrox. (Ibid. 253.)

⁴ Caesar non aequo animo ferebat eorum contumaciam. (Cochl. p. 195.)

⁵ Facti sunt erectiore animo. (Corp. Ref. ii. 250.)

⁶ Ecclesiam ibi non esse, ubi ignoratur Christus.

Melanchthon alone was still alarmed: he walked by sight and not by faith, and, remembering the legate's smiles, he had another interview with him, as early as the 4th August, still demanding the cup for the laity, and lawful wives for the priests. "Then," said he, "our pastors will place themselves again under the government of bishops, and we shall be able to prevent those innumerable sects with which posterity is threatened."¹ Melanchthon's glance into the future is remarkable: it does not, however, mean that he, like many others, preferred a dead unity to a living diversity.²

Campeggio, now certain of triumphing by the sword, disdainfully handed this paper to Cochläus, who hastened to refute it. It is hard to say whether Melanchthon or Campeggio was the more infatuated. God did not permit an arrangement that would have enslaved his Church.

Charles passed the whole of the 4th³ and the morning of

¹ *Quod nisi fiet, quid in tot sectis ad posterum futurum sit.* (Corp. Ref. ii. 148.)

² This dread on the part of Melanchthon betokens a sad want of faith on the promise of the Spirit to accompany the preaching of the Word in the conversion of men, and to unite them in the bonds of Christian unity after conversion. True, many sects have arisen in Protestant countries since 1530, and many of these have departed more or less widely from the truth. But let us suppose that Melanchthon's scheme for comprehending Luther and the Pope in one church had succeeded, would that have put an end to sects? If all the rigour of the decrees of Trent could not prevent such dissensions in the Church of Rome as afterwards arose between the Jansenists and the Jesuits, if all the disciplinary canons of that council could not suppress the subsequent diffusion of scepticism and infidelity accompanied with the most revolting corruption of manners in Roman catholics, what would not have been the divided state of that church had Lutheranism been allowed to remain and to act a part in it? And then what would have become of the sacramentarians? If admitted, they would still more have distracted the Church.—D. D. S.

³ On this 4th of August, Melanchthon wrote a remarkably pacific, one would almost say, coaxing letter to Campeggio's secretary. He compliments him for a suavity and humanity, worthy of a learned and wise man, which had led him willingly to confer with him both about his private affairs and on public business. On comparing this letter with one addressed to Melanchthon by Capito and Bucer on the 28th of July, just a week before, one is painfully struck with the difference of sentiment between them, and even led to fear that Melanchthon was really looking to the Romish bishops and divines as his future coadjutors against the sacramentarians. C. and B.'s letter begins with calling God to witness that in wishing to confer with Melanchthon, they had no wish to involve him in the odium with which the world was overwhelming them. Hence it would appear that while Melanchthon was constantly conferring with the Romish divines, he declined all intercourse with those two learned and faithful Protestants. They proceed to tell him with great seriousness and unction, that seeing love and zeal for God should be preferred to every thing else, even were we humanly speaking reduced to the last extremity, still it is unlawful to betray gospel truth, to be silent where God calls us to speak out, and to leave to wolves those for whom Christ shed his blood. Now, as if in studied opposition to this, Melanchthon

the 5th August in consultation with the Ultramontane party. "It will never be by discussion that we shall come to an understanding," said some; "and if the Protestants do not submit voluntarily, it only remains for us to compel them." They nevertheless decided, on account of the Refutation, to adopt a middle course. During the whole of the diet, Charles pursued a skilful policy. At first he refused everything, hoping to lead away the princes by violence; then he conceded a few unimportant points, under the impression that the Protestants, having lost all hope, would esteem so much the more the little he yielded to them. This was what he did again under the present circumstances. In the afternoon of the 5th, the count-palatine announced that the emperor would give them a copy of the Refutation, but on these conditions; namely, that the Protestants should not reply, that they should speedily agree with the emperor, and that they would not print or communicate to any one the Refutation that should be confided to them.¹

This communication excited murmurs among the Protestants. "These conditions," said they all, "are inadmissible."—"The papists present us with their paper," added the chancellor Brück, "as the fox offered a thin broth to his gossip the stork."

The savoury broth upon a plate by Reynard was served up,
But Mistress Stork, with her long beak, she could not get a sup.²

"If the Refutation," continued he, "should come to be known without our participation (and how can we prevent it?), we shall be charged with it as a crime. Let us beware of accept-

speaks to the secretary, of healing the dissension between the Protestants and Rome, by *dissembling certain things*, that is, by being silent where they ought to speak out; and not only does he promise on the part of the Protestant clergy their obedience to bishops, but hints that he and others would do their utmost to enlarge the power of the bishops and establish the tranquillity of the Church. What was this but to enlarge the power of the wolves to whom Christ's flock was to be committed? What could he mean by common efforts between Rome and them for confirming the Church's tranquillity, after coming to terms by mutually dissembling part of their doctrines, but common efforts against such men as Capito and Bucer, Zwingli and Œcolampadius? He speaks, indeed, of *future* heresies, in his letter of August 18th to the bishop of Augsburg, in which he renews his promise of obedience to the bishops, but he never could have excluded from his regard those who he knew would never obey Romish bishops.—D. D. S.

¹ F. Urkund. ii. 170; Corp. Ref. ii. 256; Brück, Apol. 72.

² Glück wie der Fuchs brauchet, da er den Storch zu gast lud. (Brück, Apol. 74.)

ing so perfidious an offer.¹ We already possess in the notes of Camerarius several articles of this paper, and if we omit any point, no one will have the right to reproach us with it."

On the next day (6th August), the Protestants declared to the diet that they preferred declining the copy thus offered to them, and appealed to God and to his majesty.² They thus rejected all that the emperor proposed to them, even what he considered as a favour.

Agitation, anger, and affright were manifested on every bench of that august assembly.³ This reply of the evangelicals was war—was rebellion. George of Saxony, the princes of Bavaria, all the violent adherents of Rome, trembled with indignation; there was a sudden, an impetuous movement, an explosion of murmurs and of hatred; and it might have been feared that the two parties would have come to blows in the very presence of the emperor, if archbishop Albert, the elector of Brandenburg, and the dukes of Brunswick, Pomerania, and Mecklenburg, rushing between them, had not conjured the Protestants to put an end to this deplorable combat, and not drive the emperor to extremities.⁴ The diet separated, their hearts filled with emotion, apprehension, and trouble.

Never had the diet proposed such fatal alternatives. The hopes of agreement, set forth in the edict of convocation, had only been a deceitful lure: now the mask was thrown aside; submission or the sword—such was the dilemma offered to the Reformation. All announced that the day of tentatives was passed, and that they were beginning one of violence.

In truth, on the 6th July, the pope had assembled the consistory of cardinals in his palace at Rome, and had made known to them the Protestant ultimatum; namely, the cup for the laity, the marriage of priests, the omission of the invocation of saints in the sacrifice of the mass, the use of ecclesiastical property already secularized, and for the rest, the convocation of a council. "These concessions," said the cardinals, "are

¹ Quando exemplum per alios in vulgus exire poterat. (Corp. Ref. ii. 76.)

² Das Sie es Gott und Kays. Maj. beschlen muessen. (Urkund. ii. 181.)

³ Und darob wie man Spuren mag, ein Entzet zen gehabt. (Ibid.)

⁴ Hi accedunt ad nostros principes et jubent omittere hoc certamen, ne Cæsar vehementius commoveatur. (Corp. Ref. ii. 254.)

opposed to the religion, discipline, and laws of the Church.¹ We reject them, and vote our thanks to the emperor for the zeal which he employs in bringing back the deserters." The pope having thus decided, every attempt at conciliation became useless.

Campeggio, on his side, redoubled in zeal. He spoke as if in his person the pope himself were present at Augsburg.² "Let the emperor and the right-thinking princes form a league," said he to Charles; "and if these rebels, equally insensible to threats and promises, obstinately persist in their diabolical course, then let his majesty seize fire and sword, let him take possession of all the property of the heretics, and utterly eradicate these venomous plants."³ Then let him appoint holy inquisitors, who shall go on the track of the remnants of Reformation, and proceed against them, as in Spain against the Moors. Let him put the university of Wittenberg under ban, burn the heretical books, and send back the fugitive monks to their convents. But this plan must be executed with courage."

Thus the jurisprudence of Rome consisted, according to a prophecy uttered against the city which *is seated on seven hills*, in adorning itself with pearls that it had stolen, and in becoming drunk with the blood of the saints.⁴

While Charles was thus urged on with blind fury by the diet and the pope, the Protestant princes, restrained by a mute indignation, did not open their mouths,⁵ and hence they seemed to betray a weakness of which the emperor was eager to profit. But there was also strength concealed under this weakness. "We have nothing left," exclaimed Melancthon, "but to embrace our Saviour's knees." In this they laboured earnestly. Melancthon begged for Luther's prayers; Brenz for those of his own church: a general cry of distress and of faith ran through evangelical Germany. "You shall have sheep," said Brenz, "if you will send us sheep: you know

¹ *Oppositas religioni, disciplinæ, legibusque Ecclesiæ.* (Pallav. i. 234.)

² *Als were der Papst selbst gegenwärtig gewest.* (Brück, Apol. 62.)

³ *Se alcuni.....perseverassero in questa diabolica via quella S. M. potrà mettere la mano al ferro e al foco et radicitus extirpare questa venenata pianta.* (Instructio data Cesari a reverendissimo Campeggi in dieta Augustana, 1530.)

⁴ Revelation xvii. and xviii.

⁵ *Tacita indignatio.* (Corp. Ref. ii. 254.)

what I mean.”¹ The sheep that were to be offered in sacrifice were the prayers of the saints.

The Church was not wanting to itself. “Assembled every day,” wrote certain cities to the electors, “we beg for you strength, grace, and victory,—victory full of joy.” But the man of prayer and faith was especially Luther. A calm and sublime courage, in which firmness shines at the side of joy—a courage that rises and exults in proportion as the danger increases—is what Luther’s letters at this time present in every line. The most poetical images are pale beside those energetic expressions which issue in a boiling torrent from the reformer’s soul. “I have recently witnessed two miracles,” wrote he on the 5th August to chancellor Brück; “this is the first. As I was at my window, I saw the stars, and the sky, and that vast and magnificent firmament in which the Lord has placed them. I could nowhere discover the columns on which the Master has supported this immense vault, and yet the heavens did not fall.....

“And here is the second. I beheld thick clouds hanging above us like a vast sea. I could neither perceive ground on which they reposed, nor cords by which they were suspended; and yet they did not fall upon us, but saluted us rapidly and fled away.

“God,” continued he, “will choose the manner, the time, and the place suitable for deliverance, and he will not linger. What the men of blood have begun, they have not yet finished.Our rainbow is faint.....their clouds are threatening.....the enemy comes against us with frightful machines.....But at last it will be seen to whom belong the ballistæ, and from what hands the javelins are launched.”² It is no matter if Luther perishes: if Christ is conqueror, Luther is conqueror also.”³

The Roman party, who did not know what was the victory of faith, imagined themselves certain of success.

¹ *Habebitis oves, si oves ad nos mittatis: intelligitis quæ volo.* (Corp. Ref. ii. 246.)

² *In fine videbitur ejus toni.....*(L. Epp. iv. 130.)

³ *Vincat Christus modo, nihil refert si pereat Lutherus, quia victore Christo victor erit.* (Ibid. 139.)

The doctors having refuted the Confession, the Protestants ought, they imagined, to declare themselves convinced, and all would then be restored to its ancient footing: such was the plan of the emperor's campaign. He therefore urged and called upon the Protestants; but instead of submitting, they announced a refutation of the Refutation. Upon this Charles looked at his sword, and all the princes who surrounded him did the same.

John of Saxony understood what that meant, but he remained firm. "The straight line," said he (the axiom was familiar to him), "is the shortest road." It is this indomitable firmness that has secured for him in history the name of John the Persevering. He was not alone: all those Protestant princes who had grown up in the midst of courts, and who were habituated to pay an humble obedience to the emperor, at that time found in their faith a noble independence that confounded Charles V.

With the design of gaining the marquis of Brandenburg, they opened to him the possibility of according him some possessions in Silesia on which he had claims. "If Christ is Christ," replied he, "the doctrine that I have confessed is truth."—"But do you know," quickly replied his cousin the elector Joachim, "what is your stake?"—"Certainly," replied the margrave, "it is said I shall be expelled from this country. Well! may God protect me!" One day prince Wolfgang of Anhalt met Doctor Eck. "Doctor," said he, "you are exciting to war, but you will find those who will not be behindhand with you. I have broken many a lance for my friends in my time. My Lord Jesus Christ is assuredly worthy that I should do as much for him."

At the sight of this resolution, each one asked himself whether Charles, instead of curing the disease, was not augmenting it. Reflections, criticisms, jests, passed between the citizens; and the good sense of the people manifested in its own fashion what they thought of the folly of their chief. We will adduce one instance.

It is said that one day, as the emperor was at table with several Roman catholic princes, he was informed that some

comedians begged permission (according to custom) to amuse their lordships. First appeared an old man wearing a mask, and dressed in a doctor's robe, who advanced with difficulty carrying a bundle of sticks in his arms, some straight and some crooked. He approached the wide fireplace of the Gothic hall, threw down his load in disorder, and immediately withdrew.¹ Charles and the courtiers read on his back the inscription—**JOHN REUCHLIN**. Then appeared another mask with an intelligent look, who made every exertion to pair the straight and the crooked pieces;² but finding his labour useless, he shook his head, turned to the door and disappeared. They read—**ERASMUS OF ROTTERDAM**. Almost immediately after advanced a monk with bright eye and decided gait, carrying a brasier of lighted coals.³ He put the wood in order, set fire to it, blew and stirred it up, so that the flame rose bright and sparkling into the air. He then retired, and on his back were the words—**MARTIN LUTHER**.

Next approached a magnificent personage, covered with all the imperial insignia, who, seeing the fire so bright, drew his sword, and endeavoured by violent thrusts to extinguish it; but the more he struck, the fiercer burnt the flames, and at last he quitted the hall in indignation. His name, as it would seem, was not made known to the spectators, but all divined it. The general attention was soon attracted by a new character. A man, wearing a surplice and a mantle of red velvet, with an alb of white wool that reached to his heels, and having a stole around his neck, the ends ornamented with pearls, advanced majestically. Beholding the flames that already filled the hearth, he wrung his hands in terror, and looked around for something to extinguish them. He saw two vessels at the very extremity of the hall, one filled with water, and the other with oil. He rushed towards them, seized unwittingly on that containing the oil, and threw it on the fire.⁴ The flame then spread with such violence that the mask fled in alarm,

¹ *Persona larva contexta, habitu doctorali portabat struem lignorum.* (T. L. Fabricius, *opp. omnia*, ii. 231.)

² *Ille conabatur curva rectis exæquare lignis.* (Ibid.)

³ *In azula ferens ignem et prunas.* (Ibid.)

⁴ *Currens in amphoram oleo plenam.* (Ibid. 232.)

raising his hands to heaven; on his back was read the name of LEO X.

The mystery was finished; but instead of claiming their remuneration, the pretended actors had disappeared. No one asked the moral of this drama.

The lesson, however, proved useless; and the majority of the diet, assuming at the same time the part assigned to the emperor and the pope, began to prepare the means necessary for extinguishing the fire kindled by Luther. They negotiated in Italy with the duke of Mantua, who engaged to send a few regiments of light cavalry across the Alps;¹ and in England with Henry VIII., who had not forgotten Luther's reply, and who promised Charles, through his ambassador, an immense subsidy to destroy the heretics.²

At the same time frightful prodigies announced the gloomy future which threatened the Reform. At Spires fearful spectres, in the shape of monks with angry eyes and hasty steps, had appeared during the night. "What do you want?" they had been asked.—"We are going," they replied, "to the diet of Augsburg!" The circumstance had been carefully investigated, and was found perfectly trustworthy.³ "The interpretation is not difficult," exclaimed Melancthon: "Evil spirits are coming to Augsburg to counteract our exertions, and to destroy peace. They forebode horrible troubles to us."⁴⁵ No

¹ Che tentano col Duca di Mantona d' avere il modo di condurre 1000 cavalli leggieri d' Italia in caso si facesse guerra in Germanica. (Nic. Tiefolo Relat.)

² Cui (Caesari) ingentem vim pecuniae in hoc sacrum bellum contra haereticos Anglus promississe fertur. (Zw. Epp. ii. 484.)

³ Res et diligenter inquisita et explorata maximeque ἀξιόπιστος. (Corp. Ref. ii. 259.)

⁴ Monachorum Spirensium φάσμα plane significat horribilem tumultum. (Ibid. 260.)

⁵ Melancthon's superstition may well inculcate a lesson of distrust in the judgment of man when uninspired, and ought further to make us cautious in our respect even for the wisest and holiest and most learned of "the Fathers." For truly, to which of them all was he inferior in those qualities as a divine which are supposed to confer a right to our deference and respect? Who that has even glanced at his works can fail to admire the depth and extent of his learning, his profound acquaintance with Scripture, the amazing skill and clearness with which he deals with doctrinal questions, and the Christian grace that throws an indescribable charm over all his writings. As a man, too, how meek, humble and devout! Yet he was but a man, and so far from being endued with the kind of quasi-infallibility which some would ascribe to the earlier fathers of the church, like those fathers he was permitted to fall into childish superstitions and puerile distinctions, which warn us to distrust his judgment, and not to follow him except where he followed Christ.—D. D. S.

one doubted this. "Everything is advancing towards war," said Erasmus.¹ "The diet will not terminate," wrote Brenz, "except by the destruction of all Germany."² "There will be a slaughter of the saints," exclaimed Bucer, "which will be such that the massacres of Diocletian will scarcely come up to it."³ War and blood!—this was the general cry.

Suddenly, on the night of Saturday, 6th August, a great disturbance broke out in the city of Augsburg.⁴ There was running to and fro in the streets; messengers from the emperor were galloping in every direction; the senate was called together and received an order to allow no one to pass the gates of the city.⁵ All were afoot in the imperial barracks; the soldiers got ready their arms; the regiments were drawn up, and at day-break (about three o'clock on Sunday morning) the emperor's troops, in opposition to the custom always observed in the diet, relieved the soldiers of the city and took possession of the gates. At the same time it was reported that these gates would not be opened, and that Charles had given orders to keep a strict watch upon the elector and his allies.⁶ A terrible awakening for those who still flattered themselves with seeing the religious debates conclude peacefully! Might not these unheard-of measures be the commencement of wars and the signal of a frightful massacre?

CHAPTER X.

Philip of Hesse—Temptation—Union resisted—The Landgrave's Dissimulation—The Emperor's Order to the Protestants—Brandenburg's threatening Speeches—Resolution of Philip of Hesse—Flight from Augsburg—Discovery—Charles's Emotion—Revolution in the Diet—Metamorphosis—Unusual Moderation—Peace! Peace!

TROUBLE and anger prevailed in the imperial palace, and it was the landgrave who had caused them. Firm as a rock in the

¹ *Vides rem plane tendere ad bellum.* (Corp. Ref. Aug. 12, p. 268.)

² *Comitia non finientur nisi totius Germaniæ malo et exitio.* (Corp. Ref. ii. 216.)

³ *Laniena sanctorum qualis vix Diocletiani tempore fuit.* (Buc. Epp. Aug. 14, 1530.)

⁴ *Tumultum magnum fuisse in civitate.* (Corp. Ref. ii. 277.)

⁵ *Facto autem intempesta nocte Caesar cunctis mandavit, ne quonquam per portas urbis sue emittant.* (Ibid.)

⁶ *Dass man auf den Churfurst zu Sachsen aufsehen haben soll.* (Brück, Apol. p. 80.)

midst of the tempest with which he was surrounded, Philip of Hesse had never bent his head to the blast. One day, in a public assembly, addressing the bishops, he had said to them, "My lords, give peace to the empire; we beg it of you. If you will not do so, and if I must fall, be sure that I will drag one or two of you along with me." They saw it was necessary to employ milder means with him, and the emperor endeavoured to gain him by showing a favourable disposition with respect to the county of Katzenellenbogen, about which he was at variance with Nassau, and to Württemberg, which he claimed for his cousin Ulric. On his side duke George of Saxony, his father-in-law, had assured him that he would make him his heir if he would submit to the pope. "They carried him to an exceeding high mountain, whence they showed him all the kingdoms of the world and the glory thereof,"¹ says a chronicler, but the landgrave resisted the temptation.

One day he heard that the emperor had manifested a desire to speak to him. He leapt instantly on his horse and appeared before Charles.² The latter, who had with him his secretary Schweiss and the bishop of Constance, represented that he had four complaints against him; namely, of having violated the edict of Worms, of despising the mass, of having, during his absence, excited all kinds of revolt, and, finally, of having transmitted to him a book in which his sovereign rights were attacked. The landgrave justified himself; and the emperor said that he accepted his replies, except with regard to the faith, and begged him to show himself in that respect entirely submissive to his majesty. "What would you say," added Charles, in a winning tone, "if I elevated you to the regal dignity?"³ But, if you show yourself rebellious to my orders, then I shall behave as becomes a Roman emperor."

These words exasperated the landgrave, but they did not move him. "I am in the flower of my age," replied he, "and I do not pretend to despise the joys of life and the favour of the great; but to the deceitful goods of this world I shall always

¹ Auf den hohen Berg geführt. (Lanze's Chronik.)

² Von ihr selbst gen Hof geritten. (Corp. Ref. ii. 165.)

³ Quin et in regem te evehendum curabimus. (Rommel, Philip der Gr. i. 268.)

prefer the ineffable grace of my God." Charles was stupified; he could not understand Philip.

From this time the landgrave had redoubled his exertions to unite the adherents of the Reformation. The Zwinglian cities felt that, whatever was the issue of the diet, they would be the first victims, unless the Saxons should give them their hand. But this there was some difficulty in obtaining.

"It does not appear to me useful to the public weal, or safe for the conscience," wrote Melancthon to Bucer, "to load our princes with all the hatred your doctrine inspires."¹ The Strasburgers replied, that the real cause of the Papists' hatred was not so much the doctrine of the eucharist as that of justification by faith. "All we, who desire to belong to Christ," said they, "are one, and have nothing to expect but death."^{2 3}

This was true; but another motive besides checked Melancthon. If all the Protestants united, they would feel their strength, and war would be inevitable. Therefore, then, no union!

The landgrave, threatened by the emperor, rejected by the theologians, began to ask himself what he did at Augsburg. The cup was full. Charles's refusal to communicate the Romish Refutation, except on inadmissible conditions, made it run over. Philip of Hesse saw but one course to take—to quit the city.

Scarcely had the emperor made known the conditions which he placed on the communication of the reply, than on Friday evening, 5th August, the landgrave, going alone to the count-palatine, Charles's minister, had begged for an immediate audience with his majesty. Charles, who did not care to see him, pretended to be busy, and had put off Philip until the following Sunday.⁴ But the latter answered that he could not wait; that his wife, who was dangerously ill, entreated him to

¹ *Nostros principes onerare invidia vestri dogmatis.* (Corp. Ref. ii. 221.)

² *Aretissime quoque inter nos conjuncti essemus, quotquot Christi esse volumus.* (Ibid. p. 236.)

³ Erasmus in his short letter to Melancthon, dated August 12th, informs him that the citizens of Basel were taking serious precautionary measures, as if in the immediate prospect of war.—D. D. S.

⁴ *Cum imperator dilationem respondendi astu quodam accepisset.* (Corp. Ref. ii. pp. 254, 276.)

return to Hesse without delay; and that, being one of the youngest princes, the meanest in understanding, and useless to Charles, he humbly begged his majesty would permit him to leave on the morrow. The emperor refused.¹

We may well understand the storms this refusal excited in Philip's mind: but he knew how to contain himself; never had he appeared more tranquil; during the whole of Saturday (6th August), he seemed occupied only with a magnificent tourney in honour of the emperor and of his brother Ferdinand.² He prepared for it publicly; his servants went to and fro, but under that din of horses and of armour, Philip concealed very different designs. "The landgrave conducts himself with very great moderation," wrote Melanchthon to Luther the same day.³ "He told me openly that, to preserve peace, he would submit to conditions still harder than those which the emperor imposes on us, and accept all that he could without dishonouring the Gospel."

Yet Charles was not at ease. The landgrave's demand pursued him; all the Protestants might do the same, and even quit Augsburg unexpectedly. The clue, that he had hitherto so skilfully held in his hands, was perhaps about to be broken: it was better to be violent than ridiculous. The emperor therefore resolved on striking a decisive blow. The elector, the princes, the deputies, were still in Augsburg: and he must at every risk prevent their leaving it. Such were the heavy thoughts that on the night of the 6th August, while the Protestants were calmly sleeping,⁴ banished repose from Charles's

¹ Erasmus took quite the same view that Luther had done when he laughed at the idea of France, Clement VII. and the Venetians becoming Imperialists. In writing to Melanchthon on the 12th of August he says: *Pontifici spectaculum non ingratum exhibebunt Germani sese mutui laniena c nificientes* [The Germans will present no ungrateful spectacle to the pope while dispatching themselves with mutual butchery]. But it was a spectacle with which the emperor and his wisest counsellors, such as Gattinara had been, by no means wished to gratify either Mr. Par-ma-foy or Mr. In-nomine-domini, as Luther facetiously styled Francis I. and the pope. This affords a clue at once to Charles's eagerness to gain over the Protestants, and to his reluctance to break with them; and it explains at the same time the recklessness with which the creatures of the pope, and all whose fortunes were bound up with those of the popedom, precipitated such a rupture. See Corp. Ref. p. 268.—D. D. S.

² *Ad ludos equestres in honorem Cæsaris instituendos publice sese apparavit.* (Seck. ii. 172.)

³ *Landgravius valde moderate se gerit.* (Corp. Ref. ii. 254.)

⁴ *Ego vero somno sopitus duleiter quiescebam.* (Ibid. 273.)

eyes; and which made him hastily arouse the councillors of Augsburg, and send his messengers and soldiers through the streets of the city.

The Protestant princes were still slumbering, when they received, on the part of the emperor, the unexpected order to repair immediately to the Hall of the Chapter.¹

It was eight o'clock when they arrived. They found there the electors of Brandenburg and Maintz, the dukes of Saxony, Brunswick, and Mecklenburg, the bishops of Salzburg, Spire, and Strasburg, George Truchses, the margrave of Baden's representative, count Martin of Celting, the abbot of Weingarten, and the provost of Bamberg. These were the commissioners nominated by Charles to terminate this great affair.

It was the most decided among them, Joachim of Brandenburg, who began to speak. "You know," said he to the Protestants, "with what mildness the emperor has endeavoured to re-establish unity. If some abuses have crept into the Christian Church, he is ready to correct them, in conjunction with the pope. But how contrary to the Gospel are the sentiments you have adopted! Abandon then your errors, do not any longer remain separate from the Church, and sign the Refutation without delay."² If you refuse, then through your fault how many souls will be lost, how much blood shed, what countries laid waste, what trouble in all the empire! And you," said he, turning towards the elector, "your electorate, your life, all will be torn from you, and certain ruin will fall upon your subjects, and even upon their wives and children."

The elector remained motionless. At any time this language would have been alarming: it was still more so now that the city was almost in a state of siege. "We now understand," said the Protestants to one another, "why the imperial guards occupy the gates of the city."³ It was evident, indeed, that the emperor intended violence.⁴

The Protestants were unanimous: surrounded with soldiers,

¹ *Mane facto Cæsar...convocavit nostros principes.* (Corp. Ref. ii. 277; Brück, Apol. p. 79.)

² *Ut sententiæ quam in refutatione audivissent subseribant.* (Corp. Ref. ii. 277.)

³ *Intelligis nunc cur portæ munitæ fuerunt.* (Ibid.)

⁴ *Quia volebat Cæsar nostros violentia ad suam sententiâ cogere.* (Ibid.)

at the very gates of the prison, and beneath the thousand swords of Charles, they remained firm. All these threats did not make them take one step backwards.¹ It was important for them, however, to consider their reply. They begged for a few minutes' delay, and retired.

To submit voluntarily, or to be reduced by force, such was the dilemma Charles proposed to the evangelical Christians.

At the moment when each was anxious about the issue of this struggle, in which the destinies of Christianity were contending, an alarming rumour suddenly raised the agitation of all minds to its height.

The landgrave, in the midst of his preparations for the tournament, meditated the most serious resolution. Excluded by Charles from every important deliberation, irritated at the treatment the Protestants had undergone during this diet,² convinced that they had no more chance of peace,³ not doubting that their liberty was greatly endangered in Augsburg, and feeling unable to conceal under the appearance of moderation the indignation with which his soul was filled, being besides of a quick, prompt, and resolute character, Philip had decided on quitting the city and repairing to his states, in order to act freely, and to serve as a support to the Reformation.

But what mystery was required! If the landgrave was taken in the act, no doubt he would be put under arrest. This daring step might therefore become the signal of those extreme measures from which he longed to escape.

It was Saturday, the 6th August, the day for which Philip had requested the emperor's leave of absence. He waits until the commencement of the night, and then, about eight o'clock, disguised in a foreign dress, without bidding farewell to any of his friends,⁴ and taking every imaginable precaution,⁵ he makes for the gates of the city, about the time when they are usually closed. Five or six cavaliers follow him singly, and

¹ Sed hæc minime nostros nihil commoverunt: perstant in sententia, nec vel tantillum recedunt. (Corp. Ref. ii. 277.)

² Commotus indignitate actionum. (Ibid. 260.)

³ Spem pacis abjecisse. (Ibid.)

⁴ Clam omnibus abijt. (Ibid.)

⁵ Multa cum cautela. (Seck. ii. 172.)

at a little distance.¹ In so critical a moment will not these men-at-arms attract attention? Philip traverses the streets without danger, approaches the gate,² passes with a careless air through the midst of the guard, between the scattered soldiers; no one moves, all remain idly seated, as if nothing extraordinary was going on. Philip has passed without being recognised.³ His five or six horsemen come through in like manner. Behold them all at last in the open country. The little troop immediately spur their horses, and flee with headlong speed far from the walls of the imperial city.

Yet Philip has taken his measures so well, that no one as yet suspects his departure. When during the night Charles occupies the gates with his own guards, he thinks the landgrave still in the city.⁴ When the Protestants were assembled at eight in the morning in the Chapter-hall, the princes of both parties were a little astonished at the absence of Philip of Hesse. They were accustomed, however, to see him keep aloof, and thought he might be out of humour. No one imagined he was between twelve and fifteen leagues from Augsburg.

After the termination of the conference, and as all were returning to their hotels, the elector of Brandenburg and his friends on the one hand, elated at the speech they had delivered, the elector of Saxony and his allies on the other, resolved to sacrifice everything, inquiries were made at the landgrave's lodgings as to the reason of his absence; they closely questioned Saltz, Nuszbieker, Mayer and Schnepf. At last the Hessian councillors could no longer keep the secret. "The landgrave," said they, "has returned to Hesse."

This news circulated immediately through all the city, and shook it like the explosion of a mine. Charles especially, who

¹ *Clam cum paucis equitibus.* (Corp. Ref. ii. 277.) Mit 5 oder 6 pferden. (Ibid. 263.)

² Seckendorf, and M. de Rommel no doubt after him, say that the landgrave went out through a secret gate (*porta urbis secretiori*, Seck. ii. 172; Rommel, i. 270). I prefer the contemporary evidence, particularly that of Brenz, which says: *Vesperis priusquam portæ urbis clauderentur, urbe elapsus est.* (Corp. Ref. ii. 277.) The chief magistrate of Augsburg, who alone had the keys of the wicket, would never have dared to favour the departure of the landgrave.

³ *Abierat ille ignotus.* (Corp. Ref. 261.)

⁴ *Existimabat enim Cæsar adhuc præsto adesse.* (Ibid.)

found himself mocked and frustrated in his expectations—Charles, who had not had the least suspicion,¹ trembled, and was enraged.² The Protestants, whom the landgrave had not admitted to his secret,³ were as much astonished as the Roman Catholics themselves, and feared that this inconsiderate departure might be the immediate signal for a terrible persecution. There was only Luther, who, the moment he heard of Philip's proceeding, highly approved of it, and exclaimed: "Of a truth all these delays and indignities are enough to fatigue more than one landgrave."⁴

The chancellor of Hesse gave the elector of Saxony a letter that his master had left for him. Philip spoke in this ostensible document of his wife's health; but he had charged his ministers to inform the elector in private of the real causes of his departure. He announced, moreover, that he had given orders to his ministers to assist the Protestants in all things, and exhorted his allies to permit themselves in no manner to be turned aside from the Word of God.⁵ "As for me," said he, "I shall fight for the Word of God, at the risk of my goods, my states, my subjects, and my life."

The effect of the landgrave's departure was instantaneous: a real revolution was then effected in the diet. The elector of Maintz and the bishops of Franconia, Philip's near neighbours, imagined they already saw him on their frontiers at the head of a powerful army, and replied to the archbishop of Salzburg, who expressed astonishment at their alarm: "Ah! if you were in our place you would do the same." Ferdinand, knowing the intimate relations of Philip with the duke of Würtemberg, trembled for the estates of this prince, at that time usurped by Austria; and Charles V., undeceived with regard to those princes whom he had believed so timid, and whom he had treated with so much arrogance, had no doubt that this sudden step of Philip's had been maturely deliberated in the

¹ *Cæsare nihil suspicante.* (Corp. Ref. 277.)

² *Imperator re insperata commotus.* (Seck. ii. 172.)

³ *Unwissend des Churfürsten von Sachsen und unserer.* (Corp. Ref. ii. 263.)

⁴ *Es möchte wohl ista mora et indignitas nocheinen landgraven müde machen.* (L. Epp. iv. 134.)

⁵ *Ut nullo modo a verbo Dei abstrahi aut terreri se patiatur.* (Seck. ii. 172.)

common council of the Protestants. All saw a declaration of war in the landgrave's hasty departure. They called to mind that at the moment when they thought the least about it, they might see him appear at the head of his soldiers, on the frontiers of his enemies, and no one was ready; no one even wished to be ready! A thunderbolt had fallen in the midst of the diet. They repeated the news to one another, with troubled eyes and affrighted looks. All was confusion in Augsburg; and couriers bore afar, in every direction, astonishment and consternation.

This alarm immediately converted the enemies of the reform. The violence of Charles and of the princes was broken in this memorable night as if by enchantment; and the furious wolves were suddenly transformed into meek and docile lambs.¹

It was still Sunday morning: Charles V. immediately convoked the diet for the afternoon.² "The landgrave has quitted Augsburg," said count Frederick from the emperor; "his majesty flatters himself that even the friends of that prince were ignorant of his departure. It is without the emperor's knowledge, and even in defiance of his express prohibition, that Philip of Hesse has left, thus failing in all his duties. He has wished to put the diet out of joint.³ But the emperor conjures you not to permit yourselves to be led astray by him, and to contribute rather to the happy issue of this national assembly. His majesty's gratitude will thus be secured to you."

The Protestants replied, that the departure of the landgrave had taken place without their knowledge; that they had heard of it with pain, and that they would have dissuaded him. Nevertheless they did not doubt that this prince had solid reasons for such a step; besides he had left his councillors with full powers, and that, as for them, they were ready to do everything to conclude the diet in a becoming manner. Then, confident in their rights, and decided to resist Charles's arbitrary acts, they continued: "It is pretended that the gates were closed on

¹ Sed hanc violentiam abitus Landgravii interrupit. (Corp. Ref. p. 277.)

² Nam cum paucis post horis resciscunt Landgravium clapsum, convocant iterum nostros. (Ibid.)

³ Zertrennung dieses Reichstags zu verursachen. (Ibid. 264.)

our account. We beg your majesty to revoke this order, and to prevent any similar orders being given in future."

Never was Charles V. less at ease; he had just spoken as a father, and they remind him that a few hours back he had acted like a tyrant. Some subterfuge was requisite. "It is not on your account," replied the count-palatine, "that the emperor's soldiers occupy the gates.....Do not believe those who tell you so.....Yesterday there was a quarrel between two soldiers,¹ and a mob was collected.....This is why the emperor took this step. Besides, such things will not be done again without the elector of Saxony, in his quality of marshal of the empire, being first informed of them." An order was given immediately to re-open the gates.

No exertions were now spared by the Roman party to convince the Protestants of their good will: there was an unaccustomed mildness in the language of the count-palatine and in the looks of Charles.² The princes of the papal party, once so terrible, were similarly transformed. They had been hastily forced to speak out; if they desired war, they must begin it instantly.

But they shrunk back at this frightful prospect. How, with the enthusiasm that animated the Protestants, take up arms against them! Were not the abuses of the Church everywhere acknowledged, and could the Roman princes be sure of their own subjects? Besides, what would be the issue of a war but the increase of the emperor's power? The Roman catholic states, and the duke of Bavaria in particular, would have been glad to see Charles at war with the Protestants, in the hope that he would thus consume his strength; but it was, on the contrary, with their own soldiers that the emperor designed attacking the heretics. Henceforth they rejected the instrumentality of arms as eagerly as they had at first desired it.

Everything had thus changed in Augsburg: the Romish party was paralyzed, disheartened, and even broken up. The sword already drawn was hastily thrust back into the sheath. Peace! peace! was the cry of all.

¹ Es habe ein Trabant mit einem andern ein Unwill gehabt. (Corp. Ref. ii. 265.)

² Nullo alio tempore mitius et benignius quam tunc cum protestantibus egerit. (Seck. ii. 172.)

CHAPTER XI.

The Mixed Commission—The Three Points—Romish Dissimulation—Abuses—Concessions—The Main Question—Bishops and Pope conceded—Danger of Concession—Opposition to the pretended Concord—Luther's opposing Letters—The Word above the Church—Melancthon's Blindness—Papist Infatuation—A new Commission—Be Men and not Women—The Two Phantoms—Concessions—The Three Points—The great Antithesis—Failure of Conciliation—The Gordian Knot—A Council granted—Charles's Summons—Menaces—Altercations—Peace or War—Romanism concedes—Protestantism resists—Luther recalls his Friends.

THE diet now entered upon its third phasis, and as the time of tentatives had been followed by that of menaces; now that of arrangements was to succeed the period of threatenings. New and more formidable dangers were then to be encountered by the Reformation. Rome, beholding the sword torn from its grasp, had seized the net, and enlacing her adversaries with "cords of humanity and bands of love," was endeavouring to drag them gently into the abyss.

At eight o'clock in the morning of the 16th August, a mixed commission was framed, which counted on each side two princes, two lawyers, and three theologians. In the Romish party, there were duke Henry of Brunswick, the bishop of Augsburg, the chancellors of Baden and Cologne, with Eck, Cochlæus, and Wimpina; on the part of the Protestants, were the margrave George of Brandenburg, the prince electoral of Saxony, the chancellors Brück and Heller, with Melancthon, Brenz, and Schnepf.¹

They agreed to take as basis the Confession of the evangelical states, and began to read it article by article. The Romish theologians displayed an unexpected condescension. Out of twenty-one dogmatical articles, there were only six or seven to which they made any objection. Original Sin stopped them some time; at length they came to an understanding; the Protestants admitted that Baptism removed the guilt of the sin, and the Papists agreed that it did not wash away concu-

¹ F. Urkundenbuch, ii. 219.

piscence. As for the Church, they granted that it contained sanctified men and sinners; they coincided also on Confession. The Protestants rejected especially as impossible the enumeration of all the sins prescribed by Rome. Dr. Eck yielded this point.¹

There remained three doctrines only on which they differed.

The first was that of Penance. The Romish doctors taught that it contained three parts: contrition, confession, and satisfaction. The Protestants rejected the latter, and the Romanists clearly perceiving that with satisfaction would fall indulgences, purgatory, and other of their doctrines and profits, vigorously maintained it. "We agree," said they, "that the penance imposed by the priest does not procure remission of the guilt of sin: but we maintain that it is necessary to obtain remission of the penalty.

The second controverted point was the Invocation of Saints; and the third, and principal one, Justification by Faith. It was of the greatest importance for the Romanists to maintain the meritorious influence of works: all their system in reality was based on that. Eck therefore haughtily declared war on the assertion that faith alone justifies. "That word *sole*," said he, "we cannot tolerate. It generates scandals, and renders men brutal and impious. Let us send back the *sole* to the cobbler."²

But the Protestants would not listen to such reasoning; and even when they put the question to each other, Shall we maintain that faith alone justifies us gratuitously? "Undoubtedly, undoubtedly," exclaimed one of them with exag-geration, "*gratuitously and uselessly*."³ They even adduced strange authorities: "Plato," said they, "declares that it is not by external works, but by virtue that God is to be adored; and every one knows these verses of Cato's:

Si deus est animus, nobis ut carmina dicunt,
Hic tibi præcipue pura sit mente colendus."⁴

"Certainly," resumed the Romish theologians: "it is only

¹ Die Sünd die man nicht wisse, die durff man nicht beichten. (F. Urk. ii. 228.)

² Man soll die *Sole* ein weil zum Schuster schicken. (Ibid 225.) This wretched pun of Eck's requires no comment.

³ Omnino, omnino, addendum etiam *frustra*. (Seultet. p. 289.)

⁴ If God is a spirit, as the poets teach, he should be worshipped with a pure mind.

of works performed with grace that we speak; but we say that in such works there is something meritorious." The Protestants declared they could not grant it.

They had approximated however beyond all hope. The Roman theologians, clearly understanding their position, had purposed to appear agreed rather than be so in reality. Every one knew, for instance, that the Protestants rejected transubstantiation: but the article of the Confession on this point, being able to be taken in the Romish sense, the Papists had admitted it. Their triumph only was deferred. The general expressions that were used on the controverted points, would permit somewhat later a Romish interpretation to be given to the Confession; ecclesiastical authority would declare this the only true one; and Rome, thanks to a few moments of dissimulation, would thus reascend the throne. Have we not seen in our own days the Thirty-nine Articles of the Anglican Church interpreted in accordance with the Council of Trent? There are causes in which falsehood is never wanting. This plot was as skilfully executed, as it was profoundly conceived.

The commissioners were on the best terms with one another, and concord seemed restored. One single uneasiness disturbed that happy moment: the idea of the landgrave: "Ignorant that we are almost agreed," said they, "this young madbrain is doubtless already assembling his army; we must bring him back, and make him a witness of our cordial union." On the morning of the 13th, one of the members of the Commission (duke Henry of Brunswick), accompanied by a councillor of the emperor, set out to discharge this difficult mission.¹ Duke George of Saxony supplied his place as arbitrator.

They now passed from the first part of the Confession to the second: from doctrines to abuses. Here the Romish theologians could not yield so easily, for if they appeared to agree with the Protestants, it was all over with the honour and power of the hierarchy. It was accordingly for this period of the combat that they had reserved their cunning and their strength.

They began by approaching the Protestants as near as they

¹ Brunswigus coactus est abire πρὸς τὸν Μαξιμὸν quem timent contrahere exercitum. (Sculdet. p. 299.)

could, for the more they granted, the more they might draw the Reform to them and stifle it. "We think," said they, "that with the permission of his holiness, and the approbation of his majesty, we shall be able to permit, until the next council, the communion in both kinds, wherever it is practised already; only, your ministers should preach at Easter, that it is not of divine institution, and that Christ is wholly in each kind."¹

"Moreover, as for the married priests," continued they, "desirous of sparing the poor women whom they have seduced, of providing for the maintenance of their innocent children, and of preventing every kind of scandal, we will tolerate them until the next council, and we shall then see if it will not be right to decree that married men may be admitted to holy orders, as was the case in the primitive Church for many centuries."²

"Finally, we acknowledge that the sacrifice of the mass is a mystery, a representation, a sacrifice of commemoration, a memorial of the sufferings and death of Christ, accomplished on the cross."³

This was yielding much: but the turn of the Protestants was come; for if Rome appeared to give, it was only to take in return.

The grand question was the Church, its maintenance and government: who should provide for it? They could see only two means: princes or bishops. If they feared the bishops, they must decide for the princes: if they feared the princes, they must decide for the bishops. They were at that time too distant from the normal state to discover a third solution, and to perceive that the Church ought to be maintained by the Church itself—by the Christian people. "Secular princes in the long-run will be defaulters to the government of the Church," said the Saxon divines in the opinion they presented on the 18th August; "they are not fit to execute it, and besides it would cost them too dear:"⁴ the bishops, on the contrary, have property destined to provide for this charge."

¹ Vorschläge des Anschlusses der Sieben des Gegentheils. (Urk. ii, 251.)

² Wie von alters in der ersten Kirche etliche Hundert Jahre, in Gebrauch gewesen. (Ibid. 254.)

³ Zu Erinnerung und Gedächtniss. (Ibid. 253.)

⁴ Ist Ihnen auch nicht möglich. Dazu kostet es zu viel. (Ibid. 247.)

Thus the presumed incapacity of the state, and the fear they entertained of its indifference, threw the Protestants into the arms of the hierarchy.

They proposed, therefore, to restore to the bishops their jurisdiction, the maintenance of discipline, and the superintendence of the priests, provided they did not persecute the evangelical doctrine, or oppress the pastors with impious vows and burdens. "We may not," added they, "without strong reasons rend that order by which bishops are over priests, and which existed in the Church from the beginning. It is dangerous before the Lord to change the order of governments." Their argument is not founded upon the Bible, as may be seen, but upon ecclesiastical history.

The Protestant divines went even farther, and, taking a last step that seemed decisive, they consented to acknowledge the pope as being (but of human right) supreme bishop of Christendom. "Although the pope is Antichrist, we may be under his government, as the Jews were under Pharaoh, and in later days under Caiaphas." We must confess these two comparisons were not flattering to the pope. "Only," added the doctors, "let sound doctrine be fully accorded to us."¹

¹ Irrespective of the want of scriptural ground for any such office or dignity as the popedom, a knowledge of human nature might have warned the Protestants against consenting to acknowledge it. Robert Hall, in his sermon on the death of the princess Charlotte, has admirably analyzed the process by which persons in eminent situations, while liable to be envied by others but a little removed from them in rank and wealth, are naturally idolized by the multitude, whose sympathy with their supposed felicity is unchecked by any such passion. Now this applies with peculiar force to the case of a mortal placed in the presumed vicariat of Christ himself, and regarded as *the head over all things to the Church*, as well as the Church's head. Personal unpopularity indeed, or a dislike to their government, has often made the popes detested among the Romans and Italians, who see and suffer directly from their weaknesses and vices. But where these are less known, or where a pope has attractive qualities, that dignity obviously presents a charm to the naturally idolatrous tendency of the human heart. Pius VI. affords a striking example of both principles. He was little respected by those near him—least of all by the sacred college. But he affected popularity, and his faults were little known or appreciated in the Roman Catholic population of Austria. When he visited Vienna accordingly, he was received in a manner that equally revolts a Protestant whether he looks to the pope or the people. The author of the "Hist. and Phil. Memoirs of Pius VI." informs us that "crowds of twenty and thirty thousand persons assembled in the streets that lead to the emperor's residence, calling with loud cries for the benediction of the pope. All the avenues to it were blocked up, and more than once a day Pius VI. was obliged to appear in his balcony and to bestow upon the impatient crowd the cheap favour which they implored with so much ardour. Scarcely were they thus dismissed when their place was occupied by another multitude, ambitious of the same honour. The

The chancellor Brück alone appears to have been conscious of the truth: he wrote on the margin with a firm hand: "We cannot acknowledge the pope, because we say he is Antichrist, and because he claims the primacy by divine right."¹

Finally, the Protestant theologians consented to agree with Rome as regards indifferent ceremonies, fasts, and forms of worship; and the elector engaged to put under sequestration the ecclesiastical property already secularized, until the decision of the next council.

Never was the conservative spirit of Lutheranism more clearly manifested. "We have promised our adversaries to concede to them certain points of church government, that may be granted

'influx' of strangers into Vienna was so prodigious, that apprehensions of a want of provisions were for some time entertained. People crowded from the most distant parts of the hereditary states." (Vol. i. p. 249.) It is well that poverty prevents the popes from travelling. Were one, of as bold and astute a character as that of Pius VI. was yielding and simple, to appear in Dublin, the British government would require more than even Joseph II.'s firmness to resist the concessions that might in that case be demanded from it. But the idolatry of the Austrians on the above occasion went beyond the worship of the pope's person. "No one is ignorant," says the above author, "of the sort of worship which the Roman pontiffs suffered (suffer?) to be paid to the most ignoble part of their dress. Pius VI. had foreseen that it would not be refused by the superstitious people of Vienna, and had not forgot his slipper. It was placed upon a cushion in the audience chamber, and was kissed by all the ecclesiastics who presented themselves in crowds, by many devotees of every class, and even by many persons attracted by curiosity alone, who wished to enjoy the malicious pleasure of playing their part in the most ridiculous scene, perhaps, that superstition ever invented to debase mankind. The holy slipper was even carried about as a relic to several of the most distinguished houses of Vienna," . . . (pp. 249, 250.)

Cardinal Pacca, in his "Notes on his Ministry as Secretary of State to Pope Pius VII.," mentions various instances of the religious regard paid to that pontiff, even at a time when all things seemed to conspire against the popedom. In a prefatory letter, addressed to his brother, he passes a splendid eulogy on the high character borne by the popes in general on the pages of history, although we doubt not St. Peter would find some difficulty in recognising appropriate successors, not only in the wicked popes whom the cardinal admits to have at times been placed on the pontifical chair, but even in the great and wise ones, whose chief merit lay, it would seem, in making Rome, in rivalry of the Roman emperors, more majestic and august, and extorting from Napoleon Bonaparte the somewhat doubtful compliment that the popedom itself was "the *chef-d'œuvre* of genius and human policy!" These recommendations do not seem to have influenced the discussions on the subject of the papal supremacy, at Augsburg. Melancthon's objections will be found at p. 318 of vol. ii. of the Corp. Ref. We find among them our Lord's rebuking his disciples whenever they contended about pre-eminence; Paul's commissioning Timothy, not Peter, to appoint bishops; the impossibility of maintaining such a primacy over the whole Christian world when extended to all parts of the globe; and Jerome's holding that presbyter and bishop were one degree. It were a strange mode of meeting such objections to point to the political services of the popes to Rome and to Europe. Dr. M. d'Aubigné has clearly disposed of the papal claims in his Introduction to the Glasgow edition of Ranke's Popes.—D. D. S.

¹ Cum dicimus eum Antichristum. (Urk. ii. 247.)

without wounding the conscience," wrote Melanchthon.¹ But it began to be very doubtful whether ecclesiastical concessions would not drag with them doctrinal concessions also. The Reformation was drifting away.....still a few more fathoms, and it would be lost. Already disunion, trouble, and affright were spreading among its ranks. "Melanchthon has become more childish than a child," said one of his friends;² and yet he was so excited that the chancellor of Luneburg having made some objections to these unprecedented concessions, the little master of arts proudly raised his head, and said with a sharp, harsh tone of voice: "He who dares assert that the means indicated are not Christian is a liar and a scoundrel."³ On which the chancellor immediately repaid him in his own coin. These expressions cannot, however, detract from Melanchthon's reputation for mildness. After so many useless efforts, he was exhausted, irritated, and his words cut the deeper, as they were the less expected from him. He was not the only one demoralized. Brenz appeared clumsy, rude, and uncivil; chancellor Keller had misled the pious margrave of Brandenburg, and transformed the courage of this prince into pusillanimity: no other human support remained to the elector than his chancellor Brück. And even this firm man began to grow alarmed at his isolation.

But he was not alone: the most earnest protests were received from without. "If it is true that you are making such concessions," said their affrighted friends to the Saxon divines, "Christian liberty is at an end."⁴ What is your pretended concord? a thick cloud that you raise in the air to eclipse the sun that was beginning to illumine the Church.⁵ Never will the Christian people accept conditions so opposed to the Word of God; and your only gain will be furnishing the enemies of the Gospel with a specious pretext to butcher those who remain faithful to it." Among the laymen these convictions were

¹ Nos politica quedam concessuros quæ sine offensione conscientiar. (Corp. Ref. ii. 302.)

² Philippus ist kindischer denn ein Kind worden. (Baumgartner, Ibid. 363.)

³ Der Lüge als ein Boscwichst. (Ibid. 364.)

⁴ Actum est de christiana libertate. (Ibid. 295.)

⁵ Quid ea concordia aliud esset quam natæ jam et divulgatæ luci obducere (Ibid. 296.)

general. "Better die with Jesus Christ," said all Augsburg,¹ "than gain the favour of the whole world without him!"

No one felt so much alarm as Luther when he saw the glorious edifice that God had raised by his hands on the point of falling to ruin in those of Melanchthon. The day on which this news arrived, he wrote five letters,—to the elector, to Melanchthon, to Spalatin, to Jonas, and to Brenz, all equally filled with courage and with faith.

"I learn," said he, "that you have begun a marvellous work, namely, to reconcile Luther and the pope; but the pope will not be reconciled, and Luther begs to be excused."² And if, in despite of them, you succeed in this affair, then after your example I will bring together Christ and Belial.

"The world I know is full of wranglers who obscure the doctrine of justification by faith, and of fanatics who persecute it. Do not be astonished at it, but continue to defend it with courage, for it is the heel of the seed of the woman that shall bruise the head of the serpent."³

"Beware also of the jurisdiction of the bishops, for fear we should soon have to recommence a more terrible struggle than the first. They will take our concessions widely, very widely, always more widely, and will give us theirs narrowly, very narrowly, and always more narrowly."⁴ All these negotiations are impossible, unless the pope should renounce his papacy.

"A pretty motive indeed our adversaries assign! They cannot, say they, restrain their subjects, if we do not publish everywhere that they have the truth on their side: as if God only taught his Word, that our enemies might at pleasure tyrannize over their people.

"They cry out that we condemn all the Church. No, we do not condemn it; but as for them, they condemn all the Word of God, and the Word of God is more than the Church."⁵

¹ Die ganze Stadt sagt. (Baumgartner, Corp. Ref. ii. 297.)

² Sed Papa nolet et Lutherus deprecatur. (L. Epp. iv. 144.)

³ Nam hic est ille unicus calcaneus seminis antiquo serpenti adversantis. (Ibid. 151.)

⁴ Ipsi enim nostras concessionem large, largius, largissime, suas vero, stricte, strictius, strictissime. (Ibid. 145.)

⁵ Sed ab ipsis totum verbum Dei, quod plus quam ecclesia est, damnari. (Ibid. 145.)

This important declaration of the reformers decides the controversy between the evangelical Christians and the Papacy: unfortunately we have often seen Protestants return, on this fundamental point, to the error of Rome, and set the visible Church above the Word of God.

"I write to you now," continues Luther, "to believe with all of us (and that through obedience to Jesus Christ), that Campeggio is a famous demon.¹ I cannot tell how violently I am agitated by the conditions which you propose. The plan of Campeggio and the pope has been to try us first by threats, and then, if these do not succeed, by stratagems; you have triumphed over the first attack, and sustained the terrible coming of Cæsar; now, then, for the second. Act with courage, and yield nothing to the adversaries, except what can be proved with evidence from the very Word of God.

"But if, which Christ forbid! you do not put forward all the Gospel; if, on the contrary, you shut up that glorious eagle in a sack; Luther—doubt it not!—Luther will come and gloriously deliver the eagle.² As certainly as Christ lives, that shall be done!"

Thus spoke Luther, but in vain: everything in Augsburg was tending towards approaching ruin; Melancthon had a bandage over his eyes that nothing could tear of. He no longer listened to Luther, and cared not for popularity. "It does not become us," said he, "to be moved by the clamours of the vulgar:³ we must think of peace and of posterity.⁴ If we

¹ Quod Campeggius est unus magnus et insignis diabolus. (L. Epp. iv. 147.)

² Veniet, ne dubita, veniet Lutherus, hanc aquilam liberaturus magnifice. (Ibid. 155.)

³ Sed nos nihil deest vulgi clamoribus moveri. (Corp. Ref. ii. 303.)

⁴ How far Luther and Melancthon differed with regard to the incompatibility of the Evangelical with the Romish theology, is clearly indicated by comparing the minimum of three articles, to which the latter had reduced the difference between them, with the long "Admonition" sent by the former to the Augsburg divines, just before Charles left Inspruck. After commenting on many points in the strongest language, he apologizes for not going farther, and with a prayer that God would so aid them at Augsburg that it might not be found necessary to have all to do over again, he proceeds to contrast the subjects and articles that necessarily occupied the attention of the evangelical church with those that formed the grand themes of the Roman theology. The former amount in all to thirty-two—the latter to above a hundred, indeed he pronounces them innumerable. On comparing the two lists, one is reminded of the Scripture declaration that God made man upright, but he hath found out many inventions. In the one list we find such subjects of inquiry as these: What the Law is—What the Gospel—

repeal the episcopal jurisdiction, what will be the consequence to our descendants? The secular powers care nothing about the interests of religion.¹ Besides, too much dissimilarity in the churches is injurious to peace: we must unite with the bishops, lest the infamy of schism should overwhelm us for ever."²

The evangelicals too readily listened to Melancthon, and vigorously laboured to bind to the papacy by the bonds of the hierarchy that Church which God had so wonderfully emancipated. Protestantism rushed blindfold into the nets of its enemies. Already serious voices announced the return of the Lutherans into the bosom of the Romish Church. "They are preparing their defection, and are passing over to the Papists," said Zwingli.³ The politic Charles V. acted in such a manner that no haughty word should compromise the victory; but the Romish clergy could not master themselves: their pride and insolence increased every day. "One would never believe,"

What Sin—What Grace—What the gift of the Holy Ghost—What proper Penance or Repentance—How a man properly confesses—What Faith is—What the Forgiveness of sins—What Christian liberty—What Freewill—What Love or Charity is—What the Cross—What Hope—Baptism—the Mass (that is, the Communion)—What the Church—the Keys—a Bishop—a Deacon—the Office of preaching—right Catechising, as the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer and the Creed—What proper Prayer is—the Litany—Reading and Reading out of Scripture—What is meant by Good Works—The instruction of the wedded state, of children, of young men and young women—Respect due to Superiors—Schools for children—Visitation of the Sick—Care for the Poor and Hospitals—Preparation of the Dying for death.

Luther's noting these several points, probably indicates that they were those which as a minister of the Gospel he desired to keep always in view as a guide in preaching and in active duty. And yet he immediately adds: "Such points no bishop has ever handled," and laments the deplorable ignorance that prevailed with respect to them.

Those things which he contrasts with the above as having been in use and wont in the hypocritical churches (*der gleissend-n Kirchen*) are too numerous to be quoted. They begin as follows:—Indulgence—Mass offerings and these in countless ways—Excommunication only abused—Purgatory—Hobgoblins—Innumerable pilgrimages—and so on.

On the whole we see in Luther with all his learning a man of the people, whose eye was always open to what was doing in the world around him, whereas Melancthon was more a man of the closet and close study, who derived his views of Romanism, not so much from the practical superstitions that had everywhere overlaid the Gospel and only made men bigots or hypocrites, but from the works of divines and schoolmen where the germs of error and corruption were disguised under a show of learning or devotion.—D. D. S.

¹ Profani jurisdictionem ecclesiasticam et similia negotia religionem non curent. (Corp. Ref. ii. 303.)

² Ne schismatis infamia perpetuo laboremus. (Ibid.)

³ Lutherani defectionem parant ad Papistas. (Zw. Epp. ii. 461.)

said Melancthon, "the airs of triumph which the Papists give themselves." There was good reason! the agreement was on the verge of conclusion: yet one or two steps.....and then, woe to the Reformation!

Who could prevent this desolating ruin? It was Luther who pronounced the name towards which all eyes should be turned: "Christ lives," said he, "and He by whom the violence of our enemies has been conquered will give us strength to surmount their wiles." This, which was in truth the only resource, did not disappoint the Reformation.

If the Roman hierarchy had been willing, under certain admissible conditions, to receive the Protestants who were ready to capitulate, all would have been over with them. When once it held them in its arms, it would have stifled them; but God blinded the Papacy, and thus saved his Church. "No concessions," had declared the Romish senate; and Campeggio, elated with his victory, repeated, "No concessions!" He moved heaven and earth to inflame the Catholic zeal of Charles in this decisive moment. From the emperor he passed to the princes. "Celibacy, confession, the withdrawal of the cup, private masses!" exclaimed he: "all these are obligatory: we must have all." This was saying to the evangelical Christians, as the Samnites to the ancient Romans: "Here are the Caudine Forks; pass through them!"

The Protestants saw the yoke, and shuddered. God revived the courage of confessors in their weakened hearts. They raised their heads, and rejected this humiliating capitulation. The commission was immediately dissolved.

This was a great deliverance; but soon appeared a fresh danger. The evangelical Christians ought immediately to have quitted Augsburg; but, said one of them,¹ "Satan, disguised as an angel of light, blinded the eyes of their understanding." They remained.

All was not yet lost for Rome, and the spirit of falsehood and of cunning might again renew its attacks.

It was believed at court that this disagreeable termination of the commission was to be ascribed to some wrong-headed

¹ Baumgartner to Spengler. (Corp. Ref. ii. 363.)

individuals, and particulary to duke George. They therefore resolved to name another, composed of six members only: on the one side, Eck, with the chancellors of Cologne and Baden; on the other, Melanchthon, with the chancellors Brück and Heller. The Protestants consented, and all was begun anew.

The alarm then increased among the most decided followers of the Reformation. "If we expose ourselves unceasingly to new dangers, must we not succumb at last?"¹ The deputies of Nuremberg in particular declared that their city would never place itself again under the detested yoke of the bishops. "It is the advice of the undecided Erasmus that Melanchthon follows," said they. Say rather of Ahithophel" (2 Sam. xv.), replied others. "However it may be," added they; "if the pope had bought Melanchthon, the latter could have done nothing better to secure the victory for him."²

The landgrave was especially indignant at this cowardice. "Melanchthon," wrote he to Zwingli, "walks backwards like a crab."³ From Friedwald, whither he had repaired after his flight from Augsburg, Philip of Hesse endeavoured to check the fall of Protestantism. "When we begin to yield, we always yield more," wrote he to his ministers at Augsburg. "Declare therefore to my allies that I reject these perfidious conciliations. If we are Christians, what we should pursue is, not our own advantage, but the consolation of so many weary and afflicted consciences, for whom there is no salvation if we take away the Word of God. The bishops are not real bishops, for they speak not according to the Holy Scriptures. If we acknowledge them, what would follow? They would remove our ministers, silence the Gospel, re-establish ancient abuses, and the last state would be worse than the first. If the Papists will permit the free preaching of the pure Gospel, let us come to an understanding with them; for the truth will be the strongest, and will root out all the rest. But if not!—No. This is not the moment to yield, but to remain firm even to death. Baffle these fearful combinations of Melanchthon, and tell the deputies of

¹ Fremunt et alii socii ac indignantur regnum Episcoporum restitui. (Corp. Ref. ii. 328.)

² Si conductus quanta ipse voluisset pecunia a Papa esset. (Ibid. 333.)

³ Retro it, ut cancer. (Zw. Epp. ii. 506.)

the cities, from me, to be men, and not women.¹ Let us fear nothing: God is with us."²

¹ Das sie nicht Weyber seyen sondern Männer. (Corp. Ref. ii. 327.)

² Nor was it the landgrave only who powerfully remonstrated. Gervon wrote a noble remonstrance, about the 20th of August, to Spalatin, on hearing of the concessions that were reported to have been agreed to by the Protestants, and which Keller seems to have exaggerated. He beseeches Spalatin to deliver him from the mental tortures by which he was exercised, in consequence of the boasting of the Papists. His only comfort was in the hope that the Lord God would not permit so shameful a fall through those by whom the cause had hitherto been defended. But if the reports were true, then "it was all over with Christian liberty." The conceded articles were said to be:—1st. That while priests already married should be tolerated, none for the future should marry. "If this be so," says Gervon, "all the truly pious will exclaim with a sigh, that the evangelicals have sacrificed the good of Christ's commonwealth to their own. 2d. While the communion under both kinds should be permitted by the Papists, that under one kind only should not be condemned by the Protestants. To this he objects that since they were to yield what they had so keenly opposed on the ground of its being contrary to Christ's institution, they might as well purchase peace by giving up the communion altogether, since if Christ's institution was to be departed from, one might reason as conclusively in favour of none as of only one. 3d. That although the mass was only a remembrance, yet the canon and the words were to be borne with: the oration, the host, and the sacrifice being all to be understood as of a commemorative nature. "What think you," he continues, "will all right-hearted people say if this sink of idolatry be retained? For if the priests preserve this handle of so many evils, easily, and in a short time too, will the imposture return which has been now for so many ages imposed on the whole world. For what knows a rustic about a typical, passive, and representative sacrifice? But if the canon (of the mass) be permitted, it is as if you were to give a sword to a madman; it has a handle by which the madman may destroy himself at pleasure. Thus the priests, with the canon in their hands, have a handle for vituperating the bloody sacrifice when they please. What matters it to interpret the canon as meaning a representative service while those words remain which express a real one? Were there no other reason for abrogating the mass this were a most sufficient one, that to erect a new worship of God without (the sanction of) the word of God, is not lawful." Here Gervon is Baumgartner.

Noble and most conclusive remonstrance! Would that it had been written on the heart of every bishop, priest, doctor, and deacon of the Church of England for the last half century! The Church would not then have been scandalized with so many desertions from the worship of God as sanctioned by his word, to forms of worship which, having no such sanction, are unlawful and damnable.

He proceeds to refute the specious reasons from expediency, that might be alleged in favour of such concessions; insisting that Paul's circumcising Timothy was no precedent for that he did it from respect to the weak, whereas the Papists were not weak, but rather blind; that not peace but extreme disquietude and many perils would follow; that the common people would not accept of what was so opposed to God's word, having been too long taught otherwise by Martin (Luther); that those princes who hated the gospel, would take occasion from it to slay more victims than ever, twitting all recusants for not accepting what "your Lutheran leaders at Augsburg have accepted;" and so forth. "O, my my Spalatin," he adds with a pathos which must have touched the inmost soul of the Reformers, "by such remedies the evil will certainly not be cured, but made worse. Besides, the authority of those who have hitherto taught rightly, will be not only impaired but annihilated. If indeed the Evangelists wished to use this unseasonable lenity, they ought to have written more mildly six, seven, and eight years ago. Many, perhaps, would in that case have been survivors, who have been miserably butchered; nay, who will be daily butchered more miserably than ever for those very things which are now conceded." He scents the idea that the priests were really convinced that the emperor would have recourse to

Melanchthon and his friends, thus attacked, sought to justify themselves: on the one hand, they maintained, that if they preserved the doctrine it would finally overthrow the hierarchy. But then why restore it? Was it not more than doubtful whether a doctrine so enfeebled would still retain strength sufficient to shake the Papacy? On the other hand, Melanchthon and his friends pointed out two phantoms before which they shrank in affright. The first was *war*, which, in their opinion, was imminent. "It will not only," said they, "bring numberless temporal evils with it,—the devastation of Germany, murder, violation, sacrilege, rapine; but it will produce spiritual evils more frightful still, and inevitably bring on the perturbation of all religion."¹ The second phantom was the supremacy of the state. Melanchthon and his friends foresaw the dependence to which the princes would reduce the Church, the increasing secularization of its institutions and of its instruments, the spiritual death that would result, and shrank back with terror from the frightful prospect. "Good men do not think that the court should regulate the ministry of the Church,"² said Brenz. "Have you not yourselves experienced," added he ironically, "with what wisdom and mildness these boors ('tis thus I denominate the officials and prefects of the princes)

arms, and insists that their 'austerity' is merely designed to overawe the Protestants with threats, and that they will only be the more audacious, if these are pusillanimous. He tells Spalatin that were he, and the like of him, to be as near the Bavarians as he was, he would know that he spoke the truth; nay, would be terrified to hear the rumours disseminated in his neighbourhood." The close of his letter shows a fine spirit.

"Pardon me, pray, for addressing you so freely. I am a man, though not a divine, yet who take a pious interest in Christian affairs. For the matter is one of such moment that it might not unworthily give ground for lamentation to the whole world. It will thus open, certainly open a door to the Anabaptists and others, for it becomes a Christian to be not only learned but constant. Dare then in these matters to abide by the things that are true. What then? Should the enemy destroy the body, he does not destroy the soul; nay, not even the body, if we persevere in the truth which we have owned and professed. Farewell, in great haste, amid innumerable affairs. Your own Geryon."

This is quite in the spirit of Knox. The letter itself is in excellent Latin. He adds the following postscript in German: "The whole town speaks of concord: it is better to be dead and rotten with Christ than without Him to gain the homage of the whole world."

Are we to ascribe in part the subsequent relapse of Bavaria into popery, to the sinister impressions produced there by the pusillanimity shown by the Protestants at Augsburg?—D. D. S.

¹ *Confusio et perturbatio religionum.* (Corp. Ref. ii. 382.)

² *Ut aula ministerium in ecclesia ordinet bonis non videtur consultum.* (Ibid. 362.)

treat the ministers of the Church, and the Church itself. Rather die seven times!"—"I see," exclaimed Melancthon, "what a Church we shall have if the ecclesiastical government is abolished. I discover in the future a tyranny far more intolerable than that which has existed to this day."¹ Then, bowed down by the accusations that poured upon him from every side, the unhappy Philip exclaimed: "If it is I who have aroused this tempest, I pray his majesty to throw me, like Jonas, into the sea, and to drag me out only to give me up to torture and to the stake."²³

If the Romish episcopacy were once recognised, all seemed easy. In the Commission of Six they conceded the cup to the laity, marriage to the pastors, and the article of prayer to saints appeared of little importance. But they stopped at three doctrines to which the evangelicals could not yield. The first was the necessity of human satisfaction for the remission of the penalties of sin; the second, the idea of something meritorious in every good work; the third, the utility of private masses. "Ah!"

¹ Video postea multo intolerabiliorem futuram tyrannidem quam unquam antea fuisse. (Corp. Ref. ii. 334.)

² Si mea causa hæc tempestas coacta est, me statim velut Jonam in mare ejiciat. (Ibid. 382.)

³ Melancthon's conduct on this occasion was certainly deplorable. Romanists have taken advantage of it to deery him as a man of such inconstancy in his opinions as to make his judgment contemptible. In Moreri's *Dictionnaire Historique*, for example, we are told that his inconstancy was proverbial, and that he is said to have changed his opinion fourteen times on the subject of justification. Be it remembered, however, that not only is this the judgment of an adversary, but that Melancthon's extensive reading had made him familiar with all those passages in the Church fathers, and even in the schoolmen, which were in accordance with Scripture and had not yet been anathematized by the decrees of the council of Trent, the bull *Unigenitus*, &c.; that even in Italy, and among the avowed partisans of the popedom, there were divines who approached very nearly, if they did not quite coincide with the German reformers in their views of justification, and that on this occasion every effort was no doubt made to seduce the latter into the idea that there was no ground for separation on the score of difference of doctrine. For the approaches to Protestant doctrine on the part of the Papists at this period, see Ranke's account of Contarini's mission to Germany where we are told: "Contarini assented to the chief point of Protestant doctrine, that man's justification was effectual through faith alone, without merits: to this he only added that this must be a living and active faith." Melancthon acknowledged that this was just the Protestant doctrine. See Ranke's *Popes*, Glasgow edition, vol. i. See also what passed at the first sittings of the council of Trent on this subject, where we learn from the same historian "that there were not a few, in fact, at the council whose views on this point coincided with Protestant opinions." But the opposite party, powerfully supported by the Jesuits, carried the council with them, "and thus," says Ranke, "did the view maintained by the Protestants become completely excluded from Roman catholicism; everything intermediate was put aside." See vol. i. p. 155.—D. D. S.

quickly replied Campeggio to Charles V., "I would rather be cut in pieces than concede anything about masses."¹

"What!" replied the politicians, "when you agree on all the great doctrines of salvation, will you for ever rend the unity of the Church for three such trivial articles? Let the theologians make a last effort, and we shall see the two parties unite, and Rome embrace Wittenberg."

It was not so: under these three points was concealed a whole system. On the Roman side, they entertained the idea that certain works gain the Divine favour, independently of the disposition of him who performs them, and by virtue of the will of the Church. On the evangelical side, on the contrary, they felt a conviction that these external ordinances were mere human traditions, and that the only thing which procured man the Divine favour was the work that God accomplished by Christ on the cross; while the only thing that put him in possession of this favour was the work of regeneration that Christ accomplishes by his Spirit in the heart of the sinner.² The Roman-

¹ Er wollte sich ehe auf Stücker zureissen lassen. (L. Opp. xx. 328.)

² It is interesting to observe the movements of Melancthon's mind in the kind of coquetry with error into which he was led at once by the artifices of the Romish doctors, with whom he was evidently encouraged to maintain a perilous intimacy, and by his own anxiety to compromise matters as far as conscience would permit and thus secure the Church's freedom, as he thought, alike from princely tyranny and from war. He commits himself to a certain extent, then trembles at his own ingenuity, detects the fallacies that had misled him, and returns to the right path again. Thus on the 27th of July he writes to Luther, observing that the latter seemed to have been not a little angry in his answers on the subject of *Traditions*, and begging to be tenderly dealt with in his discussion of those points, seeing that the matters in hand were of great importance, and that he was little assisted by those who were with him. No doubt these assisted him little only because they would not follow him into all that labyrinth of refinements which he had learned from the schoolmen. He begs an answer, not on the efficient, but on the final cause of traditions, to wit, whether observances adopted by pious persons, might be *λατρίαι* (acts of worship), as if St. Bernard, supposing him to have thought rightly on the subject of justification, should adopt (*elipset*) a certain observance, whether that observance might be worship, or a work by which thanks might be rightly rendered, and God praised. For that was what Thomas (Aquinas) calls *λατρεία*. Then he instances fasting, the immediate end of which is bodily castigation—its final end, the praise of God. And so with respect to vows. He thinks Bernard wrong in looking upon the immediate end of fasting to be worship. One does not, indeed, see exactly what he would be at, beyond this, that he seemed to have some vague idea that many things might be tolerated in Romanism, under the idea of being held acts of worship or of thanksgiving, introduced by pious men into the church, and claiming respect as such, though nowhere enjoined in the Bible. The very next day he writes, abandoning the idea that St. Bernard, supposing him right on the doctrine of justification, was justified in adopting such a method of thanksgiving, but giving no reasons. Luther, however, powerfully

ists, by maintaining their three articles, said: "The Church saves," which is the essential doctrine of Rome; the evangelicals, by rejecting them, said: "Jesus Christ alone saves," which is Christianity itself. This is the great antithesis which then existed, and which still separates the two Churches. With these three points, which placed souls under her dependence, Rome justly expected to recover everything; and she showed by her perseverance that she understood her position. But the evangelicals were not disposed to abandon theirs. The Christian principle was maintained against the ecclesiastical principle which aspired to swallow it up: Jesus Christ stood firm in presence of the Church, and it was seen that henceforward all conferences were superfluous.

Time pressed: for two months and a half Charles V. had been labouring in Augsburg, and his pride suffered because four or five theologians checked the triumphal progress of the conqueror of Pavia. "What!" said they to him, "a few days sufficed to overthrow the king of France and the pope, and you cannot succeed with these gospellers!" They determined on breaking off the conferences. Eck, irritated because neither stratagem nor terror had been effectual, could not master himself in the presence of the Protestants. "Ah!" exclaimed he, at the moment of separation, "why did not the emperor, when he entered Germany, make a general inquest about the Lutherans? He would then have heard arrogant answers, witnessed monsters of heresy, and his zeal suddenly taking fire, would have led him to destroy all this faction.¹ But now Brück's mild language and Melancthon's concessions prevent him from getting so angry as the cause requires." Eck said

attacks this hypothesis, which he too says he does not well understand, in his letter to Melancthon of August 3d. He maintains that St. Bernard could never have enjoined any such observances as a part of God's worship in consistency with sound doctrine—that it would be to set himself above God and all divine worship—that, granting that the observance itself, as a bodily exercise, might be useful, yet the moment it came to be commanded by man as a part of God's service, it would be the grossest blasphemy. As if man should dare to prescribe to God, or to teach God in what manner He ought to be honoured. There is a world of meaning in this reasoning, and it furnishes a lever by which nearly the entire system of popery may be subverted. We shall see ere long that Melancthon came to enter more fully into its spirit.—*v.* p. 8.

¹ *Hæc inflammasset Imperatorem ad totam hanc factionem delendam.* (Corp. Ref. ii. 335.)

these words with a smile; but they expressed all his thoughts. The colloquy terminated on the 30th August.

The Romish states made their report to the emperor. They were face to face, three steps only from each other, without either side being able to approach nearer, even by a hair's breadth.

Thus, then, Melanchthon had failed; and his enormous concessions were found useless. From a false love of peace, he had set his heart on an impossibility. Melanchthon was at the bottom a really Christian soul. God preserved him from his great weakness, and broke the clue that was about to lead him to destruction. Nothing could have been more fortunate for the Reformation than Melanchthon's failure; but nothing could, at the same time, have been more fortunate for himself. His friends saw that though he was willing to yield much, he could not go so far as to yield Christ himself, and his defeat justified him in the eyes of the Protestants.

The elector of Saxony and the margrave of Brandenburg sent to beg Charles's leave to depart. The latter refused at first rather rudely, but at last he began to conjure the princes not to create by their departure new obstacles to the arrangements they soon hoped to be able to conclude.¹ We shall see what was the nature of these arrangements.

The Romanists appeared to redouble their exertions. If they now let the clue slip, it is lost for ever: they laboured accordingly to reunite the two ends. There were conferences in the gardens, conferences in the churches, at St. George's, at St. Maurice's, between the duke of Brunswick and John Frederick the elector's son, the chancellors of Baden and of Saxony, the chancellor of Liege and Melanchthon; but all these attempts were unavailing. It was to other means they were going to have recourse.

Charles V. had resolved to take the affair in hand, and to cut the Gordian knot, which neither doctors nor princes could untie. Irritated at seeing his advances spurned and his authority compromised, he thought that the moment was come for drawing the sword. On the 4th September, the members

¹ Antwort des Kaisers, &c. (Urkund. ii. 313.)

of the Roman party, who were still endeavouring to gain over the Protestants, whispered these frightful intentions in Melanchthon's ears. "We scarcely dare mention it," said they: "the sword is already in the emperor's hands, and certain people exasperate him more and more. He is not easily enraged, but once angry it is impossible to quiet him."¹

Charles had reason to appear exacting and terrible. He had at length obtained from Rome an unexpected concession—a council. Clement VII. had laid the emperor's request before a congregation: "How will men who reject the ancient councils submit to a new one?" they had replied. Clement himself had no wish for an assembly, which he dreaded alike on account of his birth and conduct.² However, his promises at the castle of St. Angelo and at Bologna rendered it impossible for him to give a decided refusal. He answered, therefore, that "the remedy would be worse than the disease,"³ but that if the emperor, who was so good a Catholic, judged a council absolutely necessary, he would consent to it, under the express condition, however, that the Protestants should submit in the meanwhile to the doctrines and rites of the Church." Then as the place of meeting he appointed Rome!

Scarcely had news of this concession spread abroad, than the fear of a Reformation froze the papal court. The public charges of the Papacy, which were altogether venal, immediately fell, says a cardinal, and were offered at the lowest price,⁴ without even being able to find purchasers.⁵ The Papacy was compromised; its merchandise was endangered; and the *price current* immediately declined on the Roman exchange.

On Wednesday, 7th September, at two in the afternoon, the Protestant princes and deputies having been introduced into the chamber of Charles V., the count-palatine said to them, "that the emperor, considering their small number, had not expected

¹ Nescio an ausim dicere, jam ferrum in manu Cesaris esse. (Corp. Ref. ii. 342.)

² In eam (concilii celebrationem) Pontificis animus haud propendebatur. (Pallavicini, i. 251.)

³ Al contrario, remedio e piu pericoloso e per partorir maggiori mali. (Lettere di Principe, ii. 197.)

⁴ Evulgatus concilii rumor.....publica Romæ nunera.....jam in vilissimum pretium decidissent. (Pallav. i. 251.)

⁵ Che non se non trovano danari. (Lett. di Prfn. iii. 5.)

they would uphold new sects against the ancient usages of the Universal Church; that, nevertheless, being desirous of appearing to the last full of kindness, he would require of his holiness the convocation of a council; but that in the meanwhile they should return immediately into the bosom of the Catholic Church, and restore everything to its ancient footing."¹

The Protestants replied on the morrow, the 8th September, "that they had not stirred up new sects contrary to the Holy Scriptures;² that, quite the reverse, if they had not agreed with their adversaries, it was because they had desired to remain faithful to the Word of God; that, by convoking in Germany a general, free, and Christian council, it would only be doing what preceding diets had promised; but that nothing should compel them to re-establish in their churches an order of things opposed to the commandments of God."

It was eight in the evening when, after a long deliberation, the Protestants were again called in. "His majesty," said George Truchses to them, "is equally astonished, both that the Catholic members of the commissions have accorded so much, and that the Protestant members have refused everything. What is your party in the presence of his imperial majesty, of his papal holiness, of the electors, princes, estates of the empire, and other kings, rulers, and potentates of Christendom? It is but just that the minority should yield to the majority. Do you desire the means of conciliation to be protracted, or do you persist in your answer? Speak frankly; for if you persist, the emperor will immediately see to the defence of the Church. To-morrow at one o'clock you will bring your final decision."

Never had such threatening words issued from Charles's mouth. It was evident he wished to subdue the Protestants by terror; but this end was not attained. They replied the next day but one—a day more having been accorded them—that new attempts at conciliation would only fatigue the emperor and the diet; that they only required regulations to main-

¹ Interim restitui debere omnia Papistis. (Corp. Ref. ii. 355.) See also *Erläuterung des Kaisers Karl. v.* (Urkunden. ii. 391.)

² Nit neue, Seeten wieder die heilige Schrift. (Brück. Apol. p. 136.)

tain political peace until the assembling of the council.¹ "Enough," replied the redoubtable emperor; "I will reflect upon it; but in the mean time let no one quit Augsburg."

Charles V. was embarrassed in a labyrinth from which he knew not how to escape. The State had resolved to interfere with the Church, and saw itself compelled to have immediate recourse to its *ultima ratio*—the sword. Charles did not desire war, and yet how could he now avoid it? If he did not execute his threats, his dignity was compromised, and his authority rendered contemptible. He sought an outlet on one side or the other, but could find none. It therefore only remained for him to close his eyes, and rush forward heedless of the consequences. These thoughts disturbed him: these cares preyed upon him; he was utterly confounded.

It was now that the elector sent to beg Charles would not be offended if he left Augsburg. "Let him await my answer," abruptly replied the emperor: and the elector having rejoined that he would send his ministers to explain his motives to his majesty: "Not so many speeches," resumed Charles, with irritation; "let the elector say whether he will stay or not!"²

A rumour of the altercation between these two powerful princes having spread abroad, the alarm became universal; it was thought war would break out immediately and there was a great disturbance in Augsburg.³ It was evening: men were running to and fro; they rushed into the hotels of the princes and of the Protestant deputies, and addressed them with the severest reproaches. "His imperial majesty," said they, "is about to have recourse to the most energetic measures!" They even declared that hostilities had begun: it was whispered that the commander of Horneck (Walter of Kronberg), elected by the emperor grand-master of the Teutonic order, was about to enter Prussia with an army, and dispossess duke Albert, converted by Luther.⁴ Two nights successively the same tumult

¹ Urkunden. ii. 410; Bruck. Apol. p. 139.

² Kurtz mit solchen Worten ob er erwarten wolte oder nicht! (Bruck, Apol. p. 143.)

³ Ein beschwerlich Geschrey zu Augsburg denselben Abend ausgebrochen. (Ibid. p. 145.)

⁴ Man wurde ein Kriegs-volk in Preussen schicken. (Ibid. p. 143.)

was repeated. They shouted, they quarrelled, they fought, particularly in and before the mansions of the princes: the war was nearly commencing in Augsburg.

At that crisis (12th September), John Frederick, prince-electoral of Saxony, quitted the city.¹

On the same day, or on the morrow, Jerome Wehe, chancellor of Baden, and count Truchses on the one side; chancellor Brück and Melanchthon on the other, met at six in the morning in the church of St. Maurice.^{2 3}

¹ Brenz's letter to Isenmann, quoted at page 313, is dated Sept. 11th. But our author makes a slip in translation. The original runs: *Septies mori cupis?* i. e. Would you rather die seven times (than make such concessions)? And then he proceeds: *Audite*, &c., "I hear a bold sentiment, such as many of our party beat into our ears. But the question is not about Brenz or Isenmann dying . . . but whether we shall unjustly and unreasonably expose the Church to persecution and death. This we shun, this we dread, this we anxiously guard against. For although some things in the proposed conditions seem over hard and unfair, certainly no one can call them unjust and impious. And it does not forthwith follow that that is a scandal which does not please clowns (*rusticis*)." And yet, after all, the clowns seem to have been perfectly in the right, himself being judge, for he goes on to say that there was no fear of their adversaries accepting the proposed mediation, for that, would any one carefully consider the matter, it would be seen that they (the Protestants) had made no real concessions, but only had seemed to make them, and that the other side perfectly understood this. But if that were the case, why needlessly expose the friends of the Gospel to the charge of double dealing—of seeming to make concessions when in reality they had resolved to make none? I apprehend that this was one of those constantly recurring cases in which plain unlettered Christians judged far more soundly in point of principle, and far more wisely in point of fact, than men like Melanchthon and Brenz, whose moral sense seems, on this occasion at least, to have been blunted by their speculative reasonings, and by subtle distinctions far more specious than real. How much more worthy of Christian men would it have been to have cast off all disguise—to have frankly avowed that they could not conscientiously make any real concession—instead of leading so sagacious a discernor of spirits as Charles V. to associate the Gospel with a deliberate attempt to mislead the papists, by making a show of concession when in reality they made none. It is highly to the honour of the Protestant laity that such a procedure seems everywhere to have excited their disapproval and disgust.—D. D. S.

² Brück, *Apol.* p. 155-160.

³ The agreement contemplated by the leading Protestants, was of a totally different kind from that which the Papists were endeavouring to effect. The former, when charged with fraternizing with Antichrist, endeavoured to draw a distinction between a political concord betwixt Romanist and Protestant princes, and a Christian fellowship between Papists and Protestants. It was the first they professed to labour for, and saw no scandal in doing so. The other they abjured, and whatever terms might have been subscribed at Augsburg, were not, it seems, according to them, to debar the preachers on either side from attacking each other's doctrines and anathematizing each other from the pulpit! That such a settlement could satisfy Rome was impossible. It would have been totally opposed to her whole principles and character. How difficult had the popes often found it to command respect and obedience even in Italy and among their professed followers! But how could they look for any further respect or deference after such a sanction to men denouncing the popedom from the pulpit as Antichrist? Such an issue to the affair might have been all very well for the Protestants, in as much as they could still lay their fingers upon the Bible and point to the ground of their tenets

Charles, notwithstanding his threats, could not decide on employing force. He might no doubt by a single word to his Spanish bands or to his German lansquenets have seized on these inflexible men, and treated them like Moors. But how could Charles, a Netherlander, a Spaniard, who had been ten years absent from the empire, dare, without raising all Germany, offer violence to the favourites of the nation? Would not the Roman Catholic princes themselves see in this act an infringement of their privileges? War was unseasonable. "Lutheranism is extending already from the Baltic to the Alps," wrote Erasmus to the legate: "You have but one thing to do: tolerate it."¹

The negotiation begun in the church of St. Maurice was continued between the margrave of Brandenburg and count Truchses. The Roman party only sought to save appearances, and did not hesitate, besides, to sacrifice everything. It asked merely for a few theatrical decorations—that the mass should be celebrated in the sacerdotal garment, with chanting, reading, ceremonies, and its two canons.² All the rest was referred to the next council, and the Protestants, till then, should conduct themselves so as to render account to God, to the council, and to his majesty.

But on the side of the Protestants the wind had also changed. Now they no longer desired peace with Rome: the scales had at last fallen from their eyes, and they discovered with affright the abyss into which they had so nearly plunged. Jonas, Spalatin, and even Melanchthon were agreed.³ "We have hitherto

there. But, for the popedom, it would have implied a confession beforehand that that awful unity and infallibility, on which it rested its claims to respect, had been already abandoned by themselves. The popedom, in fact, stands in that extraordinary predicament, that it can subsist only by intolerance. To admit that any one can be saved out of its despotic unity, or that any one, however wicked, can be lost, who dies in peace with it, is to dissolve the charm of its infallibility, and to snap the rod of its power.

The nature of the pacification contemplated by the Protestants is explained in an apologetic paper to be found at p. 373 of the Corp. Ref. vol. ii., entitled, "Deliberation of the Protestant Divines on the means of peace and concord proposed by George Truchses and the chancellor of Baden." Its object seems to be to defend these divines from the charge of fraternizing with Popery.—D. D. S.

¹ *A mare Baltico ad Helvetios.* (Eras. Epp. xiv. 1.)

² In gewöhnlichen Kleidungen mit Gesang und Lesen. (Urk. ii. 418.) The canon was a frame of card-board placed on the altar before the priest, and which contained the Apostles' Creed with various prayers.

³ The memoranda or jottings left by Melanchthon, written apparently to assist

obeyed the commandment of St. Paul, *Be at peace with all men,*" said they; "now we must obey this commandment of Christ, *Beware ye of the leaven of the Pharisees, which is hypocrisy.* On the side of our adversaries is nothing but cunning and perfidy, and their only aim is to stifle our doctrine, which is truth itself.¹ They hope to save the abominable articles of purgatory, indulgences, and the Papacy, because we have passed them by in silence.² Let us beware of betraying

his memory at conferences, clearly indicate a gradual improvement, both in his views and in the spirit in which he urges them. I would refer particularly to two pieces, one headed *Scriptum Melanthonis*, at p. 348 of the 2d vol. of the *Corpus Reformatorem*, where we find, under dates of the 7th and the 11th of September, about a hundred memoranda arranged under *six* main heads of disagreement, mostly numbered, as also the piece immediately following, and entitled *Melanthon de Missa* (Melancthon on the Mass). These, with some omissions, would make good anti-papist tracts, and furnish powerful weapons for the defence of the Gospel, many being put down with all the curtness and point of apothegms.

I subjoin some specimens:

Against the canon of the pontifical Mass.

1. Because it is a sacrifice.
2. Because it (pretends to be) meritorious for others.
3. Because it commends Christ to God, &c.

Against the private Mass.

1. Because it has not the Word (of God) in its favour. But in divine things nothing is to be attempted, there is no worship of God without the word and command of God.

2. It is a perversion of the sacerdotal office and ministry, as if a man were to baptize himself.

3. It is not devotion, but corruption and merchandise, and a way of making money.

4. It is a bad example.

7. The supper is the showing forth of the body, therefore it is not an oblation of it.

8. It is a testament by which something is promised to us.

9. If it be a sacrifice, then faith does not justify.

10. Is there any sacrifice in eating and supping?

13. There is abundant room for thanksgiving in the public mass (meaning thereby the communion).

14. It is perilous and scandalous, as was the ephod of Gideon.

16. It is not enough to say: I mean well. One ought to say: I have the Word of God.

18. Christ has commanded it to be done in remembrance of him. Paul too says: Ye shall show forth the Lord's death until he come. Here, however, there is no preaching (no setting forth of anything), but all things are concealed.

22. Because it is of human invention.—D. D. S.

¹ Eitel List, gefährliche Tücke, &c. (Jonas. Urkund. ii. 423.)

² Die grauliche Artikel. (Spalat. Ibid. 428.) De Primatu Papæ, de Purgatorio, de Indulgentiis. (Melancthon, Corp. Ref. ii. 374.)

Christ and his Word in order to please Antichrist and the devil."¹

Luther at the same time redoubled his entreaties to withdraw his friends from Augsburg. "Return, return," cried he to them; "return, even if it must be so, cursed by the pope and the emperor."² You have confessed Jesus Christ, offered peace, obeyed Charles, supported insults, and endured blasphemies. I will canonize you, I, as faithful members of Jesus Christ. You have done enough, and more than enough: now it is for the Lord to act, and he will act! They have our Confession, they have the Gospel; let them receive it, if they will; and if they will not, let them go——. If a war should come, let it come! We have prayed enough; we have discussed enough. The Lord is preparing our adversaries as the victim for the sacrifice; he will destroy their magnificence, and deliver his people. Yes! he will preserve us even from Babylon, and from her burning walls."³

¹ Dem Teufel und Antichrist zu gefallen. (Urk. ii. 431.)

² Vel maledicti a Papa et Cesare. (L. Epp. iv. 162-171.)

³ Melancthon's letter to Luther of September 4th, proves the high moral position which the latter occupied at this most important crisis. "We have not," says he, "accepted the conditions proposed by the adversaries concerning (the sacrament in) both kinds, marriage (of the priests), and the mass. Matters are therefore thrown back on the emperor's deliberations. He requested three days ago, that all things might be re-instated in their former condition, but that if this opinion of his seem to aggrieve us, he promises his aid towards a compromise. Our friends reply that they know of nothing that they could concede to their adversaries beyond what they have already conceded. The matter rests thus, and yet to-day we have deliberated on certain conditions of peace, which, if the opposite side shall press, the Prince *will send to you before determining anything*." Thus in Luther we see, not a pope, patriarch, or primate, but the counterpart in Germany to the *verum quendam sanctum et prudentem* (the certain holy and prudent man), whom Bede informs us that the presbyters of the Welsh church consulted, when puzzled how to deal with the haughty pretensions of the monk Augustine, when he appeared as the emissary of the papal Antichrist among the Anglo-Saxons.

The conclusion of the letter proves how adroitly "the adversaries" could take advantage of Melancthon's disposition to give way to excessive anxiety, not about his personal safety, but about the future prospects of Germany and Christendom. "Our friends," says he, "are of opinion that an opportunity of making peace should not be lost, if anyhow it can be done honestly. For there is impending over us a horrible permutation of the whole empire, and of all things, were war to be resorted to, I have been given to understand to-day from a certain man of princely rank and a friend of the emperor's, that the Swiss (*Helvetios*) are entertaining marvellous counsels about disturbing the public peace, and that the Turks are preparing a sure and horrible expedition." Poor Melancthon was abundantly predisposed to take alarm at such bugbears.—D. D. S.

CHAPTER XII.

The Elector's Preparatives and Indignation—*Recess* of Augsburg—Irritating Language—Apology of the Confession—Intimidation—Final Interview—Messages of Peace—Exasperation of the Papists—Restoration of Popery—Tumult in the Church—Union of the Churches—The Pope and the Emperor—Close of the Diet—Armaments—Attack on Geneva—Joy of the Evangelicals—Establishment of Protestantism.

THUS Luther gave the signal of departure. They replied to the reformer's appeal, and all prepared to quit Augsburg on Saturday, 17th September. At ten at night, duke Ernest of Luneburg assembled the deputies of Nuremberg and the ministers of the landgrave in his hotel, and announced to them that the elector was determined to leave the next morning, without informing any one, and that he would accompany him. "Keep the secret," said he to them, "and know that if peace cannot be preserved, it will be a trifling matter for me to lose, combating with you, all that God has given me."¹

The elector's preparations betrayed his intentions. In the middle of the night duke Henry of Brunswick arrived hastily at his hotel, beseeching him to wait;² and towards morning counts Truchses and Mansfeldt announced that, on the morrow between seven and eight, the emperor would give him his *congé*.³

¹ Alles das, so Ihm Gott geben hätt, darob zu verlieren ein geringes wäre. (Corp. Ref. ii. 379.)

² In der selben Nacht. (Ibid.)

³ Under this very date of the 17th of September, the editor of the Corp. Ref. gives the articles on which the Papists and Protestants disagreed. They amount to 13, and are as follows:—

1. On justification, because we are justified before God by faith in Christ, not on account of our works or merits, going before or following, but through grace.

2. That although good works are necessarily to be done, yet they are not meritorious of pardon and justification (*gratice et justice*), but faith lays hold of pardon.

3. Because in confession the enumeration of sins is not necessary.

4. Because, although contrition is necessary, yet sins are not remitted on account of it, but through faith, by which we believe in absolution or the Gospel; it is necessary, accordingly, that faith should be conjoined with contrition, which (faith) may receive comfort in contrition, and may believe that sins are remitted.

5. Because canonical satisfactions are not necessary for the remission of punishment (*pœnæ*)

6. Because, for the true unity of the Church it is not necessary that there should

On Monday, 19th September, the elector purposing to leave Augsburg immediately after his audience with Charles, breakfasted at seven o'clock, then sent off his baggage and his cooks,¹ and ordered his officers to be ready at ten o'clock. At the moment when John quitted the hotel to wait upon the emperor, all the members of his household were drawn up on each side booted and spurred;² but, having been introduced to Charles, he was requested to wait two, four, or six days longer.

As soon as the elector was alone with his allies, his indignation burst forth, and he even became violent. "This new delay will end in nothing,"³ he said; "I am resolved to set out, happen what may. It seems to me, from the manner in which things are arranged, that I have now completely the air of a prisoner." The margrave of Brandenburg begged him to be calm. "I shall go," the elector still replied. At last he yielded, and having appeared again before Charles V., he said, "I will wait until Friday next; and, if nothing is done by that time, I shall leave forthwith."

Great was the anxiety of the Protestants during these four days of expectation. Most of them doubted not that, by acced-

be sameness of human traditions, but agreement of opinion (*consensus*), on the Gospel and the use of the sacraments.

7. Because forms of worship of human institution (*cultus instituti ab hominibus*), without the command and word of God, for the meriting of pardon, are opposed to the Gospel, and obscure the glory of Christ's merit.

9. Because, although ecclesiastical traditions that may be observed without sin, and are done for the sake of good order, are to be observed in the Church for the sake of charity, to the avoidance of scandals, yet they are not to be deemed acts of worship necessary for salvation. Bishops have no right to burthen men's consciences with such worship; those accordingly who omit those traditions without scandal, do not sin.

10. Because, seeing the invocation of saints has no testimony in its favour from the Scriptures, it is an uncertain and perilous thing, and tends very much to obscure the glory of Christ, whom Scripture sets forth to us as mediator and propitiator.

11. Because those who forbid the giving of both kinds (elements) act against the institution of the sacrament, without the authority of Scripture.

12. Because those who forbid marriage to priests oppose the command of God, by which it is enjoined that, for the avoidance of incontinence, every one should have his own wife.

13. Because the mass is not a work which, on being applied to others, merits pardoning grace for them *ex opere operato* (that is, from the simple act done by the priest), but because the Lord's supper is a sacrament, as the whole Church confesses, through which grace is offered to the partaker, which he does not obtain *per opus operatum*, but by faith, if he believes that grace and the remission of sins are there offered to him.—D. D. 8.

¹ Premissis fere omnibus impedimentis una cum coctis. (Corp. Ref. ii. 385.)

² Gestieft und gespornt. (Ibid. 380.)

³ Etwas darob schwermütig und hitzig erzeigt. (Ibid.)

ing to Charles's prayers, they had delivered themselves into the hands of their enemies. "The emperor is deliberating whether he ought to hang us or let us live," wrote Brenz.¹ Fresh negotiations of Truchses were without success.²

All that now remained for the emperor was to draw up, in common with the Roman states, the *recess* (edict) of the diet. This was done; and that the Protestants might not complain of its having been prepared without their knowledge, he assembled them in his palace on Thursday, 22d September, the day previous to that fixed for the elector's departure, and had his project read to them by the count-palatine. This project was insult and war. The emperor granted to the elector, the five princes, and the six cities,³ a delay of six months, until the 15th April next year, to come to an arrangement with the Church, the Pope, the Emperor, and all the princes and monarchs of Christendom. This was clearly announcing to them that the Romanists were very willing to delay until the usual period for bringing armies into the field.

Nor was this all: the delay was granted only on the express condition that the Protestants should immediately join the emperor in reducing the Anabaptists, and all those who opposed the holy sacrament, by which were meant the Zwinglian cities. He wished by this means to tie the hands of the Protestants, and prevent the two families of the Reformation from uniting during the winter.⁴

¹ *Adhuc deliberat Cæsar pendendum ne nobis sit, an diutius vivendum.* (Corp. Ref. ii.)

² *Urkund*, ii. 455-472.

³ Nuremberg and Reutlingen, to which were added the cities of Kempten, Heilbronn, Windsheim, and Weissenburg. (Ibid. 474-478.)

⁴ How little of the spirit of Christian brotherhood must have appeared between the Lutherans and Zwinglians, before such a proposition could have been seriously offered to the former! Yet one advantage to the cause of truth unquestionably resulted, under Providence, from the deplorable dissensions of the different sections of the Reformation. As men who eyed one another with such mutual suspicion, could not possibly have practised collusion in regard to doctrines, we may rest assured that those grand fundamental principles in which they differed from Rome and professed to be guided by the Bible alone, were exclusively derived from that latter source. We are otherwise reduced to the conclusion that men of totally different characters, belonging to different countries, differing in age, education, and interests, and abundantly disposed to pick out faults in each other's opinions, coincided so marvellously in their sectarianrotchets, as hardly to appear in modern days to have had any differences at all. Let the reader run over the immense number of things in which they all differed from Rome, as enumerated in Luther's *Ermaunung* (see p. 260), and on all these points it will be found they agreed in

Finally, the Protestants were forbidden to make any innovations, to print or sell anything on the objects of faith, or to draw any one whatever to their *sect*, "since the Confession had been soundly refuted by the Holy Scriptures." Thus the Reformation was officially proclaimed a *sect*, and a sect contrary to the Word of God.

Nothing was more calculated to displease the friends of the Gospel, who remained in Charles's presence astonished, alarmed, and indignant.¹ This had been foreseen; and, at the moment when the Protestants were about to enter the emperor's chamber, Truchses and Wehe, making signs to them, mysteriously slipped a paper into their hands, containing a promise that if, on the 15th April, the Protestants required a prolongation of the delay, their request would certainly be granted.² But Brück, to whom the paper was given, was not deceived. "A subtle ambushade," said he; "a master-piece of knavery! God will save his own, and will not permit them to fall into the snare."³ This trick, in fact, served only still more to increase the courage of the Protestants.

Brück, without discussing the *recess* (edict) in a political point of view, confined himself to what was principally at stake, the Word of God. "We maintain," said he, "that our Confession is so based on the holy Word of God, that it is impossible to refute it. We consider it as the very truth of God, and we hope by it to stand one day before the judgment-seat of the Lord." He then announced that the Protestants had refuted the Refutation of the Romish theologians, and holding in his hand the famous Apology of the Confession of Augs-

differing from Rome. Let him then turn to those fewer points which Luther considered to be the leading features of evangelical preaching, and there, too, we find them agreed on every point. Now, had this marvellous agreement been accompanied with entire harmony of sentiment; had Luther and Zwingli, Melancthon and Œcolampadius, Brenz and Bucer, been all as knit together in love, as Luther, Melancthon, and Brenz were on the one side, and Zwingli, Œcolampadius, and Bucer were on the other, it might have been alleged that they had all, without any real conviction, resolved to profess one common system of divinity, for the mere purpose of attacking Rome with the better effect. But their very quarrels refute such a notion, and compel us to believe that their agreement resulted, not from any such collusion, but from their all deriving their views from one common source—the Bible.—D. D. S.

¹ Protestantes vehementer hoc decreto minime expectato territi. (Seck. ii. 200.)

² Brück, Apologie, p. 182.

³ Betrug, Meisterstück, aber Gott errettet die seinen. (Ibid.)

burg written by Melancthon, he stepped forward, and offered it to Charles V. The count-palatine took it, and the emperor was already stretching out his hand, when Ferdinand having whispered a few words, he beckoned to the count, who immediately returned the Apology to doctor Brück.¹ This paper, and the "Commonplaces," are the reformer's master-pieces. The embarrassed emperor told the Protestants to come again at eight the next morning.

Charles V., resolving to employ every means to get his decree accepted, began by entreaties; and scarcely was the margrave of Brandenburg seated to take his evening repast, when Truchses and Wehe appeared before him, using every kind of discourse and argument, but without success.²

The next day (Friday, 23d September), the evangelical princes and the deputies of the cities assembled at five in the morning at the margrave's hotel, where the *recess* (edict) was again read in the presence of Truchses and Wehe, chancellor Brück assigning seven reasons for its rejection. "I undertake," said Wehe, "to translate the *recess* (edict) into German in such a manner that you can accept it. As for the word *sect*, in particular, it is the clerk who placed it there by mistake."³ The mediators retired in haste to communicate to Charles the complaints of the Protestants.

Charles and his ministers gave up every idea of reconciliation, and hoped for nothing except through fear.⁴ The Protes-

¹ Auf König Ferdinandus wincke wieder geben. (Apologie, p. 184.)

² Nach essen allerley Rede Disputation und Persuasion furgewendt. (Urk. ii. 601.)

³ Sondern vom Schreiber gesetzt, der dis nicht geacht. (Ibid. 606.)

⁴ The more minutely one investigates the proceedings at this memorable diet, and the more deeply he studies the spirit and conduct of the different parties that were here confronted with each other, the more will he be convinced that Melancthon, and those who adopted his method of dealing with the emperor and the papists, gained nothing whatever by all that elaborate *dissimulation* (I use the expression constantly recurring in Melancthon's own letters, where the Latin words *dissimulare* and *dissimulatio* imply the slurring over of differences) which they displayed so far in the Confession itself, and still more at subsequent conferences. All such courses immensely weaken that moral force which forms the true strength of every weak party contending against error and injustice, and, in the case before us, the want of it was the more to be lamented, as the emperor was evidently quite the person to appreciate the conduct of men who frankly and at once were willing to state the whole extent of the differences that divided them from Rome, and to despise those who, professing to be placed by God before the eyes of the world as witnesses for divine truth in the face of human error, were yet so distrustful of the divine countenance and support in maintaining that testimony, that they were willing to compromise the half of it.—D. D. S.

tants having reached the imperial palace at eight o'clock, they were made wait an hour; the elector of Brandenburg then said to them in Charles's name: "His majesty is astonished beyond measure that you still maintain your doctrine to be based on the Holy Scriptures. If you say the truth, his majesty's ancestors, so many kings and emperors, and even the ancestors of the elector of Saxony, were heretics! There is no Gospel, there is no Scripture, that imposes on us the obligation of seizing by violence the goods of another, and of then saying that we cannot conscientiously restore them.¹ It is for this reason," added Joachim, after these words, which he accompanied with a sardonic smile, "I am commissioned to inform you, that if you refuse the *recess* (edict), all the Germanic states will place their lives and their property at the emperor's disposal, and his majesty himself will employ the resources of all his kingdoms to complete this affair before leaving the empire."

"We do not accept it," replied the Protestants firmly.— "His majesty also has a conscience," then resumed the elector of Brandenburg, in a harsh tone; "and if you do not submit, he will concert with the pope and the other potentates on the best means of extirpating this sect and its new errors." But in vain did they add threat to threat: the Protestants remained calm, respectful, and unshaken. "Our enemies, destitute of all confidence in God," said they, "would shake like a reed in presence of the emperor's anger, and they imagine that we should tremble in like manner; but we have called unto God, and he will keep us faithful to his truth."

The Protestants then prepared to take their final leave of

¹ An important expression occurs in a letter of Melancthon's to Egidius, the emperor's chaplain. We know how perpetually the Protestant princes of Germany have been reproached with favouring the Reformation for the mere selfish purpose of possessing themselves of the Church's property in their respective dominions. Now Melancthon, had this charge been true, would, unquestionably, never have said, as he does at the close of this letter: "With respect to the princes indeed, there is no true ground of complaint that they wish to hold the ecclesiastical property. These things they have often already signified in the very meeting itself of the princes." (See Corp. Ref. p. 383.) The charge, when we look at the circumstances of the case, is manifestly absurd. The Protestant princes clearly felt that by favouring the Reformation they risked the speedy loss of everything, power, principalities, possessions, liberty, nay, even life itself; so that any such selfishness as is imputed to them must have been downright madness.—D. D. S.

the emperor. This prince, whose patience had been put to a severe trial, approached to shake hands according to custom; and beginning with the elector of Saxony, he said to him in a low voice: "Uncle, uncle! I should never have expected this of you." The elector was deeply affected: his eyes filled with tears: but, firm and resolute, he bent his head and quitted Charles without reply. It was now two in the afternoon.

While the Protestants were returning to their hotels, calm and happy, the Romish princes retired to theirs, confused and dispirited, uneasy and divided. They doubted not that the *conge* which had just been granted to the Protestants would be regarded by them as a declaration of war, and that on quitting Augsburg, they would rush to arms. This thought terrified them. Accordingly, the elector of Saxony had hardly reached his palace, when he saw Dr. Ruhel, councillor of the elector of Mainz, hastening towards him, commissioned by his master to deliver this message: "Although my brother the elector (Joachim of Brandenburg) has declared that the states of the empire are ready to support the emperor against you, know that both myself and the ministers of the elector-palatine and of the elector of Treves immediately declared to his majesty that we did not adhere to this declaration, seeing that we thought very favourably of you.¹ I intended saying this to the emperor in your presence, but you left so precipitately, that I was unable."

Thus spoke the primate of the German Church, and even the choice of his messenger was significant: Dr. Ruhel was Luther's brother-in-law. John begged him to thank his master.

As this envoy retired, there arrived one of the gentlemen of duke Henry of Brunswick, a zealous Romanist. He was at first refused admittance on account of the departure, but returned hastily, just as Brück's carriage was leaving the courtyard of the hotel. Approaching the carriage-door, he said: "The duke informs the elector that he will endeavour to put things in a better train, and will come this winter to kill a wild boar with him."² Shortly after, the terrible Ferdinand him-

¹ Wüssten auch nicht anders denn wohl und gut. (Urk. p. 210.)

² Ein Sawe fahen helfen. (Ibid. 211.)

self declared that he would seek every means of preventing an outbreak.¹ All these manifestations of the affrighted Roman Catholics showed on which side was the real strength.

At three o'clock in the afternoon the elector of Saxony, accompanied by the dukes of Luneburg and the princes of Anhalt, quitted the walls of Augsburg. "God be praised," said Luther, "that our dear prince is at last out of hell!"²

As he saw these intrepid princes thus escaping from his hands, Charles V. gave way to a violence that was not usual with him.³ "They want to teach me a new faith," cried he; "but it is not with the doctrine that we shall finish this matter: we must draw the sword, and then shall we see who is the strongest."⁴ All around him gave way to their indignation. They were astonished at the audacity of Brück, who had dared call the Romanists—heretics!⁵ But nothing irritated them so much as the spirit of proselytism which in those glorious days characterized evangelical Germany; and the anger of the Papists was particularly directed against the chancellor of Luneburg, "who," said they, "had sent more than a hundred ministers into different places to preach the new doctrine, and who had even publicly boasted of it."⁶—"Our adversaries thirst for our blood," wrote, as they heard these complaints, the deputies of Nuremberg, who remained almost alone at Augsburg.

On the 4th October Charles V. wrote to the pope; for it was from Rome that the new crusade was to set out: "The negotiations are broken off; our adversaries are more obstinate than ever; and I am resolved to employ my strength and my person in combating them. For this reason I beg your holiness will demand the support of all Christian princes."

The enterprise began in Augsburg itself. The day on which he wrote to the pope, Charles, in honour of St. Francis of Assisi, whose feast it was, re-established the Cordeliers in that

¹ Corp. Ref. ii. 397.

² Ein mal aus der Hölle los ist. (L. Epp. iv. 175.)

³ Der Kaiser ist fast hitzig im Handel. (Corp. Ref. ii. 501.)

⁴ Es gehören die Fauste dar zu. (Ibid. 502; Urkund. ii. 710.)

⁵ Für Ketzer angezogen. (Ibid.)

⁶ Bis in die Hundert Prediger in andere Lande schicken helfen daselbst die neue Lehre zu predigen. (Urkund. ii. 646.)

city, and a monk ascending the pulpit said: "All those who preach that Jesus Christ alone has made satisfaction for our sins, and that God saves us without regard to our works, are thorough scoundrels. There are, on the contrary, two roads to salvation: the common road, namely, the observance of the commandments; and the perfect road, namely, the ecclesiastical state." Scarcely was the sermon finished ere the congregation began to remove the benches placed in the church for the evangelical preaching, breaking them violently (for they were fixed with chains), and throwing them one upon another. Within these consecrated walls two monks, in particular, armed with hammers and pincers, tossed their arms, and shouted like men possessed. "From their frightful uproar," exclaimed some, "one would imagine they were pulling down a house."¹ It was in truth the house of God they wished to begin destroying.

After the tumult was appeased, they sang mass. As soon as this was concluded, a Spaniard desired to recommence breaking the benches, and on being prevented by one of the citizens, they began to hurl chairs at each other; one of the monks, leaving the choir, ran up to them and was soon dragged into the fray; at length the captain of police arrived with his men, who distributed their well-directed blows on every side. Thus began in Germany the restoration of Roman Catholicism: popular violence has often been one of its most powerful allies.

On the 13th October the *recess* (edict) was read to all the Romish states, and on the same day they concluded a Roman league.²

Two cities had signed the Confession, and two others had assented to it; the imperialists hoped, however, that these powerless municipalities, affrighted at the imperial authority, would withdraw from the Protestant union. But on the 17th October, instead of two or four cities, sixteen imperial towns, among which were the most important in Germany, declared it was impossible to grant any support against the Turks, so long as public peace was not secured in Germany itself.³

¹ Ein alt Haus abbrechen. (Corp. Ref. ii. 400.)

² Ratschlag, &c. (Urkund. ii. 737-740.)

³ Wo sie nicht einen gemeinen Friedens versichert. (Corp. Ref. ii. 411, 416.)

An event more formidable to Charles had just taken place. The unity of the Reformation had prevailed. "We are *one* in the fundamental articles of faith," had said the Zwinglian cities, "and in particular (notwithstanding some disputes about words among our theologians), we are *one* in the doctrine of the communion in the body and blood of our Lord. Receive us." The Saxon deputies immediately gave their hands. Nothing unites the children of God so much as the violence of their adversaries. "Let us unite," said all, "for the consolation of our brethren and the terror of our enemies."¹

In vain did Charles, who was intent on keeping up division among the Protestants, convoke the deputies of the Zwinglian cities; in vain, desiring to render them odious, had he accused them of fastening a consecrated wafer to a wall and firing bullets at it;² in vain did he overwhelm them with fierce threats;—all his efforts were useless. At length the evangelical party was one.

The alarm increased among the Roman party, who resolved on fresh concessions. "The Protestants call for public peace," said they; "well then, let us draw up articles of peace." But, on the 29th October, the Protestants refused these offers, because the emperor enjoined peace to all the world, without binding himself. "An emperor has the right to command peace to his subjects," haughtily answered Charles; "but it has never been heard that he commanded it to himself."³

Nothing remained but to draw the sword; and for that Charles made every preparation. On the 25th October, he wrote to the cardinals at Rome: "We inform you that we shall spare neither kingdoms nor lordships; and that we shall venture even our soul and our body to complete such necessary matters."

Scarcely had Charles's letter been received, before his majordomo, Pedro de la Cueva, arrived in Rome by express. "The season is now too far advanced to attack the Lutherans immediately," said he to the pope; "but prepare everything for this

¹ Diesem Theil desto mehr Freude und Trost und dem Gegentheile erschrecken. (Urkund. ii. 728.)

² An eine Wand geheftet und dazu geschossen. (Corp. Ref. ii. 423.)

³ These negotiations will be found in Forstermann's Urkunden. p. 750-793.

enterprise. His majesty thinks it his duty to prefer before all things the accomplishment of your designs." Thus Clement and the emperor were also united, and both sides began to concentrate their forces.

On the evening of the 11th November, the *recess* (edict) was read to the Protestant deputies, and on the 12th they rejected it, declaring that they did not acknowledge the emperor's power to command in matters of faith.¹ The deputies of Hesse and of Saxony departed immediately after, and on the 19th November the *recess* (edict) was solemnly read in the presence of Charles V., and of the princes and deputies who were still in Augsburg. This report was more hostile than the project communicated to the Protestants. It bore, among other things (and this is only a sample of the urbanity of this official doctrine), that "to deny free will was the error not of man, but of a brute."—"We beg his majesty," said the elector Joachim, after it was read, "not to leave Germany, until by his cares one sole and same faith be re-established in all the empire."

The emperor replied, that he would not go farther than his states of the Low Countries. They desired that deeds should follow close upon words. It was then nearly seven in the evening; a few torches, lighted up here and there by the ushers, and casting a pale light, alone illuminated this assembly: they separated without seeing each other; and thus ended, as it were by stealth, that diet so pompously announced to the Christian world.

On the 22d November, the *recess* (edict) was made public, and two days after Charles V. set out for Cologne. The ruler of two worlds had seen all his influence baffled by a few Christians; and he who had entered the imperial city in triumph, now quitted it gloomy, silent, and dispirited. The mightiest power of the earth was broken against the power of God.

But the emperor's ministers and officers, excited by the pope, displayed so much the more energy. The states of the empire were bound to furnish Charles, for three years, 40,000 foot, 8000 horse, and a considerable sum of money;² the mar-

¹ Urkunden. ii. 823; Corp. Ref. ii. 437.

² 40,000 zu Fuss und 8000 zu Ross. (Corp. Ref. ii. 399.)

grave Henry of Zenete, the count of Nassau, and other nobles, made considerable levies on the side of the Rhine; a captain going through the Black Forest called its rude inhabitants to his standard, and there enrolled six companies of lansquenets; king Ferdinand had written to all the knights of the Tyrol and of Würtemberg to gird on their cuirasses and take down their swords; Joachim of Talheim collected the Spanish bands in the Low Countries, and ordered them towards the Rhine; Peter Scher solicited from the duke of Lorraine the aid of his arms; and another chief hastily moved the Spanish army of Florence in the direction of the Alps. There was every reason to fear that the Germans, even the Roman Catholics, would take Luther's part; and hence principally foreign troops were levied.¹ Nothing but war was talked of in Augsburg.

On a sudden a strange rumour was heard.² The signal is given, said every one. A free city, lying on the confines of the Germanic and Roman world,—a city at war with its bishop, in alliance with the Protestants, and which passed for reformed even before really being so, had been suddenly attacked. A courier from Strasburg brought this news to Augsburg, and it circulated through the town with the rapidity of lightning. Three days after Michaelmas, some armed men, sent by the duke of Savoy, pillaged the suburbs of Geneva, and threatened to take possession of the city, and put all to the edge of the sword. Every one in Augsburg was amazed. "Ho!" exclaimed Charles V., in French, "the duke of Savoy has begun too soon."³ It was reported that Margaret, governor of the Low Countries, the pope, the dukes of Lorraine and Gueldres, and even the king of France, were directing their troops against Geneva. It was there that the army of Rome intended fixing its *point d'appui*. The avalanche was gathering on the first slopes of the Alps, whence it would rush over all Switzerland, and then roll into Germany, burying the Gospel and the Reformation under its huge mass.⁴

¹ Legati Norimb. ad Senatum, 11th October. Ibid. 402; Legati Sax. ad Electorem, 10th October. (Urkund. ii. 711.)

² Shortly before the close of the diet.

³ Hatt der Kayser unter andern in Französisch geredet. (Urk. ii. 421.)

⁴ Geneva expugnata, bellum etiam urbibus Germaniæ Superioris inferretur. (Corp. Ref. ii. 402.)

This sacred cause appeared to be in great danger, and never in reality had it gained so noble a triumph. The *coup de main* attempted on those hills, where six years later Calvin was to take his station, and plant the standard of Augsburg and of Nazareth, having failed, all fears were dispelled, and the victory of the confessors of Christ, for an instant obscured, shone forth anew in all its splendour.

While the emperor Charles, surrounded by a numerous train of princes, was approaching the banks of the Rhine sad and dispirited, the evangelical Christians were returning in triumph to their homes. Luther was the herald of the victory gained at Augsburg by Faith. "Though our enemies should have around them, beside them, with them, not only that puissant Roman emperor, Charles, but still more the emperor of the Turks and his Mahomet," said he, "they could not intimidate, they could not frighten me. It is I who in the strength of God am resolved to frighten and overthrow them. They shall yield to me—they shall fall! and I shall remain upright and firm. My life shall be their headsman, and my death their hell!¹.....God blinds them and hardens their hearts; he is driving them towards the Red Sea: all the horses of Pharaoh, his chariots and his horsemen, cannot escape their inevitable destiny. Let them go then, let them perish, since they will it so!² As for us, the Lord is with us."

Thus the diet of Augsburg, destined to crush the Reformation, was what strengthened it for ever. It has been usual to consider the peace of Augsburg(1555) as the period when the Reform was definitively established. That is the date of legal Protestantism; evangelical Christianity has another—the autumn of 1530. In 1555 was the victory of the sword and of diplomacy; in 1530 was that of the Word of God and of Faith; and this latter victory is in our eyes the truest and the surest. The evangelical history of the Reformation in Germany is nearly finished at the epoch we have reached, and the diplomatic history of legal Protestantism begins. Whatever may now be done, whatever may be said, the Church of the first

¹ Mein Leben soll ihr Henker seyn. (L. Opp. xx. 304.)

² Vadant igitur et pereant, quomodo sic volunt. (L. Epp. iv. 167.)

ages has reappeared; and it has reappeared strong enough to show that it will live. There will still be conferences and discussions; there will still be leagues and combats; there will even be deplorable defeats; but all these are a secondary movement. The great movement is accomplished: the cause of faith is won by faith. The effort has been made: the evangelical doctrine has taken root in the world, and neither the storms of men, nor the powers of hell, will ever be able to tear it up.

In October, probably towards the close of the month, Melancthon wrote to Silberborne a letter, to be found at p. 430 of the Corp. Ref., in which he gives his final views on the subject of the diet.

"I have read your letter," says he, "with great pleasure, in which you speak highly of the studies of the French. But I congratulate literature itself, no less than the French, in that amid these wretched tumults of Italy and Germany it has found somewhere a calm haven, and, as it were, a settled home. As for your request, however, that I would give you some account of the diet of Augsburg, little as the recollection of these things delights me, yet rather than seem wanting in attention to so worthy a gentleman, I will comply with your request. And, as the poet says:

— *A Jove principium* ;

so we shall begin with the emperor; for I have known nothing more memorable at this diet than the history of the emperor himself. No doubt his uninterrupted good fortune is the subject of much wonder among you, but what is far more wonderful and creditable is, that amid so many successes and with all things falling out to a wish, he retains so much moderation of mind, that not a single word or deed of his can be mentioned as a little over haughty. Which of the kings or emperors that appear in the world's annals will you produce, that has not been changed by prosperity? In him alone the indulgence of fortune has not been able to make his mind sink below his position. No cupidity, no symptom of pride or fierceness, can be observed in him. For, not to mention other things, in this very cause of religion, in which he is incensed against us by the marvellous arts of our adversaries, he has nevertheless civilly listened to our side. His interior life meanwhile is full of the most honourable examples of continence, temperance, and frugality. Domestic discipline, which was at one time most severe among the princes of Germany, is now retained in the family of the emperor alone. No wicked person, accordingly, can insinuate himself into familiarity with him. He confines his friendship to men of princely rank alone, whom he has selected after forming his own opinion of them, on account of their virtue. And as the emperor Alexander is said to have found his sole gratification in intimate intercourse with the lawyer Ulpianus, so I understand that the chancellor Mercurianus (Gattinara) was most familiar with our emperor as long as he lived. The former is spoken of as a most worthy and most wise person, and quite another Ulpianus. From this you may readily form a conjecture respecting the emperor's disposition and morals, *ὅτι τοιοῦτος ὁτις ἱκανοὺς ὁ παρ' ἡδισταί ἐυδαί* (for every one is according to the company he likes). Accordingly every time I beheld the emperor, methought I saw one of the most lauded heroes and demigods who are believed once to have mingled amongst men. And what Horace wrote about Augustus, I judged applied much more truly to him, than to that prince himself, however good and laudable;—

Hoc nihil majus meliusve teris, &c.

One greater, or of better worth,
Kind Heav'n has ne'er bestowed on earth;
Nor will his better e'er be found,
Ev'n did the golden age come round.

These things have I to say of the emperor, which I have found it pleasant for myself to relate, and thought it would gratify you to hear. For who would not be

delighted with this concert of the finest virtues, especially in so great a prince? The remaining history of the diet comprehends a long tragedy. We presented the Confession of Faith, written most moderately, so that it might appear that we were not abhorrent of pacific counsels. This alone we asked, that our churches should not be fiercely persecuted on account of the kind of doctrine which we had set forth therein, when indeed the thing spoke for itself, that we defended no doctrine opposed to the Gospel or the Catholic Church, nay, that we had thrown light on many parts of *Christian* doctrine which had been formerly overlaid with profane opinions, to wit, on the righteousness of faith, on repentance, on the use of the sacraments, on the authority of human traditions. But if we could obtain this from the opposite party, we showed them at great length that we would concede to them all things that appertain to the establishment of the dignity of bishops. For neither have we ever driven at the dissolution of ecclesiastical polity, but only at saving the Gospel from being condemned by the popes. We have shown also, that in ecclesiastical rites, we would observe in common with themselves, all that seemed to be indifferent. We have declined no burthen that could be taken up without criminality. But not even with these conditions, however fair, could we appease our adversaries, who quite after their own way, drove at, and insisted on our renouncing our confession. That we refused to do.

“Gregory Nazianzen writes, that he never saw a meeting of bishops which did not rather inflame discords than remove them. For he speaks as follows; *ἔχουσιν οὕτως*, &c. But if such was the case even in those better times, we may readily form an opinion as to what may be looked for now, when, though other things may be equal, the passions originating in the love of power are much more vehement. I see the result will be, that these evils will be further exacerated by violent remedies. Nor is it hard to see by what sort of sycophants princes and bishops are spurred on. I have heard uttered in my own presence some of the cruellest sentiments by persons on the other side.

“Many prodigies have been announced this year, for we have heard that a mule brought forth at Rome, and an overflow of the Tiber lately spoilt the beauty of Rome in a wonderful manner, and in the Augsburg territory a calf has been born with two heads, which things not doubtfully portend a revolution of the commonwealth. But this importunity on the part of the adversaries ought to be believed a more certain prodigy than any other portents:

Ἡ δὲ κακὴ βουλὴ τῷ βουλευσάντῳ κακίστη.

But ill counsel is worst to him that counsels it.

From us there will be extant to all posterity, testimonies to the piety and religious character of our sentiments, and that our zeal has been directed to the illustrating of the Catholic Church's doctrines, and the amplifying of Christ's glory. This worship is truly a reasonable service, which is most pleasing to God, purely to handle and to teach the Word of God.

“Even should we be overwhelmed by unjust arms, yet we shall see to it that our literary labours shall paint to posterity (the true character of) our adversaries, who, with the pretext of the name of Christ, urge on the princes against us, who do not constitute Churches, and care not whether the Gospel be preached and Christ's glory illustrated. And among these there are certain men of war, evidently Epicureans and atheists, who laugh in their sleeves at all religions. Such persons legislate for us in religious matters. But I check myself.

“As often, however, as I call to recollection the old commotions of commonwealths and of the Church, and collect together the results, I find that most of them have been happily calmed down by reason and by the equity of princes. And I observe that violent counsels hardly ever have done any good. When at Athens an endless war was about to be waged among the citizens on account of mutual injuries and proscriptions, an amnesty was solemnly agreed to, which was far from advantageous to the princes and victors, but conduced to the public tranquillity. It would be tedious to go over Roman examples.

“But in the Church it has often been found how useless it is to decide by arms controversies with respect to which consciences had to be informed and rendered sound. It were to be wished accordingly, that the emperor's good fortune would in this matter also prove for the salvation of the whole world, for he indeed has thus far employed so much moderation, as to have encouraged us with great hope

that he would apply to the public dissensions such remedies as should not wound pious consciences or beget new tumults hereafter. Those persons do not sufficiently consider the magnitude of the cause and the Church's danger, who advise that our churches should be dispersed with arms, and our priests put to death. It becomes the bishops to see to it that the pure doctrine of the Gospel be propagated to posterity; this is what is chiefly required of that order.

"Now it cannot fail to happen but that amid the tumult of arms the Gospel should cease to be heard. And even they who call for recourse being had to arms, do not do so in order that they may afterwards establish churches. For when have the Roman pontiffs cared about such duties? Thus the result will be that religion may come to be extinguished altogether, where there shall be a want of fit teachers of the Gospel."

Here Melancthon seems to forget that religion is too necessary to man, to be ever quite extinguished. But if he meant *true* religion, the state of popish countries everywhere realizes his prediction. He proceeds in a tone of profound grief, presenting a remarkable contrast to the equanimity with which Luther, notwithstanding his infirm health, bore the result of the diet, as we learn from Melancthon himself, in his letter from Coburg to Camerarius of October 1st.

"I might," says he in continuation to Silberborne, "review many things, did not the grief which almost kills me, hinder me, while occupied in meditating on these things, and indeed they are constantly before my eyes. In support of this opinion I engaged in many discussions with some good men at Augsburg, setting forth what seemed to me to be impending, were the other side to make no abatement of terms, to wit, an horrible confusion of doctrines, and an infinite scattering of the churches. We called to mind also that in these last days, singular prudence was necessary, seeing that Christ has foretold of them that there would be more peril then than at any time before. But the whole matter rests with God, wherefore let us beseech Him for the glory of Christ's name, to suggest mild remedies to those who preside over affairs, and not to suffer the pure doctrine of the Gospel to perish. Nor indeed can this be denied, that we have been called into jeopardy on this sole account, because we feel that God is rendered placable, not by our observances, but for the sake of *Christ*. His glory we desire to illustrate and magnify, that the churches may rightly understand what benefits God hath bestowed on us for Christ's sake. Nor are we ignorant how ridiculous these discussions about religion and about the Gospel seem to those Epicureans who urge on the princes against us. But God grant that we may never be ashamed of the Gospel."

A vast number of documents relative to this ever memorable diet have, in the Providence of God, been preserved to this day. Some idea of their amount may be had from their occupying above 1400 columns (each half a small 4to page) in Walch's Edition of Luther's Writings, to which have been added since the seventy-nine lately discovered letters of the Nuremberg deputies. Perhaps the most interesting, and not the least instructive, part of this sea of documents, is the correspondence that passed between Coburg, where Luther resided during the diet, and his friends in Augsburg, particularly Melancthon; and I may add that, to me, that correspondence derives a special interest, from the fact that but for Luther's absence from Augsburg, we should have not had it to study at the present day, as all then would have passed off in conversations between the parties. May we not, then, legitimately conclude, that one chief reason, in Providence, for Luther's detention at Coburg, as a precautionary measure on the part of his friends, was just that such a correspondence, such a permanent record of the faith and patience, of the personal sentiments and feelings, trials and virtues, triumphs and weaknesses, of those eminent persons, might be preserved for the study and instruction of posterity.

The Christian warfare is variously conducted, sometimes in what may be called single combat, sometimes in skirmishes, sometimes in pitched battles. The diet of Augsburg may be likened to a siege. Many were the parleys about conditions of surrender. But the Protestants would not on any terms give up their grand Palladium, the fundamental doctrine of justification by faith, that touchstone, tried

by which all the errors of the popedom are speedily found to be spurious pretensions to divine truth. Thus the assailants had to retire at last in sullen discomfiture, and brooding over many a deep plot of determined revenge.

The limited time allowed for the preparation of these Notes, and the amount of matter necessary to be examined in order to their being at all worthy of so important a work, oblige me to omit many things I would fain have noticed. Let me say a word or two of the use made of Melanchthon's letter to Campeggio, of July 6th, 1530, by the late Charles Butler, one of the most unfair and plausible of papal writers, who deduces from it that the Reformers at that diet made no charge against Rome of superstition or idolatry; of Beausobre, the Reformed historian's censure of Melanchthon, as having compromised the Reformation by his concessions; and of the Rev. John Scott's defence of the German Reformer against both Butler and Beausobre.

Butler seems guilty of a double misrepresentation. First, he must have perfectly known that when Melanchthon said there was no difference of doctrine between the Reformation and Rome, he had ample grounds for believing, that had a Council been summoned at that time, and the opinions of such Romanists as Pole, Contarini, M. A. Flaminio, and others of that school prevailed in it, the doctrinal foundations of Rome and Wittenberg would have been pronounced the same, but that he never could, nor would, have pronounced that there was no difference of doctrine between the Lutherans, as they were called, and the Fathers of the Council of Trent. Secondly, Butler must no less have known that Melanchthon, at the date of the said letter to Campeggio, so far from representing the views of all the Reformers, was pursuing conciliation to an extent which filled his brethren, and Luther in particular, with alarm and indignation. Of this we have no stronger proof than is found in Baumgartner's letter, written and quoted in a previous note, under the name of Geryon.

Let us remember how many Romanists then held the doctrine of justification as nearly as possible as Luther and the German Protestants held it. One needs only to turn to the cautious instructions given ten years afterwards by Paul III. to Contarini (see Ranke's *Popes*, vol. i. p. 122), in order to conceive how easily the peace-loving Reformer might have been deluded into the idea that Rome owned no doctrine involving "superstition or idolatry." Every one knows with what consummate art Bossuet, even after the decrees of Trent, had made the attempt infinitely more difficult, contrived to dissemble the worst features of popery in such a manner as to make them hardly recognisable.—D. D. S.

BOOK FIFTEENTH.—1526—1530.

SWITZERLAND—CONQUESTS.

CHAPTER I.

Originality of the Swiss Reform—Change—Three Periods of Reform—Switzerland Romande—The two Movements in the Church—Aggressive Spirit—The Schoolmaster—Farel's new Baptism—Mysticism and Scholasticism—A Door is opened—Opposition—Lausanne—Manners of the Clergy—Farel to Galeotto—Farel and the Monk—The Tribunal—The Monk cries for Pardon—Opposition of the Ormonds—A false Convert—Christian Unity.

THE divisions which the Reformation disclosed within its bosom, on its appearance before the diet of Augsburg, humbled it and compromised its existence; but we must not forget that the cause of these divisions was one of the conditions of the existence of the regenerated Church. No doubt it would have been desirable for Germany and Switzerland to have agreed; but it was of still greater importance that Germany and Switzerland should have each its original Reform.¹ If the Swiss

¹ I have already remarked that the jarrings between the German and Swiss Reformers, at least practically refuted the charge which absolute harmony between them might have suggested to the enemies of both, that the remarkable agreement in doctrine exhibited in their confessions was the effect, not of conviction, but of collusion. Luther, let me remark, did not regard the diet as an idle waste of trouble and expense. He did not take the desponding view which, from the concluding note of the preceding book, it will be seen that Melancthon took of it. "Many think," says he, "that a great expense was incurred there with no good result; but if the cost had been twice as much, the exposure made of popish sophistry, and of the calumnies circulated against the Protestants, would have well repaid it." And Brenz thought that the expense of all the diets within their memory was well repaid by such a treasure as the Confession and the Defence of it. See Rev. J. Scott's *Continuation of Milner*, vol. i. p. 558.

As for the boasted unity of Rome, it has well been said that, "surely there cannot be, or at least there cannot appear, any difference of opinion in a society which excludes every member who does not submit his own views to those of one individual placed at its head, and which lays down as an indubitable fact, that that individual, whoever he may happen to be, and whatever he may add to the common doctrines of the society, always speaks the mind of his predecessors, and only gives explicitness to things implied in former decisions. Such is the artful contrivance which the author of the *Variations of the Protestant Churches* (Bos-

Reformation had been only a feeble copy of the German, there would have been uniformity, but no duration. The tree, transplanted into Switzerland, without having taken deep root, would soon have been torn up by the vigorous hand that was ere long about to seize upon it. The regeneration of Christianity in these mountains proceeded from forces peculiar to the Helvetic Church, and received an organization in conformity with the ecclesiastical and political condition of that country. By this very originality it communicated a particular energy to the principles of the Reformation, of much greater consequence to the common cause than a servile uniformity. The strength of an army arises in great measure from its being composed of soldiers of different arms.

The military and political influence of Switzerland was declining. The new developments of the European nations, subsequent to the sixteenth century, were about to banish to their native mountains those proud Helvetians, who for so long a period had placed their two-handed swords in the balance in which the destinies of nations were weighed. The Reformation communicated a new influence in exchange for that which was departing. Switzerland, where the Gospel appeared in its simplest and purest form, was destined to give in these new times to many nations of the two worlds a more salutary and

suet) disguises into a miraculous unity of doctrine and belief, the effect, as he pretends, of Christ's promise of support to his Church against the gates of hell." See "Practical and Internal Evidence against Catholicism," London, 1826, p. 109. And I may add, that Rome has acquired a happy facility in occupying the minds of her votaries with an almost infinite multitude of things with regard to which minds of different degrees of intelligence and capacity may indulge the utmost latitude of difference, and yet the Church's claim to unity be preserved intact, because, forsooth, these things do not fall strictly under the Church's *articles of faith*. Take, for example, the vast body of legends comprised in that extraordinary work the Romish breviary. A papist may believe all of these, and yet he is not compelled to believe any of them! Thus the minds of the clergy and others, who are bound to spend about two hours a day in reading this farrago, are cunningly led off from reading the Bible, which it would be dangerous for them to study, lest peradventure they should differ about it, and thus infringe their boasted unity, and are compelled to occupy their time and thoughts with fables about which each may think what he pleases! Admirable unity which includes the man who regards the whole collection as a heap of fables, and the man who believes that all are true, and hence that every miracle recorded of every saint in support of some one or other religious absurdity, ought to be regarded by him as God's own sanction to the lesson it inculcates. The difference betwixt Luther and Zwingli was surely as nothing compared with that betwixt such two papists.

glorious impulse than that which had hitherto proceeded from its halberds and its arquebuses.

The history of the Swiss Reformation is divided into three periods, in which the light of the Gospel is seen spreading successively over three different zones. From 1519 to 1526 Zurich was the centre of the Reformation, which was then entirely German, and was propagated in the eastern and northern parts of the confederation. Between 1526 and 1532 the movement was communicated from Berne: it was at once German and French, and extended to the centre of Switzerland from the gorges of the Jura to the deepest valleys of the Alps. In 1532 Geneva became the focus of the light; and the Reformation, which was here essentially French, was established on the shores of the Lemane lake, and gained strength in every quarter. It is of the second of these periods—that of Berne—of which we are now to treat.

Although the Swiss Reformation is not yet essentially French, still the most active part in it is taken by Frenchmen. Switzerland *Romande*¹ is yoked to the chariot of Reform, and communicates to it an accelerated motion. In the period we are about to treat of, there is a mixture of races, of forces, and of characters from which proceeds a greater commotion. In no part of the Christian world will the resistance be so stubborn; but nowhere will the assailants display so much courage. This petty country of Switzerland *Romande*, enclosed within the colossal arms of the Jura and the Alps, was for centuries one of the strongest fortresses of the Papacy. It is about to be carried by storm; it is going to turn its arms against its ancient masters; and from these few hillocks, scattered at the foot of the highest mountains in Europe, will proceed the reiterated shocks that will overthrow, even in the most distant countries, the sanctuaries of Rome, their images and their altars.

There are two movements in the Church: one is effected inwardly, and its object is its preservation; the other is effected outwardly, and the object aimed at is its propagation. There

¹ The French part of Switzerland, comprising the cantons of Geneva, Vaud, Neuchâtel, and part of those of Friburg, Berne, and Valais.

is thus a doctrinal Church and a missionary Church. These two movements ought never to be separated, and whenever they are disunited, it is because the spirit of man, and not the Spirit of God prevails. In the apostolic ages these two tendencies were evolved at the same time and with equal power. In the second and third centuries the external tendency prevailed; after the Council of Nice (325) the doctrinal movement resumed the superiority; at the epoch of the irruption of the northern tribes the missionary spirit revived; but ere long came the times of the hierarchy and of the schoolmen, in which all doctrinal powers warred within the Church to found therein a despotic government and an impure doctrine—the Papacy. The revival of Christianity in the sixteenth century, which emanated from God, was destined to renovate these two movements, but by purifying them. Then indeed the Spirit of God acted at once externally and internally. In the days of the Reformation there were tranquil and internal developments; but there was also a more powerful and aggressive action. Men of God had for ages studied the Word, and had peacefully explained its salutary lessons. Such had been the work of Vesalia, Goch, Groot, Radewin, Ruybrook, Tauler, Thomas à Kempis, and John Wessel; now, something more was required. The power of action was to be combined with the power of thought. The Papacy had been allowed all necessary time for laying aside its errors; for ages men had been in expectation; it had been warned, it had been entreated; all had been unavailing. Popery being unwilling to reform itself, it became necessary for men of God to take its accomplishment upon themselves.¹ The

¹ The learned author of the article "Newman on Development," in the Xth. No. of the North British Review, quotes as follows from Buddeus (p. 429): "It is not easy to decide whether the severest wounds have been inflicted upon the Romish Church by those who, following Bellarmine and its other champions step by step, have refuted all their arguments and demolished all their errors, or by those who, narrating the history of popery, have laid open to the eyes and minds of men the abominations of that antichristian system, and the mysteries of its iniquity." Now, some of the most eminent papists, such as Bossuet, admit what papal councils even had repeatedly done, that in regard to *morals*, the Church required reform both in its head (the pope) and its members. In regard to doctrines, however, they insist that no reform was ever required. According to them therefore the same Church which has not been preserved from the most fearful moral disorders, has never been allowed to deviate by a hair-breadth from sound doctrine. Yet our Lord has directly connected doctrinal light with moral purity (see Gospel of John vii. 17), and the whole strain of Scripture inculcates that moral impurity cannot

calm and moderate influence of the precursors of the Reform was succeeded by the heroic and holy revolutionary work of the Reformers; and the revolution they effected consisted in overthrowing the usurping power to re-establish the legitimate authority. "To everything there is a season," says the preacher, "and a time to every other purpose under heaven: a time to plant, and a time to pluck up that which is planted; a time to break down, and a time to build up."¹ Of all Reformers, those who carried the aggressive spirit to its highest degree were the men who came from France, and more especially Farel, whose labours we have now to consider.

Never were such mighty effects accomplished by so puny a force. In the government of God we pass in an instant from the greatest to the least of things. We now quit the haughty Charles V. and all that court of princes over which he presides, to follow the steps of a schoolmaster; and leave the palaces of Augsburg to take our seats in the lowly cottages of Switzerland.

The Rhone, after issuing, near St. Gothard, from the mountains of the Furka, from beneath an immense sea of eternal ice, rolls its noisy waters through a rugged valley separating the two great chains of the Alps; then issuing from the gorge of St. Maurice, it wanders through a more smiling and fertile country. The sublime Dent du Midi on the south, the proud Dent de Morcles on the north, picturesquely situated opposite each other, point out from afar to the traveller's eye the beginning of this latter basin. On the tops of these mountains are vast glaciers and threatening peaks, near which the shepherds in the midst of summer lead their numerous flocks to pasture;

consist with doctrinal light. Thus the strongest presumption in favour of those who attack the errors of the popedom may be deduced from the confessions of those popes, councils, and doctors who have reluctantly admitted its moral corruptions. Indeed this preposterous tenet, without which popery instantly falls to the ground, namely, that the Holy Ghost preserved the purity of the Church's doctrines while Satan made havoc of its morals, leads to still more monstrous results. For in a morally corrupt Church, it could not but follow, necessarily, that not the best but the most unscrupulous and immoral candidates for the popedom, would at times have the best chances of success, as actually happened in the case of Alexander VI. and others. And yet these *immoral* persons, *immorally* promoted by an *immoral* Church, were, according to the papal theory, the grand doctrinal lights of the Church—the infallible interpreters of the will of a God of infinite holiness and purity! This view is admirably exposed by J. B. White in his fourth Letter on the Practical and Internal Evidence against Catholicism. (London, 1826.)—D.D.S.

¹ Eccles. iii. 1, 2, 3.

while, in the plain, the flowers and fruits of southern climes grow luxuriantly, and the laurel blooms beside the most exquisite grapes.

At the opening of one of the lateral valleys that lead into the Northern Alps, on the banks of the Grande Eau that falls in thunder from the glaciers of the Diablerets, is situated the small town of Aigle, one of the most southern in Switzerland. For about fifty years it had belonged to Berne, with the four parishes (*mandemens*) which are under its jurisdiction, namely, Aigle, Bex, Oilon, and the chalets scattered in the lofty valleys of the Ormonds. It is in this country that the second epoch of the Swiss Reformation was destined to begin.

In the winter of 1526–1527, a foreign schoolmaster, named Ursinus, arrived in this humble district. He was a man of middle stature, with red beard and quick eyes, and who, with a voice of thunder (says Beza) combined the feelings of a hero: his modest lessons were intermingled with new and strange doctrines. The benefices being abandoned by their titularies to ignorant curates, the people, who were naturally of rude and turbulent habits, had remained without any cultivation. Thus did this stranger, who was no other than Farel, meet with new obstacles at every step.

Whilst Lefevre and most of his friends had quitted Strassburg to re-enter France, after the deliverance of Francis I., Farel had turned his steps towards Switzerland; and on the very first day of his journey, he received a lesson that he frequently recalled to mind.

He was on foot, accompanied by a single friend. Night had closed around them, the rain fell in torrents, and the travellers, in despair of finding their road, had sat down midway, drenched with rain.¹ “Ah!” said Farel, “God, by showing me my helplessness in these little things, has willed to teach me how weak I am in the greatest, without Jesus Christ!”² At last Farel, springing up, plunged into the marshes, waded through waters, crossed vineyards, fields, hills, forests, and valleys, and

¹ Gravabat nox, opprimebat pluvia.....coegit viam difficultas in media sedere via sub pluvia. (Farel to Capito and Bucer. Neufchatel MS.)

² Voluit Dominus per infirma hæc, docere quid possit homo in majoribus. (Coet. Epp. MS. of Neufchatel.)

at length reached his destination, covered with mud and soaked to the skin.

In this night of desolation, Farel had received a new baptism. His natural energy had been quelled; he became, for some time at least, wise as a serpent and harmless as a dove; and as not unfrequently happens to men of such disposition, he at first overstepped his aim. Believing that he was following the example of the apostles, he sought, in the words of *Cæcolampadius*, "by pious frauds to circumvent the old serpent that was hissing around him."¹ He represented himself to be a schoolmaster, and waited until a door should be opened to him to appear as a reformer.²

Scarcely had *Magister Ursinus* quitted the schoolroom and his primers, than taking refuge in his modest chamber, he became absorbed in the Greek and Hebrew Scriptures, and the most learned treatises of the theologians. The struggle between *Luther* and *Zwingli* was commencing. To which of these two chiefs should the French Reform attach itself? *Luther* had been known in France for a much longer time than *Zwingli*; yet *Farel* decided in favour of the latter. Mysticism had characterized the Germanic nations during the Middle Ages, and scholasticism those of Roman descent. The French were in closer relation with the dialectician *Zwingli* than with the mystic *Luther*; or rather they were the mediators between the two great tendencies of the Middle Ages; and, while giving to the Christian thought that correct form which seems to be the province of southern nations, they became the instruments of God to spread through the Church the fulness of life and of the Spirit of Christ.

It was in his little chamber at *Aigle* that *Farel* read the first publication addressed to the German by the Swiss reformer.³ "With what learning," cries he, "does *Zwingli* scatter the darkness! with what holy ingenuity he gains over the wise, and what captivating meekness he unites with deep erudition! Oh, that by the grace of God this work may win over *Luther*,

¹ *Piis artibus et apostolicis versatis ad circumveniendum illum opus est.* (*Cæcol.* to *Farel*, 27th December, 1526. Neufchatel MS.)

² *Ubi ostium patuerit, tunc adversarii liberius obsistetur.* (*Ibid.*)

³ *Pia et amica ad Lutheri sermonem apologia.* (*Opp.* vol. ii. t. 2, p. 1.)

so that the Church of Christ, trembling from such violent shocks, may at length find peace!"¹

The schoolmaster Ursinus, excited by so noble an example, gradually set about instructing the parents as well as the children. He at first attacked the doctrine of purgatory, and next the invocation of saints. "As for the pope, he is nothing," said he, "or almost nothing in these parts;² and as for the priests, provided they annoy the people with all that nonsense, which Erasmus knows so well how to turn into ridicule, that is enough for them."

Ursinus had been some months at Aigle: a door was opened to him; a flock had been collected there, and he believed the looked-for moment had arrived.

Accordingly, one day the prudent schoolmaster disappears. "I am William Farel," said he, "minister of the Word of God." The terror of the priests and magistrates was great, when they saw in the midst of them that very man whose name had already become so formidable. The schoolmaster quitted his humble study; he ascended the pulpit, and openly preached Jesus Christ to the astonished multitude. The work of Ursinus was over. Farel was himself again.³ It was then about the month of March or April 1527, and in that beautiful valley, whose slopes were brightening in the warm rays of the sun, all was fermenting at the same time, the flowers, the vineyards, and the hearts of this sensible but rude people.

Yet the rocks that the torrent meets as it issues from the Diablerets, and against which it dashes at every step as it falls from eternal snows, are more trifling obstacles than the prejudice and hatred that were shown ere long in this populous valley to the Word of God.

The Council of Berne, by a license of the 9th of March, had commissioned Farel to explain the Holy Scriptures to the people of Aigle and its neighbourhood. But the arm of the civil magistrate, by thus mingling in religious affairs, served only to increase the irritation of men's minds. The rich and lazy in-

¹ Ut Christi succussa undique Ecclesia, pacis non nihil sentiat. (Zw. Epp. ii. 26.)

² Papa aut nullus aut modicus hic est. (Ibid. 36.)

³ The name of Ursinus was doubtless taken from the bear (*ursa*) which was on the shield of Berne. Ursinus meant Bernese.

cumbents, the poor and ignorant curates, were the first to cry out. "If this man," said they one to another, "continues preaching, it is all over with our benefices and our Church."¹

In the midst of this agitation, the bailiff of Aigle and the governor of the four mandemens, Jacques de Roverea, instead of supporting the minister of their excellencies of Berne, eagerly embraced the cause of the priests. "The emperor," said they, "is about to declare war against all innovators. A great army will shortly arrive from Spain to assist the archduke Ferdinand."² Farel stood firm. Upon this the bailiff and Roverea, exasperated by such boldness, interdicted the heretic from every kind of instruction, whether as minister or schoolmaster. But Berne caused to be posted on the doors of all the churches in the four mandemens a new decree, dated the 3d of July, in which their excellencies, manifesting great displeasure at this interdiction "of the very learned Farel from the propagation of the Divine Word,"³ ordered all the officers of the state to allow him to preach publicly the doctrines of the Lord."

This new proclamation was the signal of revolt. On the 25th July, great crowds assembled at Aigle, at Bex, at Ollon, and in the Ormonds, crying out, "No more submission to Berne! down with Farel!" From words they soon proceeded to actions. At Aigle the insurgents, headed by the fiery syndic, tore down the edict, and prepared to fall upon the reformed. These promptly united, and surrounding Farel, resolved to defend him. The two parties met face to face, and blood was near flowing. The firm countenance of the friends of the Gospel checked the partisans of the priests, who dispersed, and Farel, quitting Aigle for a few days, carried his views farther.

In the middle of the beautiful valley of the Leman, on hills which overlook the lake, stands Lausanne, the city of the bishop and of the Virgin, placed under the patronage of the dukes of Savoy. A host of pilgrims, assembling from all the surrounding places, knelt devoutly before the image of Our Lady, and made costly purchases at the great fair of indulgences that was

¹ J. J. Hottinger, H. K. G., iii. 364.

² *Ferdinando adventurum esse ingentem ex Hispania exercitum.* (Zwinglius, Epp. ii. 64; dated 11th May, 1527.)

³ *Inhibita verbi divini propagatio.* (Choupard MS.)

held in its precincts. Lausanne, extending its episcopal crosier from its lofty towers, pretended to keep the whole country at the feet of the pope. But owing to the dissolute life of the canons and priests, the eyes of many began to be opened. The ministers of the Virgin were seen in public playing at games of chance, which they seasoned with mockery and blasphemy. They fought in the churches; disguised as soldiers, they descended by night from the cathedral hill, and roaming through the streets, sword in hand and in liquor, surprised, wounded, and sometimes even killed the worthy citizens; they debauched married women, seduced young girls, changed their residences into houses of ill fame, and heartlessly turned out their young children to beg their bread.¹ Nowhere, perhaps, was better exemplified the description of the clergy given us by one of the most venerable prelates at the beginning of the sixteenth century: "Instead of training up youth by their learning and holiness of life, the priests train birds and dogs; instead of books they have children; they sit with toppers in the taverns, and give way to drunkenness."²

Among the theologians in the court of the bishop Sebastian of Montfaucon, was Natalis Galeotto, a man of elevated rank and great urbanity, fond of the society of scholars, and himself a man of learning,³ but nevertheless very zealous about fasts and all the ordinances of the Church. Farel thought that, if this man could be gained over to the Gospel, Lausanne, "slumbering at the foot of its steeples," would perhaps awaken, and all the country with it. He therefore addressed himself to him. "Alas! alas!" said Farel, "religion is now little better than an empty mockery, since people who think only of their appetites are the kings of the Church. Christian people, instead of celebrating in the sacrament the death of the Lord, live as if they commemorated Mercury, the god of fraud. Instead of imitating the love of Christ, they emulate the lewdness of Venus; and,

¹ Histoire de la Réformation Suisse by Ruchat, i. 35.

² Pro *libros* sibi *liberos* comparant, pro studio concubinas amant. (Tritheim Instit. Vite Sacerdotalis, p. 765.) The play upon *libros* and *liberos* (books and children) cannot be conveyed in English.

³ Urbanus, doctus, magnus, consuetudine doctorum obligatus. (Farel to Galeotto. Neuchâtel MS.)

when they do evil, they fear more the presence of a wretched swineherd than of God Almighty."¹

But Galeotto made no reply, and Farel persevered. "Knock; cry out with all your might," wrote he in a second letter; "redouble your attacks upon our Lord."² Still there was no answer. Farel returned to the charge a third time, and Natalis, fearing perhaps to reply in person, commissioned his secretary, who forwarded a letter to Farel full of abusive language.³ For a season Lausanne was inaccessible.

After having thus contended with a priest, Farel was destined to struggle with a monk. The two arms of the hierarchy by which the Middle Ages had been governed were chivalry and monachism. The latter still remained for the service of the Papacy, although falling into decay. "Alas!" exclaimed a celebrated Carthusian, "what an obstinate devil would fear to do, a reprobate and arrogant monk will commit without hesitation."⁴

A mendicant friar, who dared not oppose the reformer in a direct manner at Aigle, ventured into the village of Noville, situated on the low grounds deposited by the Rhone as it falls into the lake of Geneva. The friar, ascending the pulpit, exclaimed, "It is the devil himself who preaches by the mouth of the minister, and all those who listen to him will be damned." Then, taking courage, he slunk along the bank of the Rhone, and arrived at Aigle with a meek and humble look, not to appear there against Farel, whose powerful eloquence terribly alarmed him, but to beg in behalf of his convent a few barrels of the most exquisite wine in all Switzerland. He had not advanced many steps into the town before he met the minister. At this sight he trembled in every limb. "Why did you preach in such a manner at Noville?" demanded Farel. The monk, fearful that the dispute would attract public attention, and yet desirous of replying to the point, whispered in his ear, "I have heard say that you are a heretic and misleader of the people."

¹ *Pluris faciunt miserrimi subulei aspectum quam omnipotentis Dei.* (Farel to Galeotto. Neufchatel MS.)

² *Pulsare, vociferari perge, nec prius cessa quam, &c.* (Ibid.)

³ *Naniis totas implevit et conviciis.* (Ibid.)

⁴ *Quod agere veretur obstinatus diabolus, intrepide agit reprobus et contumax monachus.* (Jacob von Juterbock. de Negligentia Prælatorum.)

"Prove it," said Farel. Then the monk "began to storm," says Farel,¹ and, hastening down the street, endeavoured to shake off his disagreeable companion, "turning now this way, now that, like a troubled conscience."² A few citizens beginning to collect around them, Farel said to them, pointing to the monk, "You see this fine father; he has said from the pulpit that I preach nothing but lies." Then the monk, blushing and stammering, began to speak of the offerings of the faithful (the precious wine of Yvorne, for which he had come begging), and accused Farel of opposing them. The crowd had now increased in number, and Farel, who only sought an opportunity of proclaiming the true worship of God, exclaimed with a loud voice, "It is no man's business to ordain any other way of serving God than that which He has commanded. We must keep his commandments without turning either to the right hand or to the left."³ Let us worship God alone in spirit and in truth, offering to him a broken and a contrite heart."

The eyes of all the spectators were fixed on the two actors in this scene, the monk with his wallet, and the reformer with his glistening eye. Confounded by Farel's daring to speak of any other worship than that which the holy Roman Church prescribed, the friar "was out of his senses; he trembled, and was agitated, becoming pale and red by turns. At last, taking his cap off his head, from under his hood, he flung it on the ground trampling it under foot and crying: 'I am surprised that the earth does not gape and swallow us up!'"⁴.....Farel wished to reply, but in vain. The friar with downcast eyes kept stamping on his cap, "bawling like one out of his wits;" and his cries resounding through the streets of Aigle, drowned the voice of the reformer. At length one of the spectators, who

¹ *Commença de se tempester*; in the narrative he gives of this adventure to the nuns of Veray. (Neufchâtel MS.)

² *Tournant maintenant de ça, maintenant de là, comme fait la conscience mal assurée.* (Ibid.)

³ *Il n'appartient à personne vivante d'ordonner autre manière de faire service à Dieu, que celle qu'il a commandée. Nous devons garder ses commandemens, sans tirer ni à la dextre, ni à la senestre.* (Ibid.)

⁴ *Ilors de sens, trembloit, s'agitoit, palissoit et rougissoit tour à tour. Enfin tirant son bonnet de sa tête, hors du chaperon, il le rua à terre, jettant et mettant son pied sus, en s'écriant: "Je suis esbahi comme la terre ne nous abyme!"* (Ibid.)

stood beside him, plucked him by the sleeve, and said, "Listen to the minister, as he is listening to you." The affrighted monk, believing himself already half-dead, started violently and cried out: "Oh, thou excommunicate! layest thou thy hand upon me?"

The little town was in an uproar; the friar at once furious and trembling, Farel following up his attack with vigour, and the people confused and amazed. At length the magistrate appeared, ordered the monk and Farel to follow him, and shut them up, "one in one tower and one in another."¹

On the Saturday morning Farel was liberated from his prison, and conducted to the castle before the officers of justice, where the monk had arrived before him. The minister began to address them: "My lords, to whom our Saviour enjoins obedience without any exception, this friar has said that the doctrine which I preach is against God. Let him make good his words, or, if he cannot, permit your people to be edified." The violence of the monk was over. The tribunal before which he was standing, the courage of his adversary, the power of the movement which he could not resist, the weakness of his cause, —all alarmed him, and he was now ready to make matters up. "Then the friar fell upon his knees, saying: My lords, I entreat forgiveness of you and of God. Next turning to Farel: And also, Magister, what I preached against you was grounded on false reports. I have found you to be a good man, and your doctrine good, and I am prepared to recall my words."²

Farel was touched by this appeal, and said: "My friend, do not ask forgiveness of me, for I am a poor sinner like other men, putting my trust not in my own righteousness, but in the death of Jesus."³

One of the lords of Berne coming up at this time, the friar, who already imagined himself on the brink of martyrdom, began to wring his hands, and to turn now towards the Bernese councillors, now towards the tribunal, and then to Farel, crying,

¹ L'un en une tour, et l'autre en l'autre. (Neufchatel MS.)

² Lors le frère se jeta à genoux disant: Messeigneurs, je demande merci à Dieu et à vous..... Et aussi, Magister, ce que j'ai prêché contre vous a été par de faux rapports, &c. (Ibid.)

³ Je suis pauvre pécheur comme les autres, ayant ma sance, non en ma justice, mais à la mort de Jesus. (Ibid.)

"Pardon, pardon!"—"Ask pardon of our Saviour," replied Farel. The lord of Berne added; "Come to-morrow and hear the minister's sermon; if he appears to you to preach the truth, you shall confess it openly before all; if not, you will declare your opinion: this promise in my hand." The monk held out his hand, and the judges retired. "Then the friar went away, and I have not seen him since, and no promises or oaths were able to make him stay."¹ Thus the Reformation advanced in Switzerland Romande.

But violent storms threatened to destroy the work that was hardly begun. Romish agents from the Valais and from Savoy had crossed the Rhone at St. Maurice, and were exciting the people to energetic resistance. Tumultuous assemblages took place, in which dangerous projects were discussed; the proclamations of the government were torn down from the church-doors; troops of citizens paraded the city; the drum beat in the streets to excite the populace against the reformer: everywhere prevailed riot and sedition. And hence, when Farel ascended the pulpit on the 16th February, for the first time after a short absence, some papist bands collected round the gate of the church, raised their hands in tumult, uttered savage cries, and compelled the minister to break off in his sermon.

The council of Berne thereupon decreed that the parishioners of the four mandemens should assemble. Those of Bex declared for the Reform; Aigle followed their example, but with indecision; and in the mountains above Ollon, the peasants, not daring to maltreat Farel, excited their wives, who rushed upon him with their fulling-clubs. But it was especially the parish of the Ormonds which, calm and proud at the foot of its glaciers, signalized itself by its resistance. A companion of Farel's labours, named Claude (probably Claude de Glontinis), when preaching there one day with great animation, was suddenly interrupted by the ringing of the bells, whose noise was such that one might have said all hell was busy pulling them. "In fact," says another herald of the Gospel, Jacques Camralis, who chanced to be present, "it was Satan himself, who, breathing

¹ Puis quand le frère fut parti, depuis ne l'ai vu, et nulles promesses ni sermens ne l'ont pu faire demeurer. (Neufchâtel MS.)

his anger into some of his agents, filled the ears of the auditors with all this uproar,"¹ At another time, some zealous reformers having thrown down the altars of Baal, according to the language of the times, the evil spirit began to blow with violence in all the chalets scattered over the sides of the mountains; the shepherds issued precipitously like avalanches, and fell upon the church and the evangelicals. "Let us only find these sacrilegious wretches," cried the furious Ormondines; "we will hang them,—we will cut off their heads,—we will burn them,—we will throw their ashes into the Great Water."² Thus were these mountaineers agitated, like the wind that roars in their lofty valleys with a fury unknown to the inhabitants of the plains.

Other difficulties overwhelmed Farel. His fellow-labourers were not all of them blameless. One Christopher Ballista, formerly a monk of Paris, had written to Zwingli: "I am but a Gaul, a barbarian,³ but you will find me pure as snow, without any guile, of open heart, through whose windows all the world may see."⁴ Zwingli sent Ballista to Farel, who was loudly calling for labourers in Christ's vineyard. The fine language of the Parisian at first charmed the multitude; but it was soon found necessary to beware of these priests and monks disgusted with popery. "Brought up in the slothfulness of the cloister, gluttonous and lazy," says Farel, "Ballista could not conform to the abstemiousness and rude labours of the evangelists, and soon began to regret his monk's hood. When he perceived the people beginning to distrust him, he became like a furious monster, vomiting waggon-loads of threats."⁵ Thus ended his labours.

Notwithstanding all these trials, Farel was not discouraged. The greater the difficulties, the more his energy increased. "Let us scatter the seed everywhere," said he, "and let civil-

¹ Sed Satan, per ejus servos, voluit aures auditorum ejus sono cymbali implere. (Neufchatel MS.)

² Quo invento suspenderetur primum, deinde dignus comburi, ulterius capitis obtruncatione, novissime in aquis mergeretur. (Ibid.)

³ Me quantumvis Gallum et barbarum. (Zw. Epp. ii. 205.)

⁴ Absque ullo furo, nivem, et aperti fenestratique pectoris. (Ibid.)

⁵ Quam beatus hic venter incanduit! quot minarum plaustra! Solent tales bellue, &c. (Neufchatel MS.)

ized France, provoked to jealousy by this barbarous nation, embrace piety at last. Let there not be in Christ's body either fingers, or hands, or feet, or eyes, or ears, or arms, existing separately and working each for itself, but let there be only one heart that nothing can divide. Let not variety in secondary things divide into many separate members that vital principle which is one and simple.¹ Alas! the pastures of the Church are trodden under foot, and its waters are troubled! Let us set our minds to concord and peace. When the Lord shall have opened heaven, there will not be so many disputes about bread and water.² A fervent charity—that is the powerful battering-ram with which we shall beat down those proud walls, those material elements, with which men would confine us.”³

Thus wrote the most impetuous of the reformers. These words of Farel, preserved for three centuries in the city where he died, disclose to us more clearly the intimate nature of the great Revolution of the sixteenth century, than all the venturesome assertions of its popish interpreters. Christian unity thus from these earliest moments found a zealous apostle. The nineteenth century is called to resume the work which the sixteenth century was unable to accomplish.

CHAPTER II.

State—Religion in Berne—Irrresolution of Berne—Almanack of Heretics—Evangelical Majority—Haller—Zwingli's Signal—Anabaptists in Berne—Victory of the Gospel—Papist Provocations—The City Companies—Proposed Disputation—Objections of the Forest Cantons—The Church, the Judge of Controversies—Unequal Contest—Zwingli—A Christian Band—The Cordeliers' Church—Opening of the Conference—The sole Head—Unity of Error—A Priest converted at the Altar—St. Vincent's Day—The Butchers—A strange Argument—Papist Bitterness—Necessity of Reform—Zwingli's Sermon—Visit of the King of Kings—Edict of Reform—Was the Reformation political?

OF all the Swiss cantons, Berne appeared the least disposed to the Reformation. A military state may be zealous for religion,

¹ Ne in digitos, manus, pedes, oculos, nares, aures, brachia, cor quod unum est disceindatur, et que in rebus est varietas, principium non faciat multiplex. (Neufchatel MS.)

² An allusion to the controversies on anabaptism and the real presence. *Non tanta erit super aqua et pane contentio, nec super gramine, solutaque obsidione.* (Ibid.) The sense of these latter words is obscure.

³ *Charitas fortissimus aries.* (Farel to Bucer, 10th May, 1529.)

but it will be for an external and a disciplined religion: it requires an ecclesiastical organization that it can see, and touch, and manage at its will. It fears the innovations and the free movements of the Word of God: it loves the form and not the life. Napoleon, by restoring religion in France in the *Concordat*, has given us a memorable example of this truth. Such, also, was the case with Berne. Its government, besides, was absorbed in political interests, and although it had little regard for the pope, it cared still less to see a reformer put himself, as Zwingli did, at the head of public affairs. As for the people, feasting on the "butter of their kine and milk of their sheep, with fat of lambs,"¹ they remained closely shut up within the narrow circle of their material wants. Religious questions were not to the taste either of the rulers or of their fellow-citizens.

The Bernese government, being without experience in religious matters, had proposed to check the movement of the Reform by its edict of 1523. As soon as it discovered its mistake, it moved towards the cantons that adhered to the ancient faith; and while that portion of the people whence the Great Council was recruited, listened to the voice of the reformers, most of the patrician families, who composed the Smaller Council, believing their power, their interests, and their honour menaced, attached themselves to the old order of things. From this opposition of the two councils there arose a general uneasiness, but no violent shocks. Sudden movements, repeated starts, announced from time to time that incongruous matters were fermenting in the nation; it was like an indistinct earthquake, which raises the whole surface without causing any rents: then anon all returns to apparent tranquillity.² Berne, which was always decided in its politics, turned in religious matters at one time to the right, and at another to the left; and declared that it would be neither popish nor reformed. To gain time was, for the new faith, to gain everything.

What was done to turn aside Berne from the Reformation, was the very cause of precipitating it into the new way. The haughtiness with which the five primitive cantons arrogated

¹ Deut. xxxii. 14.

² Hundeshagen, *Conflikte der Bernischen Kirche*, p. 10.

the guardianship of their confederates, the secret conferences to which Berne was not even invited, and the threat of addressing the people in a direct manner, deeply offended the Bernese oligarchs. Thomas Murner, a Carmelite of Lucerne, one of those rude men who act upon the populace, but who inspire disgust in elevated minds, made the cup run over. Furious against the Zurich calendar, in which the names of the saints had been purposely omitted, he published in opposition to it the "Almanack of Heretics and Church-robbers," a tract filled with lampoons and invectives, in which the portraits of the reformers and of their adherents, among whom were many of the most considerable men of Berne, were coupled with the most brutal inscriptions.¹ Zurich and Berne in conjunction demanded satisfaction, and from this time the union of these two states daily became closer.

This change was soon perceived at Berne. The elections of 1527 placed a considerable number of friends of the Reform in the Great Council; and this body, forthwith resuming its right to nominate the members of the Smaller Council, which had been usurped for twenty years by the Bannerets and the Sixteen, removed from the government the most decided partisans of the Roman hierarchy, and among others Gaspard de Mulinen and Sebastian de Stein,² and filled the vacancies with members of the evangelical majority. The union of Church and State, which had hitherto checked the progress of the Reform in Switzerland, was now about to accelerate its movements.

The reformer Haller was not alone in Berne. Kolb had quitted the Carthusian monastery at Nuremberg, in which he had been compelled to take refuge, and had appeared before his compatriots, demanding no other stipend than the liberty of preaching Jesus Christ. Already bending under the weight of years, his head crowned with hoary locks, Kolb, young in heart, full of fire, and of indomitable courage, presented boldly before the chiefs of the nation that Gospel which had saved him. Haller, on the contrary, although only thirty-five years

¹ Quum nudus-tertius *Murneri* Calendarium legissem, partim ridendo hominis stultissimam impudentiam. (Ecolamp. to Zwingli, Febr. 1527, Epp. ii. 26.)

² Mullinen e Senatoria dignitate protrusus est. Lapides quoque. (Haller to Zwingli, April 25, 1527.)

old, moved with a measured step, spoke with gravity, and proclaimed the new doctrines with unusual circumspection. The old man had taken the young man's part, and the youth that of the graybeard.

Zwingli, whose eye nothing escaped, saw that a favourable hour for Berne was coming, and immediately gave the signal. "The dove commissioned to examine the state of the waters is returning with an olive-branch into the ark," wrote he to Haller; "come forth now, thou second Noah, and take possession of the land. Enforce, be earnest, and fix deeply in the hearts of men the hooks and grapnels of the Word of God, so that they can never again be rid of them."¹—"Your bears," wrote he to Thomas ab Hofen, "have again put forth their claws. Please God that they do not draw them back until they have torn everything in pieces that opposes Jesus Christ."

Haller and his friends were on the point of replying to this appeal, when their situation became complicated. Some anabaptists, who formed everywhere the extreme party, arriving at Berne in 1527, led away the people from the evangelical preachers "on account of the presence of idols."^{2 3} Haller had

¹ *Aculeos ac hamos, sic in mortalium pectora dimitte, ut etiam si velint, non possint.* (Zw. Epp. ii. 10.)

² *Ne plebem dehortentur ab auditione concionum nostrarum ob idolorum præsentiam.* (Ibid. 49.)

³ It is singular to observe how readily the popular impulses were directed against images in Germany and the Netherlands, even when one can hardly suppose that the people who attacked them were so heartily zealous for God's honour, and so indignant at the invasion of Christ's mediatorial office by the saints whom the images represented, as to have been impelled to attack them by such feelings alone. In short we find that while many enlightened Christians, like Luther and Melancthon, were content to let the images remain, the mere mob was ever ready to pull them down. Now, making every allowance for the influence of a profound and right conviction on the part of some, that these images, being worshipped, were really idols which could not be too soon removed, and allowing also for the mere passion for destruction so easily excited in a mob, I apprehend that the fact may farther be ascribed to the return of the old German spirit which, even when heathen, disliked image worship. "The predilection for image worship," says the Rev. J. G. Tiarks in his *Life of Alcuin*, "which the Romans had transferred from paganism to Christianity, was unfelt by the Germans who had adored their former deities, not so much in artificial representations as in natural objects." The same author assigns a reason also for saint worship being less popular in Germany than in Greece. Referring to the restoration of saint and image worship by the council of Nice, A.D. 787, he says: "The decree of the Nicene council was the less likely to meet with a favourable reception among the Germans, as prostration of the body, in the Greek sense, conveyed a totally different meaning to the natives of the West, from that which it imparted to the subjects of oriental despotism. The free-born German was accustomed to behold in his feudal sovereign, only the first among his equals, and to bow his knee to God alone; whilst the Greek would not

a useless conference with them. "To what dangers is not Christianity exposed," cried he, "wherever these furies have crept in!"¹ There has never been any revival in the Church, without the hierarchical or radical sects immediately endeavouring to disturb it. Haller, though alarmed, still maintained his unalterable meekness. "The magistrates are desirous of banishing them," said he; "but it is our duty to drive out their errors, and not their persons. Let us employ no other weapons than the sword of the Spirit."² It was not from popery that the Reformers had learnt these principles. A public disputation took place. Six anabaptists declared themselves convinced, and two others were sent out of the country.

The decisive moment was drawing near. The two great powers of the age, the Gospel and the Papacy, were stirring with equal energy; the Bernese councils were to speak out. They saw on the one hand the five primitive cantons taking daily a more threatening attitude, and announcing that the Austrian would soon reappear in Helvetia, to reduce it once more into subjection to Rome; and on the other they beheld the Gospel every day gaining ground in the confederation. Which was destined to prevail in Switzerland—the lances of Austria or the Word of God? In the uncertainty in which the councils were placed, they resolved to side with the majority. Where could they discover a firm footing, if not there? *Vox populi, vox Dei*. "No one," said they, "can make any change of his own private authority: the consent of all is necessary."³

The government of Berne had to decide between two mandates, both emanating from its authority: that of 1523, in

think of denying to the saints the homage which he offered to the emperor. Neither the language nor the habits of the western nations accorded with a practice which being familiar to the inhabitants of the Byzantine empire, might be adapted to religious purposes, without exciting in them any painful feelings." See *Life of Aleuin, &c.*, London 1838, p. 187. These remarks specially apply to the republican Swiss. Mr. Tiarks remarks, that though the Germans had no great reverence for the images of saints, they seemed to hold their *relics* in great respect. In these, no doubt, they saw objects of superstitious awe, rather than of personal homage.—D.D.S.

¹ Consideravimus omnes periculum urbis nostræ et totius Christianismi, ubi illæ furie irrepserint. (Zw. Epp. ii. 50.)

² Nostrum est, omnia gladio spiritus refellere. (Ibid.)

³ Ut privata auctoritate nemo quippiam immutare præsumat. (Haller to Vadian.)

favour of the free preaching of the Gospel, and that of 1526, in favour "of the sacraments, the saints, the mother of God, and the ornaments of the churches."¹ State messengers set out and traversed every parish: the people gave their votes against every law contrary to liberty, and the councils, supported by the nation, decreed that "the Word of God should be preached publicly and freely, even if it should be in opposition to the statutes and doctrines of men." Such was the victory of the Gospel and of the people over the oligarchy and the priests.

Contentions immediately arose throughout the canton, and every parish became a battle-field. The peasants began to dispute with the priests and monks, in reliance on the Holy Scriptures. "If the mandate of our lords," said many, "accords to our pastors the liberty of preaching, why should it not grant the flock the liberty of acting?"—"Peace, peace!" cried the councils, alarmed at their own boldness. But the flocks resolutely declared that they would send away the mass, and keep their pastors and the Bible.^{2 3} Upon this the papal partisans

¹ The testimony of the late J. Blanco White to the connection between the worship of saints, relics, and images, and the wealth and power of Rome, is very remarkable, and stands altogether unaffected by that person's unhappy lapse into error towards the close of his life. "The worship of saints, relics, and images," says he, "might, when tradition began to spread it, have appeared less connected with the wealth and power of the Church of Rome; yet none of its spiritual resources has proved more productive of both. Europe is covered with sanctuaries and churches, which owe their existence and revenues to some reported miraculous appearance of an image, or the presence, real or pretended, of some relic. To form a correct notion of the influence which such places have upon the people, it is necessary to have lived where they exist. But the house of Loretto alone would be sufficient to give some idea of the power and wealth which the Church must have derived from similar sources, when the whole of Christendom was more ignorant and superstitious than the most degraded portions of it are at present. Of this fact, however, I am perfectly convinced by long observation, that were it possible to abolish sanctuaries, properly so called, and leave the same number of Churches without the favourite virgins and saints, which give them both that peculiar denomination and their popular charm, more than half the blind deference which the multitude pay to the clergy, and through the clergy to Rome, would quickly disappear." See "Practical and Internal Evidence against Catholicism," (second edition,) p. 87.—D. D. S.

² *Incolas vallis Emmenthal Senatium adiisse, missamquo missam fecisse.* (Zw. Epp. ii. 104.)

³ Here "pastors and the Bible" are contrasted with "the sacraments, the saints, the mother of God, and the ornaments of the Churches," mentioned in the last paragraph. Of course by sacraments is meant, not the two sacraments for which, as understood by Protestants, a clear warrant is found in Scripture, but the seven sacraments of the popedom, of which five have no such warrant, and two are perverted into contrivances for exalting the priesthood and helping to promote their spiritual tyranny.

Called by the obvious connection between the Bible and the Reformation, popish

grew violent. The banneret Kuttler called the good people of Emmenthal, "heretics, rascals, wantons;" but these peasants obliged him to make an apology.¹ The bailiff of Trachselwald was more cunning. Seeing the inhabitants of Rudersweil listening with eagerness to the Word of God, which a pious minister was preaching to them, he came with fifers and trumpeters, and interrupted the sermon, inviting the village girls by words and by lively tunes to quit the church for the dance.

These singular provocations did not check the Reform. Six of the city companies (the shoemakers, weavers, merchants, bakers, stone-masons, and carpenters) abolished in the churches and convents of their district all masses, anniversaries, advowsons, and prebends. Three others (the tanners, smiths, and tailors) prepared to imitate them;² the seven remaining companies were undecided except the butchers, who were enthusiastic for the pope.³ Thus the majority of the citizens had

writers have of late years attempted to prove that the countries that remained most attached to Rome had most Bibles in the vernacular tongues at the commencement of the sixteenth century, and those who became most protestant the fewest. Among the former they instance Spain and Bohemia, among the latter England, Scotland, Sweden, Denmark, and Norway. The inference they would suggest is, of course, that where the Bible is most common and best known, there will be least Protestantism, and that the want of Bibles gave the deathblow to Popery in the kingdoms that apostatized from Rome!

There is an effrontery in this that is confounding. What a pity that this popish virtue of the Bible was not known sooner in those countries where the suppression of Protestantism has been the fruit of the inquisition and its horrors, while the same result might have been effected by the general distribution of Bibles! What a strange papist the king of Sardinia must be who insists that even Protestant ladies, on entering his dominions, shall give up their Bibles the moment they reach his frontier! Above all, how ungrateful must those popes have been who have even gone so far as to denounce Bible societies!—D. D. S.

¹ Pueros, hereticos, et homines lascivos. (Zw. Epp. ii. 106.)

² Haller to Zwingli, 4th November, 1527. (Ibid. 105.)

³ This exception certainly does not bear out what modern papists are repeating *usque ad nauseam*, that while their religion has ever been most favourable to civilization and the fine arts, Protestantism has been the reverse. Mr. Pagin, the architect, in particular, who in his late publications would have his readers believe that the bigotry and superstition of the middle ages were enlightened piety and true devotion, and, moreover, that the fine arts began to decline at the very period when they are generally said to have begun to revive, will be surprised to see that had he lived at Berne three centuries ago, he would have been deserted by the stone masons and thrown on the society of the butchers. The exception, indeed, must be very puzzling to the members of the papacy in general; for if, as they say, mere folly and fanaticism made the rest Protestants, why should the butchers have been the wisest and most enlightened? May it not throw some light on the subject to suggest that possibly the Romish clergy and monks may have been their best customers?

As for the stone-masons, they probably thought that their craft would be fully as legitimately exercised in building comfortable houses for honest Christian

embraced the Gospel. Many parishes throughout the canton had done the same; and the avoyer d'Erlach, that great adversary of the Reformation, could no longer keep the torrent within bounds.

Yet the attempt was made: the bailiffs were ordered to note the irregularities and dissolute lives of the monks and nuns; all women of loose morals were even turned out of the cloisters.¹ But it was not against these abuses alone that the Reformation was levelled; it was against the institutions themselves, and against popery on which they were founded. The people ought therefore to decide. "The Bernese clergy," said they, "must be convoked, as at Zurich, and let the two doctrines be discussed in a solemn conference. We will proceed afterwards in conformity with the result."

On the Sunday following the festival of Saint Martin (11th November), the council and citizens unanimously resolved that a public disputation should take place at the beginning of the succeeding year.² "The glory of God and his Word," said

families, the members of Christ's flock and body, as in constructing gorgeous piles for the celebration of semi-pagan rites, under the name of churches, for the purpose of giving the clergy a factitious splendour, or in building monasteries and convents for men who had often children indeed, but no families.

Mr. Pagin insists that the Reformation has done nothing for architecture and its sister arts. Pray what did the Divine Author of Christianity do for those arts? Judged by this absurd standard of Divine truth, He and his apostles must hide their diminished heads before the pagan sculptors and architects of ancient Greece, as well as the papal ones of the middle ages. But as even papists admit that the early Christians were probably rendered indifferent, if not hostile, to the fine arts, by the success of the heathen in cultivating them, so to this day there may be a like cause for a like indifference among Protestants. The finest specimens of ancient Church architecture repel rather than attract the admiration of those who cannot but associate them with the selfish spirit for which we have Hollinshed's testimony they were erected, and the half pagan purposes to which we know they were applied.—D. D. S.

¹ J. J. Hottinger, H. Kirchen, viii. 394.

² Ruchat, at the commencement of book iv. of his *Histoire de la Réformation de la Suisse*, succinctly states the reasons that induced the Bernese government to undertake this important step, and surely they are such as recommend themselves to every Christian mind that dispassionately, and in the light of Scripture alone, judges of the responsibility before God, of such a government.

"The lords of Berne," says he, "taking into consideration the various movements on the subject of the Reformation in their capital and country, judged it to be necessary at last to examine this important affair fairly and fully, so that they might know how to act. To this they had several inducements: 1st. The great existing diversity of sentiments and conduct as regards religion, which might have such troublesome consequences, were nothing to be done to promote solid unanimity, by bringing men's minds, as much as should be possible, to adopt the same views. 2dly. The refusal they had received from the Roman Catholic cantons, to give them one of the original copies of the minutes of the Baden disputation.

they, "will at length appear!" Bernese and strangers, priests and laymen, all were invited by letter or by printed notice to come and discuss the controverted points, but by Scripture alone, without the glosses of the ancients, and renouncing all subtleties and abusive language.¹ Who knows, said they, whether all the members of the ancient Swiss confederation may not be thus brought to unity of faith?

Thus, within the walls of Berne, the struggle was about to take place that would decide the fate of Switzerland; for the example of the Bernese must necessarily lead with it a great part of the confederation.

The Five Cantons, alarmed at this intelligence, met at Lucerne, where they were joined by Friburg, Soleure, and Glaris. There was nothing either in the letter or in the spirit of the federal compact to obstruct religious liberty. "Every state," said Zurich, "is free to choose the doctrine that it desires to

Finally, the mighty noise made by the monks about the administrators and curators who had been given to them, and of whom they bitterly complained, as of an infraction of their rights and a criminal assault on their religion. Besides, the present conjuncture seemed propitious. All the Roman Catholic powers of Europe were engaged in a bloody war. Pope Clement VII. had leagued himself with Francis I., king of France, against the emperor Charles V.; the city of Rome had been attacked on the 6th of March this year, by the imperial army, taken by a sudden assault and pillaged; and the pope, who had retired with some of the cardinals into the castle of St. Angelo, had been besieged there for seven months. Upon that the kings of France and England had leagued together against the emperor. His brother Ferdinand, who had been crowned king of Bohemia and laid claim to the crown of Hungary, was engaged on that account in a bloody war against the Turks, who drove him out of Hungary in the year 1529, and even advanced to the siege of Vienna, but to no purpose."

History proves all along, from the Reformation downwards, that political weakness, to say no more, results from the prevalence of religious dissentiment in a nation, when carried to the extent of those immense differences which exist betwixt Rome and the Reformation. This consideration has influenced the policy both of Roman Catholic and Protestant governments. The former, at once from necessity and under the dictation of their religion, have uniformly sought to suppress the Reformation by force. If, as in the case of the edict of Nantes, they have been compelled by the force of circumstances to swear to the observance of toleration, the most solemn obligations of that kind have been cast to the wind, as soon as they thought it might be done with safety to themselves. But Berne here presents us with an example for every right-thinking government to follow. It calls the advocates of both sides to a full and free discussion of their differences, under the conviction that the result cannot fail to be on the side of truth. And yet such discussions seem now-a-days to be looked upon with an evil eye even by the governments of nations that boast of their protestantism, while from some of their acts one would think they made it a matter of conscience to favour to the utmost the covert encroachments of popery.—D. D. 8.

¹ *Solam sacram Scripturam, absque veterum glossematis.* (Haller to Zwingli, 19th November, 1527: Epp. ii. 113.)

profess." The Waldstettes,¹ on the contrary, wished to deprive the cantons of this independence, and to subject them to the federal majority and to the pope. They protested, therefore, in the name of the confederation, against the proposed discussion. "Your ministers," wrote they to Berne, "dazzled and confounded at Baden by the brightness of truth, would desire by this new discussion to hide their shame; but we entreat you to desist from a plan so contrary to our ancient alliances."² "It is not we who have infringed them," replied Berne; "it is much rather your haughty missive that has destroyed them. We will not abandon the Word of our Lord Jesus Christ." Upon this the Roman cantons decided on refusing a safe-conduct to those who should proceed to Berne. This was giving token of sinister intentions.

The bishops of Lausanne, Constance, Basel, and Sion, being invited to the conference under pain of forfeiting all their privileges in the canton of Berne, replied that, since it was to be a disputation according to the Scriptures, they had nothing to do with it.³ Thus did these priests forget the words of one of

¹ The inhabitants of the primitive democratic cantons, Schwytz, Uri, Unterwald, and Lucerne, to which Zug may be added.

² They added, according to the papal historian Fl. Raymond, what must have had the directly contrary effect from that intended on men of any independence or resolution, that it was unlawful for any people or province to change the form of religion or doctrine, and to bring into doubt things received by the Church, but that this belonged to an universal council. But if any turbulent fellow were to introduce a new kind of doctrine, he was immediately to be seized and punished according to the laws. See *Hist. de Ortu &c. Hæreseon hujus Sæculi*, Lib. iii., cap. 6. According to a doctrine so very convenient for those who lived and prospered by the Church's corruptions, not only ought no pagan people or province ever to have changed its religion, but the punishment of the apostles and their successors for introducing new doctrines, was justified. Moreover, by this adjournment of questions of the most vital importance in doctrine and morals, till the sitting of an œcumenical council which might never be called, men were condemned to pass their lives without knowing whether their doctrines and practices were leading them to heaven or hell!

In addition to the cantons mentioned in our author's note, Fl. Raymond mentions Glaris, Friburg and Soleure. This made a formidable opposition, but the same historian says, that the Bernese were not at all moved by it, and no doubt, if it influenced them in any way, it would be in determining them to persevere in the resolution they had taken.—D. D. S.

³ Fl. Raymond rates them severely for what he considers unjustifiable scrupulosity in keeping away because unwilling to give any sanction by their presence to the contemptible councils of profane and God-abandoned men. In this, says he, they committed a pernicious sin (*perniciosa ab eis peccatum*), much after the manner of the Jews of old, who allowed themselves to fall a prey to the Romans under Pompey, rather than take up arms in their own defence, lest they should violate the Sabbath. He thinks that by their presence, and with the aid of

the most illustrious Roman doctors of the fifteenth century: "In heavenly things man should be independent of his fellows, and trust in God alone."¹

The Romanist doctors followed the example of the bishops. Eck, Murner, Cochlæus, and many others, said wherever they went: "We have received the letter of this leper, of this accursed heretic, Zwingli."² They want to take the Bible for their judge; but has the Bible a voice against those who do it violence? We will not go to Berne; we will not crawl into that obscure corner of the world; we will not go and combat in that gloomy cavern, in that school of heretics. Let these villains come out into the open air, and contend with us on level ground, if they have the Bible on their side, as they say." The emperor ordered the discussion to be adjourned; but on the very day of its opening, the council of Berne replied, that as every one was already assembled, delay would be impossible.

Then, in despite of the doctors and bishops, the Helvetic Church assembled to decide upon its doctrines. Had it a right to do so? No;—not if priests and bishops were appointed, as Rome pretends, to form a mystic bond between the Church and our Lord; Yes—if they were established, as the Bible declares, only to satisfy that law of order by virtue of which all society should have a directing power. The opinions of the Swiss reformers in this respect were not doubtful. The grace which creates the minister comes from the Lord, thought they; but the Church examines this grace, acknowledges it, proclaims it by the elders, and in every act in which faith is concerned, it can always appeal from the minister to the Word of God. *Try the spirits—prove all things*, it says to the faithful. The Church is the judge of controversies;³ and it is this duty, in which it should never be found wanting, that it was now about to fulfil in the disputation at Berne.

The contest seemed unequal. On one side appeared the

divines, of whom they had some of the greatest learning, they might have wrested from the Zwinglians the pre-eminence which they had assumed, and might have thus stemmed the tide of heresy which acquired force from that advantage.—D.D.S.

¹ John Goch, *Dialogus de quatuor erroribus*, p. 237.

² *Epistolam leprosi, damnati, hæretici Zwinglii accepi.* (Eck to G. A. Zell, Zw. Epp. ii 126.)

³ *Judex controversiarum*—1 John iv. 1; 1 Thess. v. 21.

Roman hierarchy, a giant which had increased in strength during many centuries; and on the other, there was at first but one weak and timid man, the modest Berthold Haller. "I cannot wield the sword of the Word," said he in alarm to his friends. "If you do not stretch out your hands to me, all is over." He then threw himself trembling at the feet of the Lord, and soon arose enlightened and exclaiming, "Faith in the Saviour gives me courage, and scatters all my fears."¹

Yet he could not remain alone: all his looks were turned towards Zwingli: "It was I who took the bath at Baden," wrote *Œcolampadius* to Haller, "and now it is Zwingli who should lead off the bear-dance in Berne."²—"We are between the hammer and the anvil," wrote Haller to Zwingli; "we hold the wolf by the ears, and know not how to let him go."³ The houses of De Watteville, Noll, Tresp, and Berthold are open to you. Come, then, and command the battle in person."

Zwingli did not hesitate. He demanded permission of the Council of Zurich to visit Berne, in order to show there "that his teaching was full of the fear of God, and not blasphemous; mighty to spread concord through Switzerland, and not to cause troubles and dissension."⁴ At the very time that Haller received news of Zwingli's coming, *Œcolampadius* wrote to him: "I am ready, if it be necessary, to sacrifice my life. Let us inaugurate the new year by embracing one another to the glory of Jesus Christ." Other doctors wrote to the same effect. "These, then," cried Haller with emotion, "these are the auxiliaries that the Lord sends to my infirmity, to aid me in fighting this rude battle!"

It was necessary to proceed with circumspection, for the violence of the oligarchs and of the Five Cantons was well known.⁵ The doctors of Glaris, Schaffhausen, St. Gall, Constance, Ulm, Lindau, and Augsburg assembled at Zurich, to proceed under the same escort as Zwingli, Pellican, Collin,

¹ *Fides in Dominum me animat, ut nihil verear.* (Zw. Epp. ii. 123.)

² An allusion to the dispute at Baden, a celebrated bathing-place, and to the arms of Berne. (Ibid. 118.)

³ *Lupum auribus tenemus.* (Zurich MS.)

⁴ *Neque ad perturbationem nostrae almae Helvetiae.* (Zw. Epp. ii. 120.)

⁵ *Oligarchæ in angulis obmurmurent.* (Ibid. 123.)

Megander, Grossman,¹ the commander Schmidt, Bullinger, and a great number of the rural clergy, selected to accompany the reformer. "When all this game traverses the country," said the pensioners, "we will go a-hunting, and see if we cannot kill some, or at least catch them and put them into a cage."

Three hundred chosen men, selected from the companies of Zurich and from the parishes within its precincts, donned their breastplates and shouldered their arquebuses; but in order not to give the journey of these doctors the appearance of a military expedition, they took neither colours, fife, nor drum; and the trumpeter of the city, a civil officer, rode alone at the head of the company.

On Tuesday the 2d of January they set out. Never had Zwingli appeared more cheerful. "Glory be to the Lord," said he, "my courage increases every day."² The burgo-master Roust, the town-clerk of Mangoldt, with Funck and Jaekli, both masters of arts, and all four delegated by the council, were on horseback near him. They reached Berne on the 4th of January, having had only one or two unimportant alarms.

The Cordeliers' Church was to serve as the place of conference. Tillmann, the city architect, had made arrangements according to a plan furnished by Zwingli.³ A large platform had been erected, on which were placed two tables, and around them sat the champions of the two parties. On the evangelical side were remarked, besides Haller, Zwingli, and Œcolampadius, many distinguished men of the Reformed Church, strangers to Switzerland, as Bucer, Capito, and Ambrose Blarer. On the side of the Papacy, Dr. Treger of Friburg, who enjoyed a high reputation, appeared to keep up the fire of the combat. As for the rest, whether through fear or contempt, the most famous Roman doctors were absent.

The first act was to publish the regulations of the conference.

¹ Here Grossman should have been put within a parenthesis—thus: (Grossman)—as Megander was merely that Reformer's Greek synonyme, corresponding to it as Melancthon to Schwarzerd, and Œcolampadius to Hausschein.—D. N. S.

² Crescit Domino gloria, mihi animus in hac pugna. (Zw. Epp. Vadiano.)

³ Tillmannus urbis architectus locum juxta tuam deformationem operabit. (Ibid. ii. 123.)

"No proof shall be proposed that is not drawn from the Holy Scriptures, and no explanation shall be given of those Scriptures that does not come from Scripture itself, explaining obscure texts by such as are clear." After this, one of the secretaries, rising to call over the roll, shouted with a loud voice that re-echoed through the church,—The Bishop of Constance! No one replied. He did the same for the Bishops of Sion, Basel, and Lausanne. Neither of these prelates was present at this meeting, either in person or by deputy. The Word of God being destined to reign alone, the Roman hierarchy did not appear. These two powers cannot walk together. There were present about three hundred and fifty Swiss and German ecclesiastics.

On Tuesday, 7th January 1528, the burgomaster Vadian of St. Gall, one of the presidents, opened the disputation. After him the aged Kolb stood up and said: "God is at this moment agitating the whole world; let us, therefore, humble ourselves before him;" and he pronounced with fervour a confession of sins.

This being ended, the first thesis was read. It ran thus: "The holy Christian Church, of which Christ is the sole head, is born of the Word of God, abideth in it, and listeneth not to the voice of a stranger."

ALEXIS GRAT, a Dominican monk.—"The word *sole* is not in Scripture. Christ has left a vicar here below."

HALLER.—"The vicar that Christ left is the Holy Ghost."

TREGER.—"See then to what a pass things have come these last ten years. This man calls himself a Lutheran, that a Zwinglian; a third, a Carlstadtian; a fourth an Œcolampadist; a fifth, an Anabaptist....."

BUCER.—"Whosoever preaches Jesus as the only Saviour, we recognise as our brother. Neither Luther, nor Zwingli, nor Œcolampadius, desires the faithful to bear his name. Besides, you should not boast so much of a mere external unity. When Antichrist gained the upper hand throughout the world, in the east by Mahomet, in the west by the pope, he was able to keep the people in unity of error. God permits divisions, in order that those who belong to him may learn to look not to men,

but to the testimony of the Word, and to the assurance of the Holy Ghost in their hearts. Thus then, dearly beloved brethren, to the Scriptures, the Scriptures!¹ O Church of Berne, hold fast to the teaching of Him who said, *Come unto me*, and not, *Come unto my vicar!*"

The disputation then turned successively on Tradition, the Merits of Christ, Transubstantiation, the Mass, Prayer to the Saints, Purgatory, Images, Celibacy, and the Disorders of the Clergy. Rome found numerous defenders, and among others, Murer, priest of Rapperswyl, who had said: "If they wish to burn the two ministers of Berne, I will undertake to carry them both to the stake."

On Sunday the 19th of January, the day on which the doctrine of the mass was attacked, Zwingli, desirous of acting on the people also, went into the pulpit, and reciting the Apostles' Creed, made a pause after these words: "He ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead." These three articles," said he, "are in contradiction to the mass." All his hearers redoubled their attention; and a priest, clothed in his sacerdotal vestments,² who was preparing to celebrate the holy sacrifice in

¹ Darum fromme Christen! Zur Schrift, zur Schrift! (Acta Zw. ii. 92.)

² Of the ceremonies observed at the celebration of mass, the author of "Anti-christ and the Church of Rome identified and exposed by the Word of God in a treatise on the seven popish sacraments," says: "There must be two wax candles burning upon the altar, and bones somewhere below it. The priest must pronounce the words of consecration with a whisper. He must have on his priestly robes, which are the amiet, the alb, the girdle, the maniple, the stole and the surplice. When a bishop officiates, he must have on a certain kind of socks, a peculiar kind of coat, a crucifix, gloves, a mitre, a ring, and a staff. The Dalmatic habit is considered to be absolutely necessary. The priest, how hungry soever he may be, must be fasting when he consecrates the bread and wine: he must not even have tasted anything since the midnight of the preceding evening. The words of consecration must be pronounced in Latin. The cup that contains the wine, must be either gold or silver. When consecrating, he must begin by turning himself first to this side and then to the other. Then he must walk forwards, halt, stand still for a while, and then return to the altar. Then he must become as silent as one that is asleep. Then he must make a bow. . . . Then he makes the sign of the cross with his hands. Next he must breathe over the bread and wine. Then he must mutter something to himself, and in a little he must sing aloud. Then he must lift the bread (wafer) above his head, and having held it there for a little, he must replace it on the altar. Next he must drink the wine in the cup. And, lastly, after some other unscriptural ceremonies, he must sprinkle the audience with holy water."—p. 197. The author has omitted the mysterious mingling of water with the wine. Such, as has been observed in a former Note, are the pagan

one of the chapels, stopped in astonishment at Zwingli's words. Erect before the consecrated altar on which lay the chalice and the body of the Saviour, with eyes fixed upon the reformer, whose words electrified the people, a prey to the most violent struggles, and beaten down by the weight of truth, the agitated priest resolved to give up everything for it. In the presence of the whole assembly, he stripped of his priestly ornaments, and throwing them on the altar, he exclaimed: "Unless the mass reposes on a more solid foundation, I can celebrate it no longer!" The noise of this conversion, effected at the very foot of the altar, immediately spread through the city,¹ and it was regarded as an important omen. So long as the mass remains, Rome has gained everything: as soon as the mass falls, Rome has lost all. The mass is the creative principle of the whole system of Popery.

Three days later, on the 22d January, was the feast of St. Vincent, the patron of the city. The disputation that had been continued during Sunday was suspended on that day. The canons asked the council what they were to do. "Such of you," replied the council, "as receive the doctrine of the theses ought not to say mass; the others may perform divine worship as usual."² Every preparation was accordingly made for the solemnity. On St. Vincent's eve the bells from every steeple announced the festival to the inhabitants of Berne. On the morrow the sacristans lit up the tapers; incense filled the temple, but no one appeared. No priests to say mass, no faithful to hear it! Already there was a vast chasm in the Roman sanctuary, a deep silence, as on the field of battle, where none but the dead are lying.

In the evening it was the custom for the canons to chant vespers with great pomp. The organist was at his post, but

nummeries into which the affecting institution of the Supper, as described in the New Testament, has been transformed by the papal Antichrist.—D. D. S.

¹ Das lachet mencklich und ward durch die gantzen Stadt kundt. (Bullinger, i. 436.) In this and other quotations, we preserve the orthography of the times.

² Bullinger says, on the contrary, that the council positively forbade the mass. But Bullinger, who is a very animated writer, is not always exact in diplomatic matters. The council would not have come to such a resolution before the close of the discussion. Other contemporary historians and official documents leave no room for doubt on this point. Stettler, in his Chronicle, pars ii. 6, ad annum 1528, details these proceedings as in the text.

no one else appeared. The poor man left thus alone, beholding with sorrow the fall of that worship by which he gained his bread, gave utterance to his grief by playing a mourning-hymn instead of the majestic *Magnificat*: "Oh, wretched Judas, what hast thou done, that thou hast thus betrayed our Lord?" After this sad farewell, he rose and went out. Almost immediately, some men, excited by the passions of the moment, fell upon his beloved organ, an accomplice in their eyes of so many superstitious rites, and their violent hands broke it to pieces. No more mass, no more organ, no more anthems! A new Supper and new hymns shall succeed the rites of popery.

On the next day there was the same silence. Suddenly, however, a band of men with loud voices and hasty step was heard. It was the Butchers' Company that, at this moment so fatal to Rome, desired to support it. They advanced, carrying small fir-trees and green branches, for the decoration of their chapel. In the midst of them was a foreign priest, behind whom walked a few poor scholars. The priest officiated; the sweet voices of the scholars supplied the place of the mute organ, and the butchers retired proud of their victory.

The discussion was drawing to a close: the combatants had dealt vigorous blows. Burgauer, pastor of St. Gall, had maintained the real presence in the host; but on the 19th January he declared himself convinced by the reasonings of Zwingli, Œcolampadius, and Bucer; and Matthias, minister of Saengen, had done the same.

A conference in Latin afterwards took place between Farel and a Parisian doctor. The latter advanced a strange argument. "Christians," said he, "are enjoined to obey the devil;¹ for it is said, *Submit unto thine adversary* (Matt. v. 25); now, our adversary is the devil. How much more, then, should we submit to the Church!" Loud bursts of laughter greeted this remarkable syllogism. A discussion with the anabaptists terminated the conference.

The two councils decreed that the mass should be abolished, and that every one might remove from the churches the ornaments he had placed there.

¹ Nos tenemur obedire diabolo. (J. J. Hottinger, iii. 405.)

Immediately twenty-five altars and a great number of images were destroyed in the cathedral, yet without disorder or bloodshed; and the children began to sing in the streets (as Luther informs us):¹

By the Word at length we're saved
From a God in a mortar brayed.

The hearts of the adherents of the Papacy were filled with bitterness as they heard the objects of their adoration fall one after another. "Should any man," said John Schneider, "take away the altar of the Butchers' Company, I will take away his life." Peter Thorman compared the cathedral stripped of its ornaments to a stable. "When the good folks of the Oberland come to market," added he, "they will be happy to put up their cattle in it." And John Zehender, member of the Great Council, to show the little value he set on such a place of worship, entered it riding on an ass, insulting and cursing the Reform. A Bernese, who chanced to be there, having said to him, "It is by God's will that these images have been pulled down,"—"Say rather by the devil's," replied Zehender; "when have you ever been with God so as to learn his will?" He was fined twenty livres, and expelled from the council.² "What times! what manners!" exclaimed many Romanists; "what culpable neglect! How easy would it have been to prevent so great a misfortune! Oh! if our bishops had only been willing to occupy themselves more with learning and a little less with their mistresses!"³

This reform was necessary. When Christianity in the fourth century had seen the favour of princes succeed to persecution, a crowd of heathens rushing into the church had brought with them the images, pomps, statues, and demi-gods of paganism, and a likeness of the mysteries of Greece and Asia, and above all of Egypt, had banished the Word of Jesus Christ from the Christian oratories. This Word returning in the sixteenth century, a purification must necessarily take place; but it could not be done without grievous rents.

¹ *Pueri in plateis cantant, se esse a Deo pisto liberatos.* (L. Epp. iii. 290.)

² *History of Berne, by Tillier, iii. 257.*

³ *Si studiorum quam seortorum nostri episcopi amantiores essent.* (Ruchat, i. 576. Letter of J. de Munster, priest at Soleure.

The departure of the strangers was drawing near. On the 28th January, the day after that on which the images and altars had been thrown down, while their piled fragments still encumbered here and there the porches and aisles of the cathedral, Zwingli crossing these eloquent ruins, once more ascended the pulpit in the midst of an immense crowd. In great emotion, directing his eyes by turns on these fragments and on the people, he said: "Victory has declared for the truth, but perseverance alone can complete the triumph. Christ persevered even until death. *Ferendo vincitur fortuna*. Cornelius Scipio, after the disaster at Cannæ, having learnt that the generals surviving the slaughter meditated quitting Italy, entered the senate-house, although not yet of senatorial age, and drawing his sword, constrained the affrighted chiefs to swear that they would not abandon Rome. Citizens of Berne, to you I address the same demand: do not abandon Jesus Christ."

We may easily imagine the effect produced on the people, by such words, pronounced with Zwingli's energetic eloquence.

Then, turning towards the fragments that lay near him: "Behold," said he, "behold these idols! Behold them conquered, mute, and shattered before us! These corpses must be dragged to the shambles, and the gold you have spent upon such foolish images must henceforward be devoted to comforting in their misery the living images of God. Feeble souls, ye shed tears over these sad idols; do ye not see that they break, do you not hear that they crack like any other wood, or like any other stone? Look! here is one deprived of its head..... (Zwingli pointed to the image, and all the people fixed their eyes upon it); here is another maimed of its arms.¹ If this ill usage had done any harm to the saints that are in heaven, and if they had the power ascribed to them, would you have been able, I pray, to cut off their arms and their heads?"

"Now, then," said the powerful orator in conclusion, "stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ has made you free, and be not entangled again with the yoke of bondage (Gal. v. 1). Fear not! That God who has enlightened you, will enlighten your

¹ Hie ist einer, dem ist's haupt ab, dem andern ein arm, &c. (Zw. Opp. ii. 228.)

confederates also, and Switzerland, regenerated by the Holy Ghost, shall flourish in righteousness and peace."

The words of Zwingli were not lost. The mercy of God called forth that of man. Some persons condemned to die for sedition were pardoned, and all the exiles were recalled. "Should we not have done so," said the council, "had a great prince visited us? Shall we not much more do so, now that the King of kings and the Redeemer of our souls has made his entry among us, bearing an everlasting amnesty?"¹

The Romish cantons, exasperated at the result of the discussion, sought to harass the return of the doctors. On arriving before Bremgarten, they found the gates closed. The bailiff Schutz, who had accompanied them with two hundred men-at-arms, placed two halberdiers before Zwingli's horse, two behind him, and one on each side; then putting himself at the reformer's left hand, while the burgomaster Roust stationed himself on the right, he ordered the escort to proceed, lance in rest.² The avoyers of the town being intimidated, came to a parley; the gates were opened; the escort traversed Bremgarten amidst an immense crowd, and on the 1st February reached Zurich without accident, which Zwingli re-entered, says Luther, like a conqueror.³

The Roman Catholic party did not dissemble the check they had received. "Our cause is falling," said the friends of Rome.⁴ "Oh! that we had had men skilled in the Bible! The impetuosity of Zwingli supported our adversaries; his ardour was never relaxed. That brute has more knowledge than was imagined.⁵ Alas! alas! the greater party has vanquished the better."⁶

The Council of Berne, desirous of separating from the pope, relied upon the people. On the 30th January, messengers going from house to house, convoked the citizens; and on the 2d February, the burgesses and inhabitants, masters and servants, uniting in the cathedral, and forming but one family,

¹ Da der König aller Könige.....Haller, by Kirchofer, p. 439.

² Mit ireu Spyessen für den hauffen. (Bull. Chr. i. 439.)

³ Zwingel triumphator et imperator gloriosus. (L. Epp. iii. 200.)

⁴ Raunt res nostræ. (Letter of the priest J. de Müller, an eyewitness of the discussion. Ruchat, i. 575.)

⁵ Doctior tamen hæc bellua est quam putabam. (Ibid.)

⁶ Vicitque pars major meliorem. (Ibid.)

with hands upraised to heaven, swore to defend the two councils in all they should undertake for the good of the State or of the Church.

On the 7th February, 1528, the council published a general edict of Reform, and "threw for ever from the necks of the Bernese the yoke of the four bishops, who," said they, "know well how to shear their sheep, but not how to feed them."¹

At the same time the reformed doctrines were spreading among the people. In every quarter might be heard earnest and keen dialogues, written in rhyme by Manuel, in which the pale and expiring mass, stretched on her deathbed, was loudly calling for all her physicians, and finding their advice useless, at length dictating with a broken voice her last will and testament, which the people received with loud bursts of laughter.

The Reformation generally, and that of Berne in particular, has been reproached as being brought about by political motives. But, on the contrary, Berne, which of all the Helvetic states was the greatest favourite of the court of Rome—which had in its canton neither a bishop to dismiss nor a powerful clergy to humiliate—Berne, whose most influential families, the Weingartens, Manuels, Mays, were reluctant to sacrifice the pay and the service of the foreigner, and all whose traditions were conservative, ought to have opposed the movement. The Word of God was the power that overcame this political tendency.²

At Berne, as elsewhere, it was neither a learned, nor a democratic, nor a sectarian spirit that gave birth to the Reformation. Undoubtedly the men of letters, the liberals, the sectarian enthusiasts, rushed into the great struggle of the sixteenth century; but the duration of the Reform would not have been long had it received its life from them. The primitive strength of Christianity, reviving after ages of long and complete prostration, was the creative principle of the Reformation; and it was ere long seen separating distinctly from the false allies that had presented themselves, rejecting an incredulous learning by elevating the study of the classics, checking all demagogic

¹ Bull. Chron. i. 406.

² Hundeshagen, *Conflikte der Bernischen Kirche*, p. 22.

anarchy by upholding the principles of true liberty, and repudiating the enthusiastic sects by consecrating the rights of the Word and of the Christian people.

But while we maintain that the Reformation was at Berne, as elsewhere, a truly Christian work, we are far from saying that it was not useful to the canton in a political sense. All the European states that have embraced the Reformation have been elevated, while those which have combated it have been lowered.

CHAPTER III.

The Reform accepted by the People—Faith, Purity, and Charity—First Evangelical Communion—Bernese Proposition to the Diet—Cavern, and Head of Beatus—Threatening Storm from the Mountains—Revolt—Confusion in Berne—Unterwalden crosses the Brunig—Energy of Berne—Victory—Political Advantages.

It now became a question of propagating throughout all the canton the Reform accomplished in the city. On the 17th February, the council invited the rural parishes to assemble on the following Sunday to receive and deliberate upon a communication. The whole Church, according to the ancient usage of Christendom, was about to decide for itself on its dearest interests.

The assemblies were crowded; all conditions and ages were present. Beside the hoary and the trembling head of the aged man might be seen the sparkling eye of the youthful herdsman. The messengers of the council first read the edict of the Reformation. They next proclaimed that those who accepted it should remain, and that those who rejected it should withdraw.

Almost all the assembled parishioners remained in their places. An immense majority of the people chose the Bible. In some few parishes this decision was accompanied with energetic demonstrations. At Arberg, Zofingen, Brugg, Arau, and Buren, the images were burnt. "At Stauffberg," it was said, "idols were seen carrying idols, and throwing one another into the flames."¹

¹ Da tregt ein Götz den andern in das flüwr. (Bull. Chron. ii. 1.) A man whose business it was to shear the flocks, and who had been nick-named Götz-

The images and the mass had disappeared from this vast canton. "A great cry resounded far and wide," writes Bullinger.¹ In one day Rome had fallen throughout the country, without treachery, violence, or seduction, by the strength of truth alone. In some places, however, in the Hasli, at Frutigen, Unterseen, and Grindewald, the malcontents were heard to say: "If they abolish the mass, they should also abolish tithes." The Roman form of worship was preserved in the Upper Simmenthal, a proof that there was no compulsion on the part of the state.

The wishes of the canton being thus manifested, Berne completed the Reformation. All excesses in gambling, drinking, and dancing, and all unbecoming dress, were forbidden by proclamation. The houses of ill-fame were destroyed, and their wretched inhabitants expelled from the city.² A consistory was appointed to watch over the public morals.

Seven days after the edict, the poor were received into the Dominican cloister, and a little later the convent of the island was changed into an hospital; the princely monastery of Königsfeld was also devoted to the same useful purpose. Charity followed everywhere in the steps of faith. "We will show," said the council, "that we do not use the property of the convents to our own advantage;" and they kept their word. The poor were clothed with the priests' garments; the orphans decorated with the ornaments of the church. So strict were they in these distributions, that the state was forced to borrow money to pay the annuities of the monks and nuns; and for eight days there was not a crown in the public treasury.³ Thus it was that the State, as it has been continually asserted, grew rich with the spoils of the Church! At the same time they invited from Zurich the ministers Hofmeister, Megander, and Rhellican, to spread throughout the canton the knowledge of the classics and of the Holy Scriptures.

At Easter the Lord's Supper was celebrated for the first time according to the evangelical rites. The two councils and all

schärer (idol-shearer), had made himself very distinguished among those who carried the images to the fire. Such was the origin of this popular legend, and it is the key to many others.

¹ Das wyt und breit ein gross geschrey und wunder gepar. (Bull. Chron. ii. 1.)

² J. J. Hottinger, iii. 414.

³ Hoc unum tibi dico secretissime. (Haller to Zwingli, 21st January 1530.)

the people, with few exceptions, partook of it. Strangers were struck with the solemnity of this first communion. The citizens of Berne and their wives, dressed in decent garments, which recalled the ancient Swiss simplicity, approached Christ's table with gravity and fervour;¹ the heads of the state showed the same holy devotion as the people, and piously received the bread from the hands of Berthold Haller. Each one felt that the Lord was among them. Thus Hofmeister, charmed at this solemn service, exclaimed: "How can the adversaries of the Word refuse to embrace the truth at last, seeing that God himself renders it so striking a testimony!"²

Yet everything was not changed. The friends of the Gospel witnessed with pain the sons of the chief families of the republic parading the streets in costly garments, inhabiting sumptuous houses in the city, dwelling in magnificent mansions in the country—true seignorial abodes, following the chase with hound and horn, sitting down to luxurious banquets, conversing in licentious language, or talking with enthusiasm of foreign wars and of the French party. "Ah!" said the pious people, "could we but see old Switzerland revive with its ancient virtues!"

There was soon a powerful reaction. The annual renewal of the magistracy being about to take place, the councillor Butschelbach, a violent adversary of the Gospel, was ejected for adultery; four other senators and twenty members of the Great Council were also replaced by friends of the Reformation and of public morality. Emboldened by this victory, the evangelical Bernese proposed in the diet that every Swiss should renounce foreign service. At these words the warriors of Lucerne started under their weighty armour, and replied with a haughty smile: "When you have returned to the ancient faith we will listen to your homilies." All the members of the government, assembled at Berne in sovereign council, resolved to set the example, and solemnly abjured the pay of foreign princes. Thus the Reformation showed its faith by its works.

Another struggle took place. Above the lake of Thun rises

¹ Reluct enim in illorum vestitu et habitu nescio quid veteris illius Helvetiæ simplicitatis. (Hofmeister to Zwingli. Zw. Epp. ii. 167.)

² Ea res magnam spem mihi iniecit de illis lucrandis qui hactenus fuerunt male morigeri verbo. (Ibid.)

a chain of steep rocks, in the midst of which is situated a deep cavern, where, if we may believe tradition, the pious Breton, Beatus, came in ancient times to devote himself to all the austerities of an ascetic life; but especially to the conversion of the surrounding district that was still heathen. It was affirmed that the head of this saint, who had died in Gaul, was preserved in this cavern; and hence pilgrims resorted thither from every quarter. The pious citizens of Zug, Schwytz, Uri, and Argovia, groaned, as they thought that the holy head of the apostle of Switzerland would hereafter remain in a land of heretics. The abbot of the celebrated convent of Muri in Argovia and some of his friends set out, as in ancient times the Argonauts went in quest of the golden fleece. They arrived in the humble guise of poor pilgrims, and entered the cavern; one skilfully took away the head, another placed it mysteriously in his hood, and they disappeared. The head of a dead man!—and this was all that Rome saved from the shipwreck. But even this conquest was more than doubtful. The Bernese, who had gained information of the procession, sent three deputies on the 18th May, who, according to their report, found this famous head, and caused it to be decently interred before their eyes in the cemetery belonging to the convent of Interlaken. This contest about a skull characterizes the Church that had just given way in Berne before the vivifying breath of the Gospel. *Let the dead bury their dead.*

The Reformation had triumphed in Berne; but a storm was gathering unperceived in the mountains, which threatened to overthrow it. The State in union with the Church recalled its ancient renown. Seeing itself attacked by arms, it took up arms in its turn, and acted with that decision which had formerly saved Rome in similar dangers.

A secret discontent was fermenting among the people of the valleys and mountains. Some were still attached to the ancient faith; others had only quitted the mass because they thought they would be exempted from tithes. Ancient ties of neighbourhood, a common origin, and similarity of manners had united the inhabitants of the Obwald (Unterwalden) to those of the Hasli and of the Bernese Oberland, which were separated

only by Mount Brunig and the high pass of the Yoke. A rumour had been set afloat that the government of Berne had profaned the spot where the precious remains of Beatus, the apostle of these mountains, were preserved, and indignation immediately filled these pastoral people, who adhere firmer than others to the customs and superstitions of their forefathers.

But while some were excited by attachment to Rome, others were aroused by a desire for liberty. The subjects of the monastery of Interlaken, oppressed by the monkish rule, began to cry out, "We desire to become our own masters, and no longer pay rent or tithes." The provost of the convent in affright ceded all his rights to Berne for the sum of one hundred thousand florins;¹ and a bailiff accompanied by several councillors, went and took possession of the monastery. A report was soon spread that they were about to transfer all the property of the convent to Berne; and on the 21st April bands of men from Grindelwald, Lauterbrunnen, Ringelberg, Brienz, and other places, crossed the lake, or issued from their lofty valleys, and taking forcible possession of the cloister, swore they would go even to Berne in quest of the goods which the citizens had dared to take from them.

They were quieted for a time; but in the beginning of June, the people, at the instigation of Unterwalden, again arose in all the Hasli. The *Landsgemeinde*² having been convoked, it decided by a majority of forty voices for the re-establishment of the mass. The pastor Jaekli was immediately expelled; a few men crossed the Brunig, and brought back some priests from Unterwalden, to the sound of fifes and trumpets. They were seen from afar descending the mountain, and shouts, both loud and long, replied to them from the bottom of the valley. At last they arrived:—all embraced one another, and the people celebrated the mass anew with great demonstrations of joy. At the same time, the people of Frutigen and of the fertile valley of Adelboden assailed the castellan Reuter, carried off his flocks, and established a Roman Catholic priest in the place

¹ Totum regnum suum tradiderunt in manus magistratus nostri. (Haller to Zwingli, 31st March.)

² The assembly of all the people.

of their pastor. At Aeschi even the women took up arms, drove out the pastor from the church, and brought back the images in triumph. The revolt spread from hamlet to hamlet and from valley to valley, and again took possession of Interlaken. All the malcontents assembled there on the 22d October, and swore, with hands upraised to heaven, boldly to defend their rights and liberty.

The republic was in great danger. All the kings of Europe, and almost all the cantons of Switzerland, were opposed to the Gospel. The report of an army from Austria, destined to interpose in favour of the pope, spread through the reformed cantons.¹ Seditious meetings took place every day,² and the people refused to pay their magistrates either quit-rent, service, tithes, or even obedience, unless they shut their eyes to the designs of the Roman Catholics. The council became confused. Amazed and confounded, exposed to the mistrust of some and to the insults of others, they had the cowardice to separate under the pretext of gathering the vintage, and folding their arms, in the presence of this great danger, they waited until a Messiah should descend from heaven (says a reformer) to save the republic.³ The ministers pointed out the danger, forewarned and conjured them; but they all turned a deaf ear. "Christ languishes in Berne," said Haller, "and appears nigh perishing."⁴ The people were in commotion: they assembled, made speeches, murmured, and shed tears! Everywhere—in all their tumultuous meetings—might be heard this complaint of Manuel on Papists and the Papacy:⁵

With rage our foes their hateful threats denounce,
Because, O Lord, we love Thee best of all;
Because at sight of Thee the idols fall;
And war and bloodshed, shuddering, we renounce.

Berne was like a troubled sea, and Haller, who listened to the roaring of the waves, wrote in the deepest anguish: "Wisdom has forsaken the wise, counsel has departed from the coun-

¹ Audisti nimirum quam se apparent *Austriaci* ad bellum, adversus quos ignoratur. Suspiciantur quidam in Helvetios. (Ecol. to Zw. Epp. ii. 161.)

² Seditiosorum concursus sunt quotidiani. (Zw. Epp. ii. 227.)

³ Nunc, nunc suum Messiam advenisse sperantes. (Ibid.)

⁴ Ita languet Christus apud nos. (Ibid.)

⁵ Dass wir hand d' Gotzen geworfen hin. Hymn and Prayer.

cillors, and energy from the chiefs and from the people. The number of the seditious augments every day. Alas! what can the Bear, oppressed with sleep, oppose to so many and such sturdy hunters?¹ If Christ withdraw himself, we shall all perish."

These fears were on the point of being realized. The smaller cantons claimed to have the power of interfering in matters of faith without infringing the federal compact. While six hundred men of Uri kept themselves ready to depart, eight hundred men of Unterwalden, bearing pine-branches in their hats, symbols of the old faith, with haughty heads, with gloomy and threatening looks, crossed the Brunig under the ancient banner of the country, which was borne by Gaspard de Flue, a very unworthy grandson of the great Nicholas.² This was the first violation of the national peace for many a year. Uniting at Hasli with the men of Brienz, this little army crossed the lake, passed under the cascades of Giesbach, and arrived at Unterseen, thirteen hundred strong, and ready to march on Berne to re-establish the pope, the idols, and the mass in that rebellious city. In Switzerland, as in Germany, the Reformation at its outset met with a peasant war. At the first success, new combatants would arrive and pour through the passes of the Brunig upon the unfaithful republic. The army was only six leagues from Berne, and already the sons of Unterwalden were proudly brandishing their swords on the banks of the lake of Thun.

Thus were the federal alliances trodden under foot by those very persons who aspired to the name of conservatives. Berne had the right to repel this criminal attack by force. Suddenly calling to mind her ancient virtues, the city roused herself, and vowed to perish rather than tolerate the intervention of Unterwalden, the restoration of the mass, and the fiery violence of the peasants.^{3 4} There was at that moment in the hearts of the

¹ Quid hæc inter tot et tantos venatores robustos. (Zw. Epp. ii. 223.)

² A celebrated hermit who prevented a civil war in Switzerland in 1481.

³ Quam missam reducem aut violentiam villanorum pati. (Haller to Zwingli, 26th October.)

⁴ The author ought to have added, "and the supremacy of Rome." It has long been the policy of that power to veil from all but the initiated the position which she long really held, and is still eager to resume, in the political sphere—that of supreme arbiter, whose jurisdiction all the nations and states of Christendom must acknowledge, even to the extent of actively suppressing such as should

Bernese one of those inspirations that come from above, and which save nations as well as individuals. "Let the strength

dare to disown her claims. This monstrous principle was evidently adopted by the old Swiss cantons, and its adoption, irrespective of the slaughtering of individual Protestants, was so directly subversive of the very existence of all governments that disowned it, that for these there remained no alternative, but either to resign into the hands of their enemies, for the destruction of the oppressed, that civil sword which they held from God for their protection, or war.

I have said that Rome now veils her claims to civil as well as ecclesiastical supremacy, and a curious proof of this occurs in Dr. Wiseman's arguments, or rather insinuations, in its favour, having to be quoted, not from an English but an Italian work. An imprudent reviewer has, however, drawn the attention of English readers to them. The passage, though long, is too instructive a comment on the transactions narrated in M. M. D'Aubigné's History, to be omitted. It is found in the VIth No. of the Dublin Review, p. 220, and runs thus:—"Now it should be remembered that the feudal system, as has been most ably shown by Dr. Wiseman, in the *Annali delle Scienze Religiose*, vol. i. *Mem. 2 Settembre et Ottobre*, 1835, may be regarded under two points of view, 'As the form of government of each nation in particular, or (as) a strong and mighty bond, which, uniting together these different states, formed of them one single body—the state of Christendom.' Under the first, 'The same relations of right and duty which united the vassals to the lords, united the lords to the king; and, moreover, in case of oppression or injustice, they might appeal to a higher judge.' This judge was the Pope. The instances of appeals to the see of St. Peter in feudal questions are very frequent in the annals of the times. But it is under the second aspect of feudalism that the papal supremacy appears more clearly recognised by the constitutions of the various Christian states. The prevailing notion of the times was, that 'the Church and the State were, in substance, one sole and same thing; one great Christian state, although exteriorly they seemed to form two different societies.' This doctrine is to be found in the express texts of the constitutions of the different kingdoms, together with the no less important doctrine that 'That double power, the spiritual and temporal, are both confided to the pope, as Vicar of Christ and visible head of the Church.' From the supposed union of these two powers, it followed, as Eichhorn, and after him Dr. Wiseman, have observed, that the question so long agitated between the church and the empire, was not the system itself, but the pre-eminence in that system; 'that is to say, whether of the two should be subordinate in the feudal system to the other—the pope or the emperor.'"

Now, although the words "in the feudal system" are carefully inserted, lest Protestant readers should start at the idea of this papal supremacy being meant by the writer to apply to *all* systems, the loyal Papist cannot avoid the inference that a political position deliberately assumed by a long succession of Christ's vicars as a matter of right, could not have been unlawfully usurped by men whose moral decisions were always infallible, and that the question either of time, or of a feudal or any other political system, can make no difference in point of principle, whatever change men's heretical tendencies may have brought about in point of fact.

At the period now before us, however, principle and fact harmonized. The Waldstettes clearly considered the Reformation an act of rebellion against the rightful supremacy of Rome; and thus all governments that refused to persecute and extirpate the so-called heretics, had inevitably to engage in a death-struggle for their existence. To apply to their case our Lord's words that his kingdom is not of this world, is a manifest error.

It has become the fashion even for British and professedly Protestant writers, to follow Montesquieu in lauding the temporal supremacy of the popes during the middle ages, as a check on despotism, and so forth. This only shows their obtuseness and ignorance. The results of Protestant missions, the late conduct for instance of a New Zealand chief, in the conduct of a war against British colonists, and the war of the Tahitians with the French, prove to demonstration that the

of the city of Berne," exclaimed the avoyer d'Erlach, "be in God alone, and in the loyalty of its people." All the council and the whole body of the citizens replied by noisy acclamations. The great banner was hastily brought forth, the townspeople ran to arms, the companies assembled, and the troops of the republic marched out with the valiant avoyer at their head.

Scarcely had the Bernese government acted thus energetically, before it saw the confidence of its friends increase, and the courage of its adversaries diminish. God never abandons a people who are true to themselves. Many of the Oberlanders became intimidated, and deserted the ranks of the revolt. At the same time deputies from Basel and Lucerne represented to Unterwalden that it was trampling the ancient alliances under foot. The rebels, disheartened by the firmness of the republic, abandoned Unterseen, and retired to the convent of Interlaken. And soon after, when they beheld the decision of their adversaries, distressed besides by the cold rains that fell incessantly, and fearing that the snow, by covering the mountains, would prevent their return to their homes, the men of Unterwalden evacuated Interlaken during the night. The Bernese, to the number of five thousand men, entered it immediately, and summoned the inhabitants of the Hasli and of the bailiwick of Interlaken to assemble on the 4th November in the plain that surrounds the convent.¹ The day being arrived, the Bernese army drew up in order of battle, and then formed a circle within which D'Erlach ordered the peasants to enter. Hardly had he placed the rebels on the left and the loyal citizens on the right, before the muskets and artillery fired a general discharge, whose report re-echoing among the mountains, filled the insurgents with terror. They thought it the signal of their death. But the avoyer only intended to show that they were in the power of the republic. D'Erlach, who addressed them imme-

Christianity of the Bible alone has infinitely greater power in civilizing barbarians, checking despotism, and mitigating the horrors of war where it cannot prevent them, than the papal supremacy ever showed. Nay, all history proves the popes to have aided oppression in others as well as to have practised oppression themselves, and to have been mischief-makers much oftener than peace-makers in Christendom.—D. P. S.

¹ Tradition says that it was on the spot where the hotel of Interlaken now stands.

diately after this strange exordium, had not finished his speech, before they all fell on their knees, and confessing their crime begged for pardon. The republic was satisfied: the rebellion was over. The banners of the district were carried to Berne, and the Eagle of Interlaken in union with the Wild-goat of Hasli, hung for a time beneath the Bear, as a trophy of this victory. Four of the chiefs were put to death, and an amnesty was granted to the remainder of the rebels. "The Bernese," said Zwingli, "as Alexander of Macedon in times of old, have cut the Gordian knot with courage and with glory."¹ Thus thought the reformer of Zurich; but experience was one day to teach him, that to cut such knots is required a different sword from that of Alexander and of D'Erlach. However that may be, peace was restored, and in the valleys of the Hasli no other noise was heard than the sublime tumult borne afar by the Reichenbach and the surrounding torrents, as they pour from the mountain-tops their multitudinous and foaming waters.

While we repudiate on behalf the Church the swords of the Helvetic bands, it would be unwise not to acknowledge the political advantages of this victory. The nobles had imagined that the Reformation of the Church would endanger the very existence of the State. They now had a proof to the contrary: they saw that when a nation receives the Gospel, its strength is doubled. The generous confidence with which, in the hour of danger, they had placed some of the adversaries of the Reformation at the head of affairs and of the army, produced the happiest results. All were now convinced that the Reformation would not trample old recollections under foot: prejudices were removed, hatred was appeased, the Gospel gradually rallied all hearts around it, and then was verified the ancient and remarkable saying, so often repeated by the friends and enemies of that powerful republic—"God is become a citizen of Berne."

¹ Bernenses pro sua dignitate nodum hunc, quemadmodum Alexander Macedo, Gordium dissecare. (Zw. Epp. ii. 243.)

CHAPTER IV.

Reformation of St. Gall—Nuns of St. Catherine—Reformation of Glaris, Berne, Appenzell, the Grisons, Schaffhausen, and the Rhine District—A Popish Miracle—Obstacles in Basel—Zeal of the Citizens—Ecolampadius marries—Witticism of Erasmus—First Action—Half Measures—Petition of the Reformed.

THE reformation of Berne was decisive for several cantons. The same wind that had blown from on high with so much power on the country of De Watteville and Haller, threw down the "idols" in a great part of Switzerland. In many places the people were indignant at seeing the Reformation checked by the timid prudence of diplomatists; but when diplomacy was put to flight at Berne, the torrent so long restrained poured violently onwards.

Vadian, burgomaster of St. Gall, who presided at the Bernese disputation, had scarcely returned home, when the citizens, with the authority of the magistrates, removed the images from the church of St. Magnus, carried to the mint a hand of the patron saint in silver, with other articles of plate, and distributed among the poor the money they received in exchange; thus, like Mary, pouring their precious ointment on the head of Christ.¹ The people of St. Gall, being curious to unveil the ancient mysteries, laid their hands on the abbey itself, on the shrines and crosses which had so long been presented to their adoration; but instead of saintly relics, they found, to their great surprise, nothing but some resin, a few pieces of money, several paltry wooden images, some old rags, a skull, a large tooth, and a snail's shell! Rome, instead of that noble fall which marks the ends of great characters, sunk in the midst of stupid superstitious, shameful frauds, and the ironical laughter of a whole nation.

Such discoveries unfortunately excited the passions of the multitude. One evening some evil-disposed persons, wishing to alarm the poor nuns of St. Catherine, who had obstinately

¹ War gemünzet und den Armen ausgetheilt. (J. J. Hottinger, iii. 415. St. Matthew xxvi. 7.)

resisted the Reform, surrounded the convent with loud cries. In vain did the nuns barricade the doors: the walls were soon scaled, and the good wine, meat, confectionaries, and all the far from ascetic delicacies of the cloister became the prey of these rude jesters. Another persecution awaited them. Doctor Schappeler having been appointed their catechist, they were recommended to lay aside their monastic dress, and to attend his heretical sermons "clothed like all the world," said the sister Wiborath. Some of them embraced the Reform, but thirty others preferred exile.¹ On the 5th February 1528, a numerous synod framed the constitution of the church of St. Gall.

The struggle was more violent at Glaris. The seeds of the Gospel truth, which Zwingli had scattered there, prospered but little. The men in power anxiously rejected every innovation, and the people loved better "to leap and dance, and work miracles, *glass in hand*," as an old chronicle says, "than to busy themselves about the Gospel." The Landsgemeinde having pronounced, on the 15th May 1528, in favour of the mass by a majority of thirty-three voices, the two parties were marked out with greater distinctness: the images were broken at Matt, Elm, and Bettschwanden, and as each man remained aloof in his own house and village, there was no longer in the canton either council of state or tribunal of justice. At Schwanden, the minister, Peter Rumelin, having invited the Roman Catholics to a disputation with him in the church, the latter, instead of discussing, marched in procession to the sound of drums round the place of worship in which the Reformed were assembled, and then rushing into the pastor's house, which was situated in the middle of the city, destroyed the stoves and the windows: the irritated Reformed took their revenge and broke the images. On the 15th April 1529, an agreement was concluded, by virtue of which every man was free to choose between the mass and the sermon.

At Wesen, where Schwytz exercised sovereignty conjointly with Glaris, the deputies of the former canton threatened the people. Upon this the young men took the images out of the

¹ *Arx. Gesch. St. Gall*, ii. 529. J. J. Hottinger, 416. Müller; Hottinger, ii. 91.

churches, carried them to an open place near the banks of the picturesque lake of Wallenstadt, above which soar the mountains of the Ammon and of the Seven Electors, and cried: "Look! this road (that by the lake) leads to Coire and to Rome; that (to the south) to Glaris; this other (to the west) to Schwytz; and the fourth (by the Ammon) to St. Gall. Take which you please! But if you do not move off, you shall be burnt!" After waiting a few moments, these young people flung the motionless images into the fire, and the Schwytz deputies, eye-witnesses of this execution, withdrew in consternation, and filled the whole canton with projects of vengeance that were but too soon realized.

In the canton of Appenzell, where a conference had been opened, there suddenly appeared a band of Roman Catholics, armed with whips and clubs, and crying out: "Where are these preachers? we are resolved to put them out of the village." These strange doctors wounded the ministers and dispersed the assembly with their whips. Out of the eight parishes of the canton, six embraced the Reform, and Appenzell became finally divided into two little sections, the one Romanist and the other Reformed.

In the Grisons religious liberty was proclaimed; the parishes had the election of their pastors, several castles were rased to the ground to render all return to arbitrary government impossible, and the affrighted bishop went and hid in the Tyrol his anger and his desire for vengeance. "The Grisons," said Zwingli, "advance daily. It is a nation that by its courage reminds us of the ancient Tuscans, and by its candour of the ancient Swiss."¹

Schaffhausen, after having long "halted between two opinions," at the summons of Zurich and of Berne removed the images from its churches without tumult or disorder. At the same time the Reformation invaded Thurgovia, the valley of the Rhine, and other bailiwicks subordinate to these cantons. In vain did the Roman Catholic cantons, that were in the majority, protest against it. "When temporal affairs are concerned," replied Zurich and Berne, "we will not oppose a

¹ *Gens animo veteres Tuscas referens, candore veteres Helvetios.* (Zw. Epp.)

plurality of votes; but the Word of God cannot be subjected to the suffrages of men." All the districts that lie along the banks of the Thur, of the Lake of Constance, and of the Upper Rhine, embraced the Gospel. The inhabitants of Mammereu, near the place where the Rhine issues from the lake, flung their images into the water. But the statue of St. Blaise, after remaining some time upright, and contemplating the ungrateful spot whence it was banished, swam across the lake to Catahorn, situated on the opposite shore, if we may believe the account of a monk named Lang.¹ Even while running away, Popery worked its miracles.

Thus were the popular superstitions overthrown in Switzerland, and sometimes not without violence. Every great development in human affairs brings with it an energetic opposition to that which has existed. It necessarily contains an aggressive element, which ought to act freely, and by that means open the new path. In the times of the Reformation the doctors attacked the pope, and the people the images. The movement almost always exceeded a just moderation. In order that human nature may make one step in advance, its pioneers must take many. Every superfluous step should be condemned, and yet we must acknowledge their necessity. Let us not forget this in the history of the Reformation, and especially in that of Switzerland.

Zurich was reformed; Berne had just become so: Basel still remained, before the great cities of the Confederation were gained over to the evangelical faith. The reformation of this learned city was the most important consequence resulting from that of the warlike Berne.

For six years the Gospel had been preached in Basel. The meek and pious *Æcolampadius* was always waiting for happier times. "The darkness," said he, "is about to retire before the rays of truth."² But his expectation was vain. A triple aristocracy—the superior clergy, the nobles, and the university—checked the free expansion of Christian convictions. It was the middle classes who were destined to effect the triumph of

¹ J. J. Hottinger, iii. 426.

² *Sperabam enim, tenebras veritatis radio cessuras tandem.* (Zw. Epp. ii. 136.)

the Reformation in Basel.¹ Unhappily the popular wave invades nothing without tossing up some foul scum.

It is true that the Gospel had many friends in the councils: but being men of a middle party, they tacked backwards and forwards like Erasmus, instead of sailing straight to the port. They ordered "the pure preaching of the Word of God;" but stipulated at the same time that it should be "without Lutheranism." The aged and pious bishop Utenheim, who was living in retirement at Bruntrut, tottered daily into the church, supported by two domestics, to celebrate mass with a broken voice. Gundelsheim, an enemy of the Reformation, succeeded him ere long; and on the 23d September, followed by many exiles and with a train of forty horses, he made his triumphal entry into Basel, proposing to restore everything to its ancient footing. This made Œcolampadius write in alarm to Zwingli: "Our cause hangs upon a thread."

But in the citizens the Reform found a compensation for the disdain of the great, and for the terrors inspired by the new bishop. They organized repasts for fifty and a hundred guests each; Œcolampadius and his colleagues took their seats at these tables with the people, where energetic acclamations and reiterated cheers greeted the work of the Reformation. In a short time even the council appeared to incline to the side of the Gospel. Twenty feast-days were retrenched, and the priests were permitted to refuse celebrating the mass. "It is all over with Rome," was now the cry. But Œcolampadius, shaking his head, replied; "I am afraid that, by wishing to sit on two stools, Basel will at last fall to the ground."²

This was at the period of his return from the discussion at Berne. He arrived in time to close the eyes of his pious mother; and then the reformer found himself alone, succumbing under the weight of public and domestic cares; for his house was like an inn for all fugitive Christians. "I shall marry a Monica,"³ he had often said, "or else I shall remain a bachelor."

¹ Major pars civitatis quæ toto corde dolet tantis nos dissidiis laborare. (Zw. Epp. ii. 36.)

² Vereorque ne dum semper utraque sella sedere velit, utraque extrudatur aliquando. (Ibid. 157.)

³ The name of St. Augustine's mother.

He thought he had now discovered the "Christian sister" of whom he was in search. This was Wilibrandis, daughter of one of the emperor Maximilian's knights, and widow of a master of arts named Keller,—a woman already proved by many trials. He married her, saying: "I look to the ordinances of God, and not to the scowling faces of men." This did not prevent the sly Erasmus from exclaiming: "Luther's affair is called a tragedy, but I maintain it is a comedy, for each act of the drama ends in a wedding." This witticism has been often repeated. For a long time it was the fashion to account for the Reformation by the desire of the princes for the church property, and of the priests for marriage. This vulgar method is now stigmatized by the best Roman controversialists as "a proof of a singularly narrow mind. The Reformation originated," add they, "in a true and Christian, although unenlightened zeal."¹

The return of *Æcolampadius* had still more important consequences for Basel than it had for himself. The discussion at Berne caused a great sensation there. "Berne, the powerful Berne, is reforming!" was passed from mouth to mouth. "How, then!" said the people one to another, "the fierce Bear has come out of his den.....he is groping about for the rays of the sun.....and Basel, the city of learning—Basel, the adopted city of Erasmus and of *Æcolampadius*, remains in darkness!"

On Good Friday (10th April 1528), without the knowledge of the council and *Æcolampadius*, five workmen of the Spinner's Company entered the church of St. Martin, which was that of the reformer, and where the mass was already abolished, and carried away all the "idols." On Easter Monday, after the evening sermon, thirty-four citizens removed all the images from the church of the Augustines.

This was going too far. Were they desirous, then, of drawing Basel and its councils from that just medium in which they had till this moment so wisely halted? The council met hastily on Tuesday morning, and sent the five men to prison; but, on the intercession of the burghers, they were released,

¹ See Möhler's *Symbolik*, both in the preface and in the body of the work. This is one of the most important writings produced by Rome since the time of Bossuet.

and the images suppressed in five other churches. These half-measures sufficed for a time.

On a sudden the flame burst out anew with greater violence. Sermons were preached at St. Martin's and St. Leonard's against the abominations of the cathedral; and at the cathedral the reformers were called "heretics, knaves, and profligates."¹ The Papists celebrated mass upon mass. The burgomaster Meyer, a friend of the Reform, had with him the majority of the people; the burgomaster Meltinger, an intrepid leader of the partisans of Rome, prevailed in the councils; a collision became inevitable. "The fatal hour approaches," says *Œcolampadius*, "terrible for the enemies of God!"²

On Wednesday the 23d December, two days before Christmas, three hundred citizens from all the companies, pious and worthy men, assembled in the hall of the Gardeners' Company, and there drew up a petition to the senate. During this time the friends of Popery, who resided for the most part in Little Basel and the suburb of St. Paul, took up arms, and brandished their swords and lances against the reformed citizens at the very moment that the latter were bearing their petition to the council, and endeavoured, although ineffectually, to bar their road. Meltinger haughtily refused to receive the petition, and charged the burghers, on the faith of their civic oath, to return to their homes. The burgomaster Meyer, however, took the address, and the senate ordered it to be read.

"Honoured, wise, and gracious Lords," it ran, "we, your dutiful fellow-citizens of the companies, address you as well-beloved fathers, whom we are ready to obey at the cost of our goods and of our lives. Take God's glory to heart; restore peace to the city; and oblige all the pope's preachers to discuss freely with the ministers. If the mass be true, we desire to have it in our churches; but if it is an abomination before God, why, through love for the priests, should we draw down His terrible anger upon ourselves and upon our children?"

Thus spoke the citizens of Basel. There was nothing revolutionary either in their language or in their proceedings.

¹ Ketzer, Schelmen, und Buben. (*Bullig.* ii. 36.)

² *Maturatur fatalis hora et tremenda hostibus Dei.* (*Zw. Epp.* ii. 213.)

They desired what was right with decision, but also with calmness. All might still proceed with order and decorum. But here begins a new period: the vessel of reform is about to enter the port, but not until it has passed through violent storms.

CHAPTER V.

Crisis in Basel—Half-measures rejected—Reformed Propositions—A Night of Terror—Idols broken in the Cathedral—The Hour of Madness—Idols broken in all the Churches—Reform legalized—Erasmus in Basel—A great Transformation—Revolution and Reformation.

THE bishop's partisans first departed from the legal course. Filled with terror on learning that mediators were expected from Zurich and Berne, they ran into the city, crying that an Austrian army was coming to their aid, and collected stones in their houses. The reformed did the same. The disturbance increased hourly, and in the night of the 25th December the Papists met under arms: priests with arquebuse in hand were numbered among their ranks.

Scarcely had the reformed learnt this, when some of them running hastily from house to house, knocked at the doors and awoke their friends, who, starting out of bed, seized their muskets and repaired to the Gardeners' Hall, the rendezvous of their party. They soon amounted to three thousand.

Both parties passed the night under arms. At every moment a civil war, and what is worse, "a war of hearths," might break out. It was at last agreed that each party should nominate delegates to treat with the senate on this matter. The reformed chose thirty men of respectability, courage, faith, and experience, who took up their quarters at the Gardeners' Hall. The partisans of the ancient faith chose also a commission, but less numerous and less respectable: their station was at the Fishmongers' Hall. The council was constantly sitting. All the gates of the city, except two, were closed; strong guards were posted in every quarter. Deputies from Lucerne, Uri,

Schaffhausen, Zug, Schwytz, Mulhausen, and Strasburg, arrived successively. The agitation and tumult increased from hour to hour.

It was necessary to put an end to so violent a crisis. The senate, faithful to its ideas of half-measures, decreed that the priests should continue to celebrate the mass; but that all, priests and ministers, should preach the Word of God, and for this purpose should meet once a week to confer upon the Holy Scriptures. They then called the Lutherans together in the Franciscan church, and the Papists in that belonging to the Dominicans. The senate first repaired to the former church, where they found two thousand five hundred citizens assembled. The secretary had hardly read the ordinance before a great agitation arose. "That shall not be," cried one of the people.¹ "We will not put up with the mass, not even a single one!" exclaimed another; and all repeated, "No mass,—no mass,—we will die sooner!"²

The senate having next visited the Dominican church, all the Romanists, to the number of six hundred, among whom were many foreign servants, cried out: "We are ready to sacrifice our lives for the mass. We swear it, we swear it!" repeated they with uplifted hands. "If they reject the mass—to arms! to arms!"³

The senate withdrew more embarrassed than ever.

The two parties were again assembled three days after. *Œcolampadius* was in the pulpit. "Be meek and tractable," said he; and he preached with such unction that many were ready to burst into tears.⁴ The assembly offered up prayers, and then decreed that it would accept a new ordinance, by virtue of which, fifteen days after Pentecost, there should be a public disputation, in which no arguments should be employed but such as were drawn from the Word of God: after this a general vote should take place upon the mass, that the majority should decide the question, and that in the meanwhile the mass should be celebrated in three churches only; it being however under-

¹ Quidam e plebe clamitabat: Hoc non fiet! (Zw. Epp. ii. 255.)

² Nos plane ea non feremus, aut moriemur omnes. (Ibid.)

³ At altera pars minitabat prælia si missam rejicerent. (Ibid.)

⁴ Ut nemo non commoveretur et profecto fere mihi lacrymas excussisset. (Ibid.)

stood, that nothing should be taught there that was in opposition to the Holy Scriptures.

The Romanist minority rejected these propositions: "Basel," said they, "is not like Berne and Zurich. Its revenues are derived in great measure from countries opposed to the Reformation!" The priests having refused to resort to the weekly conferences, they were suspended; and during a fortnight there was neither sermon nor mass at the cathedral, or in the churches of St. Ulric, St. Peter, and St. Theodore.

Those who remained faithful to Rome resolved upon an intrepid defence. Meltinger placed Sebastian Müller in the pulpit at St. Peter's, from which he had been interdicted, and this hot-headed priest vented such abusive sarcasms against the Reform, that several of the evangelicals, who were listening to the sermon, were insulted and nearly torn in pieces.

It was necessary to arouse Basel from this nightmare, and strike a decisive blow. "Let us remember our liberty," said the reformed citizens, "and what we owe to the glory of Christ, to public justice, and to our posterity."¹ They then demanded that the enemies of the Reformation, friends and relations of the priests, who were the cause of all these delays and of all these troubles, should no longer sit in the councils until peace was re-established. This was the 8th February. The council notified that they would return an answer on the morrow.

At six o'clock in the evening, twelve hundred citizens were assembled in the corn-market. They began to fear that the delay required by the senate concealed some evil design. "We must have a reply this very night," they said. The senate was convoked in great haste.

From that period affairs assumed a more threatening attitude in Basel. Strong guards were posted by the burghers in the halls of the different guilds; armed men patrolled the city, and bivouacked in the public places, to anticipate the machinations of their adversaries;² the chains were stretched across the streets; torches were lighted, and resinous trees, whose flickering light

¹ *Cogitans quid gloriæ Christi, quid justitiæ publicæ, quidque posteritati suæ deberet.* (Ecol. Zurich MS.)

² *Ne quid forte ab adversariis insidiarum strueretur.* (Ibid.)

scattered the darkness, were placed at intervals through the town; six pieces of artillery were planted before the town-hall; and the gates of the city, as well as the arsenal and the ramparts, were occupied. Basel was in a state of siege.

There was no longer any hope for the Romish party. The burgomaster, Meltinger, an intrepid soldier and one of the heroes of Marignan, where he had led eight hundred men into battle, lost courage. In the darkness he gained the banks of the Rhine with his son-in-law, the councillor Eglof d'Offenburgh, embarked unnoticed in a small boat, and rapidly descended the stream amid the fogs of the night.¹ Other members of the council escaped in a similar manner.

This gave rise to new alarms. "Let us beware of their secret manoeuvres," said the people. "Perhaps they are gone to fetch the Austrians, with whom they have so often threatened us!" The affrighted citizens collected arms from every quarter, and at break of day they had two thousand men on foot. The beams of the rising sun fell on this resolute but calm assembly.

It was midday. The senate had come to no decision: the impatience of the burghers could be restrained no longer. Forty men were detached to visit the posts. As this patrol was passing the cathedral, they entered it, and one of the citizens, impelled by curiosity, opened a closet with his halberd, in which some images had been hidden. One of them fell out, and was broken into a thousand pieces against the stone pavement.² The sight of these fragments powerfully moved the spectators, who began throwing down one after another all the images that were concealed in this place. None of them offered any resistance: heads, feet, and hands—all were heaped in confusion before the halberdiers. "I am much surprised," said Erasmus, "that they performed no miracle to save themselves; formerly the saints worked frequent prodigies for much smaller offences."³ Some priests ran to the spot, and the patrol withdrew.

A rumour, however, having spread that a disturbance had taken place in this church, three hundred men came to the sup-

¹ *Clam conscensa navicula fuga, nescio senatu, elapsus est.* (*Æcol.* Zurich MS.)

² *Cum halpardis quasi per ludum aperirent armarium idolorum, unumque idolum educerent.* (*Ibid.*)

³ *Erasm. Opp.* p. 291.

port of the forty. "Why," said they, "should we spare the idols that light up the flames of discord?" The priests in alarm had closed the gates of the sanctuary, drawn the bolts, raised barricades, and prepared everything for maintaining a siege. But the townspeople, whose patience had been exhausted by the delays of the council, dashed against one of the doors of the church: it yielded to their blows, and they rushed into the cathedral. The hour of madness had arrived. These men were no longer recognizable, as they brandished their swords, rattled their pikes, and uttered formidable cries: were they Goths, or fervent worshippers of God, animated by the zeal which in times of yore inflamed the prophets and the kings of Israel? However that may have been, these proceedings were disorderly, since public authority alone can interfere in public reforms. Images, altars, pictures—all were thrown down and destroyed. The priests who had fled into the vestry, and there concealed themselves, trembled in every limb at the terrible noise made by the fall of their holy decorations. The work of destruction was completed without one of them venturing to save the objects of his worship, or to make the slightest remonstrance. The people next piled up the fragments in the squares, and set fire to them; and during the chilly night the armed burghers stood round and warmed themselves at the crackling flame.¹

The senate collected in amazement, and desired to interpose their authority and appease the tumult; but they might as well have striven to command the winds. The enthusiastic citizens replied to their magistrates in these haughty words: "What you have not been able to effect in three years, we will complete in one hour."²

In truth the anger of the people was no longer confined to the cathedral. They respected all kinds of private property;³ but they attacked the churches of St. Peter, St. Ulric, St. Alban, and of the Dominicans; and in all these temples "the idols" fell under the blows of these good citizens of Basel, who

¹ *Lignis imaginum usi sunt vigiles, pro arcendo frigore nocturno.* (Zurich MS.)

² *De quo vos per triennium deliberastis, nihil efficientes, nos intra horam omnem absolvemus.* (Ecol. Capitoni, Basel MS.)

³ *Nulli enim vel obolum abstulerunt.* (Ibid.)

were inflamed by an extraordinary zeal. Already they were making preparations to cross the bridge and enter Little Basel, which was devoted to the cause of Popery, when the alarmed inhabitants begged to be allowed to remove the images themselves, and with heavy hearts they hastily carried them into the upper chambers of the church, whence they hoped to be able after a time to restore them to their old position.

They did not stop at these energetic demonstrations; the most excited talked of going to the town-hall, and of constraining the senate to accede to the wishes of the people; but the good sense of the majority treated these brawlers as they deserved, and checked their guilty thoughts.

The senators now perceived the necessity of giving a legal character to this popular movement, and of thus changing a tumultuous revolution into a durable reformation.¹ Democracy and the Gospel were thus established simultaneously in Basel. The senate, after an hour's deliberation, granted that in future the burghers should participate in the election of the two councils; that from this day the mass and images should be abolished throughout all the canton, and that in every deliberation which concerned the glory of God or the good of the state the opinion of the guilds should be taken. The people, delighted at having obtained these conditions, which secured their political and religious liberty, returned joyful to their houses. It was now the close of day.²

On the morrow, Ash-Wednesday, it was intended to distribute the ruins of the altars and other ornaments of the church among the poor to serve them for firewood. But these unhappy creatures, in their eagerness for the fragments, having begun to dispute about them, great piles were constructed in the cathedral close and set on fire. "The idols," said some wags, "are really keeping their Ash-Wednesday to-day!" The friends of popery turned away their horror-stricken eyes from this sacrilegious sight, says *Æcolampadius*, and shed tears of blood. "Thus severely did they treat the idols," continues

¹ *Cedendum plebi.* (*Æcol. Capitoni*, Basel MS.)

² *His conditionibus plebs læta domum rediit, sub ipsum noctis crepusculum.* (*Ibid.* Zurich MS.)

the reformer, "and the mass died of grief in consequence."¹ On the following Sunday hymns in German were sung at every church; and on the 18th February a general amnesty was published. Everything was changed in Basel. The last had become first, and the first last. While Œcolampadius, who a few years before had entered the city as a stranger, without resources and without power, found himself raised to the first station in the Church, Erasmus, disturbed in the quiet study whence during so long a period he had issued his absolute commands to the world of letters, saw himself compelled to descend into the arena. But this king of the schools had no desire to lay down his sceptre before the sovereign people. For a long time he used to turn aside his head when he met his friend Œcolampadius. Besides, he feared by remaining at Basel to compromise himself with his protectors. "The torrent," said he, "which was hidden underground has burst forth with violence, and committed frightful ravages."² My life is in danger: Œcolampadius possesses all the churches. People are continually bawling in my ears; I am besieged with letters, caricatures, and pamphlets. It is all over: I am resolved to leave Basel. Only shall I or shall I not depart by stealth? The one is more becoming, the other more secure."

Wishing as much as possible to make his honour and his prudence agree, Erasmus desired the boatmen with whom he was to descend the Rhine to depart from an unfrequented spot. This was opposed by the senate, and the timid philosopher was compelled to enter the boat as it lay near the bridge, at that time covered with a crowd of people. He floated down the river, sadly bade adieu to the city he had so much loved, and retired to Friburg in Brisgau with several other learned men.

New professors were invited to fill the vacant chairs in the university, and in particular Oswald Myconius, Phrygio, Sebastian Munster, and Simon Grynæus. At the same time was published an ecclesiastical order and confession of faith, one of the most precious documents of this epoch.

¹ Ita sævitum est in idola, ac missa præ dolore expiravit. (Œcol. Capitoni, Zurich, MS.)

² Basilica torrens quidem, qui sub terra labebatur, subito erumpens, &c. (Err. Epp. ad Pirckheimer, July 1539.)

Thus had a great transformation been effected without the loss of a single drop of blood. Popery had fallen in Basel in despite of the secular and spiritual power. "The wedge of the Lord," says *Œcolampadius*, "has split this hard knot."¹

We cannot, however, help acknowledging that the Basel Reformation may afford ground for some objections. Luther had opposed himself to the power of the many. "When the people prick up their ears, do not whistle too loud. It is better to suffer at the hand of one tyrant, that is to say, of a king, than of a thousand tyrants, that is to say, of the people." On this account the German Reformer has been reproached for acknowledging no other policy than servilism.

Perhaps when the Swiss Reformation is canvassed, a contrary objection will be made against it, and the Reform at Basel in particular, will be looked upon as a revolution.

The Reformation must of necessity bear the stamp of the country in which it is accomplished: it will be monarchical in Germany, republican in Switzerland. Nevertheless, in religion as in politics, there is a great difference between reformation and revolution.

In no sphere does Christianity desire either despotism, servitude, stagnation, retrogression, or death. But while looking for progress, it seeks to accomplish it by reformation and not by revolution.

Reformation works by the power of the Word, of doctrine, cultivation, and truth; while revolution, or rather revolt, operates by the power of riot, of the sword, and of the club.

Christianity proceeds by the inner man, and charters themselves, if they stand alone, cannot satisfy it. No doubt political constitutions are one of the blessings of our age; but it is not sufficient for these securities to be committed to parchment; they must be written in the heart, and guaranteed by the manners of the people.

Such were the principles of the Swiss Reformers; such were those of the Reform at Basel, and by these it is distinguished from a revolution.

There were, it is true, some excesses. Never perhaps has

¹ *Malo nodo suus cuneus obvenit.* (*Œcol. Capit.*)

a reformation been accomplished among men without some mixture of revolution. But it was doctrines, however, that were in question at Basel: these doctrines had acted powerfully on the moral convictions and on the lives of the people; the movement had taken place within before it showed itself without. But more than this: the Reformation was not satisfied with taking away; it gave more than it took; and, far from confining itself to the work of destruction, it scattered rich blessings over all the people.¹

CHAPTER VI.

Farel's Commission—Farel at Lausanne and Morat—Neufchatel—Farel preaches at Serrière—Enters Neufchatel—Sermon—The Monks—Farel's Preaching—Popery in Neufchatel—Canons and Monks unite—Farel at Morat and in the Vully—Reformation of the Bishopric of Basel—Farel again in Neufchatel—Placards—The Hospital Chapel—Civil Power invoked by the Romanists.

THE recoil of the discussion at Berne had overthrown Popery in a considerable part of German Switzerland. It was also felt in many of the churches of French Switzerland, lying at the foot of the Jura, or scattered amid the pine forests of its elevated valleys, and which up to this time had shown the most absolute devotion to the Roman pontiff.

Farel, seeing the Gospel established in the places where the Rhone mingles its sandy waters with the crystal Lemane, turned his eyes to another quarter. He was supported by Berne. This state, which possessed jointly with Friburg the bailiwicks of Morat, Orbe, and Granson, and which had alliances with Lausanne, Avenches, Payerne, Neufchatel, and Geneva, saw that both its interest and its duty alike called it to have the Gospel preached to its allies and subjects. Farel was empowered to carry it among them, provided he obtained the consent of the respective governments.

One day, therefore, journeying towards Morat, Farel arrived and preached the Gospel at the foot of those towers and battlements that had been attacked at three different periods by the armies of Conrad the Salic, Rodolph of Hapsburg, and Charles

¹ Hagenbach, Vorlesungen, ii. 125, 200.

the Bold. Ere long the friends of the Reform amounted to a great number. A general vote having nevertheless declared in favour of the Pope, Farel proceeded to Lausanne.

He was at first driven away by the bishop and the clergy, but soon reappeared provided with a letter from the lords of Berne. "We send him to you," said their excellencies to the authorities of the city, "to defend his own cause and ours. Allow him to preach the Word of God, and beware that you touch not a hair of his head."

There was great confusion in the councils. Placed between Berne and the bishop, what could they do? The Council of Twenty-four, finding the matter very serious, convoked the Council of Sixty; and this body excusing itself, they convoked the Council of Two Hundred, on the 14th November, 1529. But these in their turn referred the business to the Smaller Council. No one would have anything to do with it. The inhabitants of Lausanne, it is true, complained loudly of the holy members of their chapters, whose lives (they said) were one long train of excesses; but when their eyes turned on the austere countenance of Reform, they were still more terrified. Besides, how deprive Lausanne of her bishop, her court, and her dignitaries? What! no more pilgrims in the churches,—no more suitors in the ecclesiastical courts,—no more purchasers in the markets, or boon companions in the taverns!—The widowed and desolate Lausanne would no longer behold the noisy throng of people, that were at once her wealth and her glory!—Better far a disorder that enriches, than a reform that impoverishes! Farel was compelled to depart a second time.

He returned to Morat, and soon the Word gained over the hearts of the people. On feast-days, the roads from Payerne and Avenches were covered with merry bands, who laughingly said to one another, "Let us go to Morat and hear the preachers!" and exhorted each other slyly, as they went along the road, "not to fall into the nets of the heretics." But at night all was changed. Grasped by the strong hand of truth, these very people returned,—some in deep thought, others discussing with animation the doctrines they had heard. The fire was sparkling throughout all this district, and spreading

in every direction its long rays of light. This was enough for Farel: he required new conquests.

At a short distance from Morat lay one of the strongholds of Popery—the earldom of Neufchatel. Joan of Hochberg, who had inherited this principality from her ancestors, had married, in 1504, Louis of Orleans, duke of Longueville. This French nobleman having supported the king of France in 1512, in a war against the Swiss, the cantons had taken possession of Neufchatel, but had restored it to his widow in 1529.

Few countries could have presented greater difficulties to the daring reformer. The princess of Longueville, residing in France in the suite of Francis I., a woman of courtly habits, vain, extravagant, always in debt, and thinking of Neufchatel only as a farm that should bring her in a large revenue, was devoted to the pope and popery. Twelve canons with several priests and chaplains formed a powerful clergy, at whose head was the provost Oliver of Hochberg, natural brother to the princess. Auxiliaries full of zeal flanked this main army. On the one side there was the abbey of the Premonstrantes of Fontaine-André, three quarters of a league beyond the town, the monks of which, after having in the twelfth century cleared the ground with their own hands,¹ had gradually become powerful lords, and, on the other side, the Benedictines of the Island of St. John, whose abbot, having been deposed by the Bernese, had taken refuge, burning with hatred and vengeance, in his priory at Corcelles.

The people of Neufchatel had a great respect for ancient rights, and it was easy to take advantage of this state of feeling, considering the general ignorance, to maintain the innovations of popery. The canons improved the opportunity. For the instructions of the Gospel they substituted pomps and shows. The church, situated on a steep rock, was filled with altars, chapels, and images of saints; and religion, descending from this sanctuary, ran up and down the streets, and was travestied in dramas and mysteries, mingled with indulgences, miracles, and debauchery.²

¹ *Propriis manibus.* (Hist. of Neufchatel, by F. de Chambrier, p. 13.)

² *Mémoires sur l'Eglise collégiale de Neufchatel*, p. 240.

The soldiers of Neufchatel, however, who had made the campaign of 1529 with the Bernese army, brought back to their homes the liveliest enthusiasm for the evangelical cause. It was at this period that a frail boat, quitting the southern bank of the lake, on the side opposite Morat, and carrying a Frenchman of mean appearance, steered towards the Neufchatel shore. Farel, for it was he, had learnt that the village of Serrière, situated at the gates of Neufchatel, depended as to spiritualities on the evangelical city of Bienne, and that Emer Beynon, the priest of the place, "had some liking for the Gospel." The plan of his campaign was immediately drawn up. He appeared before parson Emer, who received him with joy; but what could be done? for Farel had been interdicted from preaching in any church whatever in the earldom. The poor priest thought to reconcile everything by permitting Farel to mount on a stone in the cemetery, and thus preach to the people, turning his back upon the church.¹

A great disturbance arose in Neufchatel. On one side the government, the canons, and the priests, cried, "Heresy!" but on the other, "some inhabitants of Neufchatel, to whom God had given a knowledge of the truth,"² flocked to Serrière. In a short time these last could not contain themselves: "Come," said they to Farel, "and preach to us in the town."

This was at the beginning of December. They entered by the gate of the castle, and leaving the church on the hill to the left, they passed in front of the canons' houses, and descended to the narrow streets inhabited by the citizens. On reaching the market-cross, Farel ascended a platform and addressed the crowd, which gathered together from all the neighbourhood,—weavers, vine-dressers, husbandmen, a worthy race, possessing more feeling than imagination. The preacher's exterior was grave, his discourse energetic, his voice like thunder: his eyes, his features, his gestures, all showed him a man of intrepidity. The citizens, accustomed to run about the streets after the

¹ M. de Perrot, ex-pastor of Serrière, and author of a work entitled "*L'Eglise et la Réformation*," has shown me the stone on which Farel stood.

² "Aucuns de Neufchatel, auxquels Dieu avait donné connoissance de la vérité," &c. (Choupard MS.)

mountebanks, were touched by his powerful language. "Farel preached a sermon of such great efficacy," says a manuscript, "that he gained over much people."¹

Some monks, however, with shaven crowns² glided among his hearers, seeking to excite them against the heretical minister. "Let us beat out his brains," said some. "Duck him, duck him!" cried others, advancing to throw Farel into a fountain, which may still be seen near the spot where he preached. But the reformer stood firm.

This first preaching was succeeded by others. To this Gospel missionary every place was a church; every stone, every bench, every platform was a pulpit. Already the cutting winds and the snows of December should have kept the Neuchatelans around their firesides; "the canons made a vigorous defence;"³ and in every quarter "the shorn crowns" were in agitation, supplicating, menacing, shouting, and threatening—but all was useless. No sooner did this man of small stature rise up in any place, with his pale yet sunburnt complexion, with red and uncombed beard, with sparkling eye and expressive mouth, than the monks' labour was lost: the people collected around him, for it was the Word of God that fell from his lips.⁴ All eyes were fixed on him: with open mouth and attentive ears they hung upon his words.⁵ And scarcely did he begin to speak, when—Oh! wonderful work of God! he himself exclaims—this multitude believed as if it had but one soul.

The Word of God carried the town, as it were, at the first assault; and throwing down the devices Rome had taken ages to compose, established itself in triumph on the ruins of human traditions. Farel saw in imagination Jesus Christ himself walking in spirit through the midst of this crowd, opening the eyes of the blind, softening the hard heart and working miracles⁶.....so that scarcely had he returned to his humble residence before he wrote to his friends with a heart full of emotion: "Render thanks with me to the Father of mercies, in that he has

¹ Quoted in the Choupard MS.

² *Rasorum remoramenta.* (Farellus Molano, Neuchatel MS.)

³ *Contra tyrannicæ præcepta.* (Ibid.)

⁴ *Ad verbum festinant.* (Ibid.)

⁵ *Avide audientes.* (Ibid.)

⁶ *Quid Christus in suis egerit.* (Ibid.)

shown his favour to those bowed down by a weighty tyranny;" and falling on his knees, he worshipped God.¹

But during this time what were the adherents of the pope doing in Neufchatel?

The canons, members of the General Audiencies, of which they formed the first estate, treated both priests and laymen with intolerable haughtiness. Laying the burden of their offices on poor curates, they publicly kept dissolute women, clothed them sumptuously, endowed their children by public acts, fought in the church, haunted the streets by night, or went into a foreign country to enjoy in secret the produce of their avarice, and of their intrigues. Some poor lepers placed in a house near the city were maintained by the produce of certain offerings. The rich canons, in the midst of their banquets, dared take away the bread of charity from these unhappy wretches.

The abbey of Fontaine-André was at a little distance from the town. Now the canons of Neufchatel and the monks of Fontaine were at open war. These hostile powers, encamped on their two hills, disputed each other's property, wrested away each other's privileges, launched at one another the coarsest insults, and even came to blows. "Debaucher of women!" said the canons to the abbot of Fontaine-André, who returned the compliment in the same coin. It is the Reformation which, through faith, has re-established the moral law in Christendom—a law that Popery had trodden under foot.

For a long time these conventual wars had disturbed the country. On a sudden they ceased. A strange event was passing in Neufchatel—the Word of God was preached there. The canons, seized with affright in the midst of their disorders, looked down from their lofty dwellings on this new movement. The report reached Fontaine-André. The monks and priests suspended their orgies and their quarrels. The heathen sensualism that had invaded the Church was put to the rout; Christian spiritualism had reappeared.

Immediately the monks and canons, so long at war, embrace and unite against the reformer. "We must save religion,"

¹ Gratias ergo, Fratres, mecum agite Patri misericordiarum, quod sit propitius gravi pressis tyrannide. (Far. Mol. Neufchatel MS.)

said they, meaning their titles, banquets, scandals, and privileges. Not one of them could oppose a doctrine to the doctrine preached by Farel: to insult him was their sole weapon. At Corcelles, however, they went farther. As the minister was proclaiming the Gospel near the priory, the monks fell upon him: in the midst of them was the prior Rodolph de Benoit, storming, exciting, and striving to augment the tempest. He even had a dagger in his hand, according to one writer.¹ Farel escaped with difficulty.

This was not enough. Popery, as it has always done, had recourse to the civil power. The canons, the abbot, and the prior, solicited the governor George de Rive at the same time. Farel stood firm. "The glory of Jesus Christ," said he, "and the lively affection his sheep bear to his Word, constrain me to endure sufferings greater than tongue can describe."² Ere-long, however, he was compelled to yield. Farel again crossed the lake; but this passage was very different from the former. The fire was kindled!—On the 22d December he was at Morat; and shortly after at Aigle.

He was recalled thence. On the 7th January, religion was put to the vote at Morat, and the majority was in favour of the Gospel. But the Romish minority, supported by Friburg, immediately undertook to recover its ancient position by insults and bad treatment. "Farel! Farel!" cried the reformed party.³

A few days after this, Farel, accompanied by a Bernese messenger, scaled that magnificent amphitheatre of mountains above Vevay, whence the eye plunges into the waters of the Lemman; and soon he crossed the estates of Count John of Gruyère, who was in the habit of saying, "We must burn this French Luther!"⁴ Scarcely had Farel reached the heights of Saint Martin de Vaud,⁵ when he saw the vicar of the place with two priests running to meet him. "Heretic! devil!" cried they. But the knight, through fear of Berne, remained behind his walls, and Farel passed on.

¹ Rosselet in Annotat. Farel Leben von Kirchofer.

² At *levia facit omnia Christus*, added he. (Farel to Dumoulin, 15th December. Neufchâtel MS.)

³ Choupard MS. Chambrier, *Hist. de Neufchâtel*, p. 293.

⁴ Missive of Berne to the Count of Gruyère, 5th and 16th January, 1530.

⁵ To the left of the modern road from Vevay to Friburg.

The reformer, not allowing himself to be stopped by the necessity of defending himself in Morat, or by the inclemency of the season, immediately carried the Gospel to those beautiful hills that soar between the smiling waters of lakes Morat and Neufchatel into the villages of the Vully. This manœuvre was crowned with the most complete success. On the 15th February four deputies from the Vully came to Morat to demand permission to embrace the Reform, which was immediately granted them. "Let our ministers preach the Gospel," said their excellencies of Berne to the Friburgers, "and we will let your priests play their monkey tricks. We desire to force no man."¹ The Reform restored freedom of will to the Christian people. It was about this time that Farel wrote his beautiful letter "To all lords, people, and pastors," which we have so often quoted.²

The indefatigable reformer now went forward to new conquests. A chain of rocks separates the Juran valley of Erguel, already evangelized by Farel, from the country of the ancient Rauraci, and a passage cut through the rock serves as a communication between the two districts. It was the end of April when Farel, passing through the *Pierre-Pertuis*,³ descended to the village of Tavannes, and entered the church just as the priest was saying mass. Farel went into the pulpit: the astonished priest stopped,—the minister filled his hearers with emotion, and seemed to them an angel come down from heaven. Immediately the images and the altars fell, and "the poor priest who was chanting the mass could not finish it."⁴ To put down Popery had required less time than the priest had spent at the altar.

A great part of the bishopric of Basel was in a few weeks gained over to the Reformation.

During this time the Gospel was fermenting in Neufchatel. The young men who had marched with Berne to deliver Geneva from the attacks of Savoy, recounted in their jovial meetings

¹ Missive of Berne, Choupard MS.

² A tous seigneurs, peuples, et pasteurs. (See above, Vol. II. book xii.)

³ Petra Pertusa.

⁴ Donc le pauvre prêtre qui chantoit sa messe ne la peut pas achever. (Old MS. quoted in the Choupard MS.)

the exploits of the campaign, and related how the soldiers of Berne, feeling cold, had taken the images from the Dominican church at Geneva, saying: "Idols of wood are of no use but to make a fire with in winter."

Farel re-appeared in Neufchatel.¹ Being master of the lower part of the town, he raised his eyes to the lofty rocks on which soared the cathedral and the castle. The best plan, thought he, is to bring these proud priests down to us. One morning his young friends spread themselves in the streets, and posted up large placards bearing these words: *All those who say mass are robbers, murderers, and seducers of the people.*² Great was the uproar in Neufchatel. The canons summoned their people, called together the clerks, and marching at the head of a large troop, armed with swords and clubs, descended into the town, tore down the sacrilegious placards, and cited Farel before the tribunal as a slanderer, demanding ten thousand crowns damages.

The two parties appeared in court, and this was all that Farel desired. "I confess the fact," said he, "but I am justified in what I have done. Where are there to be found more horrible murderers than these seducers who sell paradise, and thus nullify the merits of our Lord Jesus Christ? I will prove my assertion by the Gospel." And he prepared to open it, when the canons, flushed with anger, cried out: "The common law of Neufchatel, and not the Gospel, is in question here! Where are the witnesses?" But Farel, constantly reverting to that fearful assertion, proved by the Word of God that the canons were really guilty of murder and robbery. To plead such a cause was to ruin popery. The court of Neufchatel, that had never heard a similar case, resolved according to ancient custom to lay it before the council of Besançon,³ which not daring to pronounce the first estate of the General Audiences guilty of murder and robbery, referred the matter to the emperor and to a general council. Bad causes gain nothing by making a disturbance.

¹ Farellus suo more magna fortitudine jam-jam agit. (Megander to Zwingli, 6th Aug. 1530.)

² De Chambrier, Hist. de Neufchatel, i. 203.

³ Prendre les *entraives*.

At every step they wished to drive him back, Farel made one in advance. The streets and the houses were still his temple. One day when the people of Neufchatel were around him, "Why," cried they, "should not the Word of God be proclaimed in a church?" They then hurried Farel along with them, opened the doors of the Hospital chapel, set the minister in the pulpit, and a numerous crowd stood silent before him. "In like manner as Jesus Christ, appearing in a state of poverty and humility, was born in a stable at Bethlehem," said the reformer; "so this hospital, this abode of the sick and of the poor, is to-day become his birthplace in the town of Neufchatel." Then feeling ill at ease in the presence of the painted and carved figures that decorated the chapel, he laid his hand on these objects of idolatry, removed them, and broke them in pieces.¹

Popery, which anger had blinded, now took a step that it undoubtedly had a right to take, but which destroyed it: it had recourse to the secular arm, and the governor sent a deputation to the Bernese council, praying the removal of Farel and his companions.

But almost at the same time deputies from the townspeople arrived at Berne. "Did not these hands bear arms at Interlaken and at Bremgarten to support your Reformation?" said they, "and will you abandon us in ours?"

Berne hesitated. A public calamity was at that time filling the whole city with mourning. One of the most illustrious citizens of the republic, the Banneret of Weingarten, attacked by the plague, was expiring amid the tears of his sons and of his fellow-citizens. Being informed of the arrival of the Neufchatelans, he rallied his waning strength: "Go," said he, "and beg the senate in my name to ask for a general assembly of the people of Neufchatel for Sunday next."² This message of the dying banneret decided the council.

The deputies from Berne arrived in Neufchatel on the 7th August. Farel thought that during the debates he had time

¹ Choupard MS.

² Wingarterus iste infectus peste apud senatum nostrum, pia legatione. (Megander to Zwingli.)

to make a new conquest, and quitted the city. His zeal can be compared only to St. Paul's. His body was small and feeble, but his activity was wholly apostolic; danger and bad treatment wasted him every day, but he had within him a divine power that rendered him victorious.

CHAPTER VII.

Valangin—Guillemette de Vergy—Farel goes to the Val de Ruz—The Mass interrupted—Farel dragged to the River—Farel in Prison—Apostles and Reformers compared—Farel preaching at Neufchatel—Installed in the Cathedral—A Whirlwind sweeps over the People—The Idols destroyed—Interposition of the Governor—Triumph of the Reformed.

AT the distance of a league from Neufchatel, beyond the mountain, extends the Val de Ruz, and near its entrance, in a precipitous situation, where roars an impetuous torrent surrounded by steep crags, stands the town of Valangin. An old castle, built on a rock, raises its vast walls into the air, overlooking the humble dwellings of the townspeople, and extending its jurisdiction over five valleys of these lofty and severe mountains, at that time covered with forests of pine, but now peopled by the most active industry.¹

In this castle dwelt Guillemette de Vergy, dowager-countess of Valangin, strongly attached to the Romish religion and full of respect for the memory of her husband. A hundred priests had chanted high mass at the count's burial; when many penitent young women had been married, and large alms distributed; the curate of Locle had been sent to Jerusalem, and Guillemette herself had made a pilgrimage for the repose of the soul of her departed lord.

Sometimes, however, the countess of Gruyère and other ladies would come and visit the widow of Vergy, who assembled in the castle a number of young lords. The fife and tambourine re-echoed under its vaulted roofs, chattering groups collected in the immense embrasures of its Gothic windows, and merry

¹ Here are situated Chaux de Fonds, Locle, &c.

dances followed hard upon a long silence and gloomy devotion.¹ There was but one sentiment that never left Guillemette—this was her hatred against the Reformation, in which she was warmly seconded by her intendant, the Sieur of Bellegarde.

Guillemette and the priests had in fact reason to tremble. The 15th August was a great Romish festival—Our Lady of August, or the Assumption, which all the faithful of the Val de Ruz were preparing to keep. This was the very day Farel selected. Animated by the fire and courage of Elijah, he set out for Valangin, and a young man, his fellow-countryman, and, as it would appear, a distant relation, Anthony Boyve, an ardent Christian and a man of decided character, accompanied him.² The two missionaries climbed the mountain, plunged into the pine forest, and then descending again into the valley, traversed Valangin, where the vicinity of the castle did not give them much encouragement to pause, and arrived at a village, probably Boudevilliers, proposing to preach the Gospel there.³

Already on all sides the people were thronging to the church; Farel and his companion entered also with a small number of the inhabitants who had heard him at Neufchatel. The reformer immediately ascended the pulpit, and the priest prepared to celebrate mass. The combat began. While Farel was preaching Jesus Christ and his promises, the priest and the choir were chanting the missal. The solemn moment approached: the ineffable transubstantiation was about to take place: the priest pronounced the sacred words over the elements. At this instant the people hesitate no longer; ancient habits, an irresistible influence, draw them towards the altar; the preacher is deserted; the kneeling crowd has recovered its old worship; Rome is triumphant.....Suddenly a young man springs from the throng,—traverses the choir,—rushes to the altar,—snatches the host from the hands of the priest, and

¹ Chambrier, Hist. de Neufchatel, p. 276.

² Annals of Boyve and a family MS.—This family has since given several pastors to the Church of Neufchatel.

³ There are two original manuscripts (both quoted in the Chopard MS.) which give an account of this transaction. One says that Farel preached at Valangin, the other indicates a village near Valangin. Ruchat has adopted the former version; I think the latter preferable. The second MS. appears to me older and more correct than the first.

cries, as he turns towards the people: "This is not the God whom you should worship. He is above,—in heaven,—in the majesty of the Father, and not, as you believe, in the hands of a priest."¹ This man was Anthony Boyve.

Such a daring act at first produced the desired effect. The mass was interrupted, the chanting ceased, and the crowd, as if struck by a supernatural intervention, remained silent and motionless. Farel, who was still in the pulpit, immediately took advantage of this calm, and proclaimed that Christ "whom the heaven must receive until the times of restitution of all things."² Upon this the priests and choristers with their adherents rushed to the towers, ran up into the belfry, and sounded the tocsin.

These means succeeded: a crowd was collected, and if Farel had not retired, his death and Boyve's would have been inevitable. "But God," says the chronicle, "delivered them." They crossed the interval that separates Boudevilliers from Valangin, and drew near the steep gorges of the torrent of the Seyon. But how traverse that town, which the tocsin had already alarmed?

Leaving Chaumont and its dark forests to the left, these two heralds of the Gospel took a narrow path that wound beneath the castle: they were stealing cautiously along, when suddenly a shower of stones assailed them, and at the same time a score of individuals,—priests, men, and women,—armed with clubs, fell furiously upon them. "The priests had not the gout either in their feet or arms," says a chronicler; "the ministers were so beaten, that they nearly lost their lives."³

Madame de Vergy, who descended to the terrace, far from moderating the anger of the priests, cried out: "Drown them—drown them! throw them into the Seyon—these Lutheran dogs, who have despised the host!"⁴ In fact, the priests were beginning to drag the two heretics towards the bridge. Never was Farel nearer death.

¹ Choupard MS.

² Acts iii. 21.

³ Les prêtres n'avoient pas la goutte aux pieds et aux bras, et ils les battirent tellement que peu s'en fallut qu'ils ne perdissent la vie. (Choupard MS.)

⁴ A l'eau! à l'eau! jetez les dans le Seyon ces chiens de Luthériens qui ont méprisé le bon Dieu! (Ibid.)

On a sudden, from behind the last rock that hides Valangin in the direction of the mountain, there appeared "certain good persons of the Val de Ruz, coming from Neufchâtel"¹ and descending into the valley. "What are you doing?" asked they of the priests, with the intention no doubt of saving Farel; "put them rather in a place of safety, that they may answer for their proceedings. Would you deprive yourselves of the only means in your power of discovering those infected by the poison of heresy?"

The priests left off at these words, and conducted the prisoners to the castle. As they were passing before a little chapel, which contained an image of the virgin, "Kneel down," said they to Farel and Boyve, showing them the statue; "prostrate yourselves before Our Lady!" "Farel began to admonish them: "Worship one God alone in spirit and in truth," said he to them, "and not dumb images without life or power." But they, continues the chronicle, "greatly vexed at his words and his firmness, inflicted on him so many blows, that he was covered with blood, which even spirted on the walls of the chapel. For a long time after the traces of it might still be seen."²

They resumed their march—they entered the town—they climbed the steep road that led to the esplanade where Guillemette de Vergy and her attendants waited for the "Lutherans;" so that, continues the chronicle, "from beating them thus continually, they were conducted all covered with filth and blood to the prisons, and let down almost lifeless into the dungeon (*croton*) of the castle of Valangin." Thus had Paul at Lystra been stoned by the Jews, drawn out of the city, and left for dead.³ The apostles and the reformers preached the same doctrine and suffered the same treatment.

It may perhaps be said, that Farel and Boyve were too violent in their attack; but the Church of the Middle Ages, which had fallen back into the legal spirit of Judaism, and into

¹ Choupard MS.

² Ibid. Mais eux, rudement fâchés de ses propos et constance, lui donnèrent tant de coups, qu'ils le mirent tout en sang, jusques là que son sang jaillissoit sur les murailles de la chapelle. On en voyoit long temps après encore les marques.

³ Acts xiv. 19.

all the corruptions that flow from it, needed an energetic opposition to lead it again to the principle of grace. Augustine and St. Paul re-appeared in the Church of the sixteenth century; and when we read of Boyve rushing in great emotion on those who were about to worship the bread of the mass, may we not recall to mind the action of St. Paul, rending his clothes, and running in among the people, who were desirous of worshipping "men of like passions with themselves?"¹

Farel and Boyve, thrust into the dungeons of the castle, could, like Paul and Silas in the prison at Philippi, "sing praises unto God." Messire de Bellegarde, ever ready to persecute the Gospel, was preparing for them a cruel end, when some townsmen of Neufchatel arrived to claim them. Madame de Valangin dared not refuse, and at the demand of the Bernese even instituted an inquiry, "to put a good face on the matter," says a manuscript. "Nevertheless the priest who had beaten Farel most, never after failed to eat daily at the lady's table, by way of recompense."² But this was of little consequence: the seed of truth had been sown in the Val de Ruz.

At Neufchatel the Bernese supported the evangelical citizens. The governor, whose resources were exhausted, sent deputies to the princess, "begging her to cross the mountains, to appease her people, who were in terrible trouble in consequence of this Lutheran religion."³

Meantime the ferment increased. The townspeople prayed the canons to give up the mass: they refused; whereupon the citizens presented them their reasons in writing, and begged them to discuss the question with Farel. Still the same refusal!—"But, for goodness' sake, speak either for or against!" It was all of no use!

On Sunday, the 23d of October, Farel, who had returned to Neufchatel, was preaching at the hospital. He knew that the magistrates of the city had deliberated on the expediency of consecrating the cathedral itself to the evangelical worship. "What then," said he, "will you not pay as much honour to the Gospel as the other party does to the mass?..... And if this

¹ Acts xiv. 14.

² Choupard MS.

³ Letter from the Governor to the Princess.

superstitious act is celebrated in the high church, shall not the Gospel be proclaimed there also?" At these words all his hearers arose. "To the church!" cried they; "to the church!" Impetuous men are desirous of putting their hands to the work, to accomplish what the prudence of the burgesses had proposed.¹ They leave the hospital, and take Farel with them. They climb the steep street of the castle: in vain would the canons and their frightened followers stop the crowd: they force a passage. Convinced that they are advancing for God's glory, nothing can check them. Insults and shouts assail them from every side, but in the name of the truth they are defending, they proceed: they open the gates of the Church of Our Lady; they enter, and here a fresh struggle begins. The canons and their friends assembled around the pulpit endeavour to stop Farel; but all is useless. They have not to deal with a band of rioters. God has pronounced in his Word, and the magistrates themselves have passed a definitive resolution. The townspeople advance, therefore, against the sacerdotal coterie; they form a close battalion, in the centre of which they place the reformer. They succeed in making their way through the opposing crowd, and at last place the minister in the pulpit without any harm befalling him.²

Immediately all is calm within the church and without; even the adversaries are silent, and Farel delivers "one of the most effective sermons he had hitherto preached." Their eyes are opened; their emotion increases; their hearts are melted; the most obstinate appear converted; and from every part of the old church these cries resound: "We will follow the evangelical religion, both we and our children, and in it will we live and die."³

Suddenly a whirlwind, as it were, sweeps over this multitude, and stirs it up like a vast sea. Farel's hearers desire to imitate the pious King Josiah.⁴ "If we take away these idols from before our eyes, will it not be aiding us," said they, "in

¹ This is the conclusion I draw from various papers, and in particular from the report of the meeting held at Neuchâtel by the Bernese deputies, in which the heads of the burgesses declare, *that it appeared to them a very good matter to take down the altars, &c.* Hitherto only one phasis of this action has been seen:—the popular movement; and the other, namely, the legal resolution of the magistrates of the city, appears to have been overlooked.

² Choupard MS.

³ Ibid.

⁴ 2 Chron. xxxiv. 7.

taking them from our own hearts? Once these idols broken, how many souls among our fellow-citizens, now disturbed and hesitating, will be decided by this striking manifestation of the truth! We must save them as it were by fire."¹

This latter motive decided them, and then began a scene that filled the Romanists with horror, and which must, according to them, bring down the terrible judgment of God on the city.

The very spot where this took place would seem to add to its solemnity. To the north, the castle-walls rise above the pointed crags of the gloomy but picturesque valley of the Seyon, and the mountain in front of the castle presents to the observer's eye little more than bare rocks, vines, and black firs. But to the south, beneath the terrace on which this tumultuous scene was passing, lay the wide and tranquil waters of the lake, with its fertile and picturesque shores; and in the distance the continuous summits of the higher Alps, with their dazzling snows, their immense glaciers, and gigantic peaks, stretch far away before the enraptured eye.

On this platform the people of Neufchatel were in commotion, paying little attention to these noble scenes of nature. The governor, whose castle adjoined the church, was compelled to remain an idle spectator of the excesses that he could not prevent; he was content to leave us a description of them. "These daring fellows," says he, "seize mattocks, hatchets, and hammers, and thus march against the images of the saints." They advance—they strike the statues and the altars—they dash them to pieces. The figures carved in the fourteenth century by the "imagers" of Count Louis are not spared; and scarcely do the statues of the counts themselves, which were mistaken for idols, escape destruction. The townspeople collect all these fragments of an idolatrous worship; they carry them out of the church, and throw them from the top of the rock. The paintings meet with no better treatment. "It is the devil," thought they with the early Christians, "who taught the world this art of statues, images, and all sorts of likenesses."²

¹ Choupard MS.

² *Diabolum seculo intulisse artifices statuarum et imaginum et omnis generis simulacrorum.* (Tertullian, *de idolatria*, cap. 3.)

They tear out the eyes in the pictures of the saints, and cut off their noses. The crucifix itself is thrown down, for this wooden figure usurps the homage that Jesus Christ claims in the heart. One image, the most venerated of all, still remains: it is Our Lady of Mercy, which Mary of Savoy had presented to the collegiate church; but Our Lady herself is not spared. A hand more daring than the rest strikes it, as in the fourth century the colossal statue of Serapis was struck.¹ "They have even bored out the eyes of Our Lady of Mercy, which the departed lady your mother had caused to be made," wrote the governor to the duchess of Longueville.

The reformed went still further: they seized the patens in which lay the *corpus Domini*, and flung them from the top of the rock into the torrent; after which, being desirous of showing that the consecrated wafers are mere bread, and not God himself, they distributed them one to another and ate them..... At this sight the canons and chaplains could no longer remain quiet. A cry of horror was heard; they ran up with their adherents, and opposed force to force. At length began the struggle that had been so much dreaded.

The provost Oliver of Hochberg, the canons Simon of Neufchatel and Pontus of Soleilant, all three members of the privy council, had repaired hastily to the castle, as well as the other councillors of the princess. Until this moment they had remained silent spectators of the scene; but when they saw the two parties coming to blows, they ordered all "the supporters of the evangelical doctrine" to appear before the governor. This was like trying to chain the winds. Besides, why should the reformers stop? They were not acting without legitimate authority.² "Tell the governor," replied the townspeople haughtily, "that in the concerns of God and of our souls he has no command over us."³

George de Rive then discovered that his authority failed against a power superior to his own. He must yield, and save

¹ Socrates v. 10.

² "Par les quatre du dit Neufchatel," by the Four (the municipal authorities) of the said Neufchatel, remarks the priest Besancenet. See also the *recess* (edict) of the council held at Neufchatel by MM. of Berne, 4th November, 1530.

³ The Governor's letter to the Princess.

at least some remnants. He hastened therefore to remove the images that still remained, and to shut them up in secret chambers. The citizens of Neufchatel allowed him to execute this measure. "Save your gods," thought they, "preserve them under strong bars, lest perchance a robber should deprive you of the objects of your adoration!"¹ By degrees the tumult died away, the popular torrent returned within its channel, and a short time after, in commemoration of this great day, these words were inscribed on a pillar of the church:—

L'AN 1530, LE 23 OCTOBRE, FUT OTEE ET ABATTUE L'IDOLATRIE
DE CRANT PAR LES BOURGEOIS.²

An immense revolution had been effected. Doubtless it would have been better if the images had been taken away and the Gospel substituted in their place with calmness, as at Zurich; but we must take into consideration the difficulties that so profound and contested a change brings with it, and make allowance for the inexperience and excesses inseparable from a first explosion. He who should see in this revolution its excesses only, would betray a singularly narrow mind. It is the Gospel that triumphed on the esplanade of the castle. It was no longer a few pictures or legends that were to speak to the imagination of the Neufchatelans: the revelation of Christ and of the apostles, as it had been preserved in the Holy Scriptures, was restored to them. In place of the mysteries, symbols, and miracles of Popery, the Reformation brought them sublime tenets, powerful doctrines, holy and eternal truths. Instead of a mass, void of God, and filled with human puerilities, it restored to them the Supper of our Lord Jesus Christ, his invisible yet real and mighty presence, his promises giving peace to the soul, and his Spirit, which changes the heart, and is a sure pledge of a glorious resurrection. All is gain in such an exchange.

¹ Cur vos sub validissimis clavibus, ingentibusque sub claustris conservatis, ne forte fur aliquis irreptat? (Arnobius contra gentes, vi. 257.)

² On the 23d of October, 1530, idolatry was overthrown and removed from this church by the citizens.

CHAPTER VIII.

The Romanists demand a Ballot—The Bernese in favour of the Reform—Both Parties come to the Poll—The Prudhommes of Neufchatel—Proposed Delay—The Romanists grasp the Sword—The Voting—Majority for Reform—Protestantism perpetual—The Image of Saint John—A Miracle—Retreat of the Canons—Popery and the Gospel.

THE governor and his trusty friends had not, however, lost all hope. "It is only a minority," said they at the castle, "which has taken part in the destruction of the images; the majority of the nation still obeys the ancient doctrine." M. de Rive had yet to learn that if, in a popular movement, the minority only appears, it is in some cases because the majority, being of the same mind with it, prefers leaving the action to others. However that may be, the governor, thinking himself upon sure ground, resolved to put the preservation of the mass to the vote. If the majority were doubtful, the combined influence of the government and clergy would make it incline to the side of Rome. The friends of the Reformation perceiving this trick, and feeling the necessity of securing the integrity of the votes, demanded the presence of Bernese commissioners. This was at first refused. But Neufchatel, divided into two hostile parties, might at any time see her streets run blood: De Rive therefore called Berne to his aid.

Anthony Noll and Sulpice Archer, both members of the council, with Jacques Tribolet, bailiff of the Isle of St. John, all three devoted to the Reform, made their entry into Neufchatel on the 4th November,—an eventful day for the principality, and one which would decide its reformation. The deputies proceeded to the castle, where they spoke with great haughtiness.¹ "Their excellencies of Berne," said they to the governor, "are much astonished that you should oppose the true and pure Word of God. Desist immediately, or else your state and lordship may suffer for it."²

¹ Trois ambassadeurs que me tinrent assez gros et rudes propos. (The Governor to the Princess.)

² Ibid.

George de Rive was amazed; he had thought to summon helpers, and he had found masters. He made, however, an attempt to escape from the strait in which he was caught. The Roman Catholic cantons of Lucerne, Friburg, and Soleure, were also allies of the state. The governor insinuated to the Bernese deputies, that he might well claim their intervention. At these words the deputies indignantly arose, and declared to M. de Rive, that if he did so, he might be the cause of his sovereign's losing Neufchatel. The governor saw the impossibility of escaping from the net into which he had fallen. There remained no alternative but submission, and to watch the current of events which it was impossible for him to direct.

It was not thus with the canons and the nobles. Not considering themselves beaten, they surrounded the Bernese; and mingling religion and politics, as is their wont in similar cases, endeavoured to shake them. "Do you not see," said they, "that unless we support the spiritual power, we shall compromise the civil power? The surest bulwark of the throne is the altar! These men, whose defenders you have become, are but a handful of mischief-makers: the majority are for the mass!"—"Turn which way you like," replied one of the stubborn Bernese, "even though the majority should be on your side, still you must go that way; never will our lordships abandon the defenders of the evangelical faith."¹

The people assembled at the castle for the definitive vote. The destiny of Neufchatel was about to be decided. On one hand were crowded around the governor the privy council, the canons, and the most zealous of the Romanists; on the other were to be seen the four aldermen, the town-council, and a great number of the citizens, gravely ascending the steep avenue leading to the government-house, and drawing up in front of their adversaries. On both sides there was the same attachment to their faith and the same decision; but around the canons were many anxious minds, troubled hearts, and down-cast eyes, while the friends of the Reform advanced with uplifted heads, firm looks, and hearts full of hope.

¹ Chambrier, Hist. de Neufchatel, p. 296. The Governor's letter. *Quand Lien le plus sera des votres, si passerez vous par là &c.*

George de Rive, wishing to gain over their minds, began to address them. He described the violence with which the reformed had broken the images and thrown down the altars; "And yet," continued he, "who founded this church? It was the princess's predecessors, and not the citizens. For which reason, I demand that all those who have violently infringed our sovereign's authority, be obliged to restore what they have taken away, so that the holy mass and the canonical hours may be celebrated anew."¹

Upon this the *prudhommes* of Neufchatel advanced. They were not a troop of young and giddy persons, as the Papists had pretended; they were grave citizens, whose liberties were guaranteed, and who had weighed what they had to say. "By the illumination of the Holy Ghost," replied they, "and by the holy doctrines of the Gospel, which are taught us in the pure Word of God, we will show that the mass is an abuse, without any utility, and which conduces much more to the damnation than to the salvation of souls. And we are ready to prove, that by taking away the altars, we have done nothing that was not right and acceptable to God."²

Thus the two parties met face to face with "great hatred and division," says the Bernese report. The arbitrators consulted together. The governor persisted, feeling that this movement would decide the future. A few votes would suffice for the triumph of Rome, and he reckoned on gaining them by his assurance. "You should understand," said he, "that the majority of this town, men and women, adhere firmly to the ancient faith. The others are hot-headed young soldiers, vain of their persons, and puffed up with the new doctrine."³ "Well!" replied the Bernese deputies, "to prevent all mischief, let us settle this difference by the plurality of suffrages, in accordance with the treaty of peace made at Bremgarten between the cantons."

This was what the reformed desired. "The vote! the vote!"

¹ Choupard MS.; Reces du MM. de Berne.

² Ibid.

³ Devez entendre que la plupart de cette ville, hommes et femmes, tiennent fermement à l'ancienne foi. Les autres sont jeunes gens de guerre, forts de leurs personnes, remplis de la nouvelle doctrine, ayants le feu à la tête. (Ibid.)

cried they according to the expression consecrated to such cases.¹ But the lord of Prangins and the priests, who had desired it when they were alone, shrunk back in the presence of Berne. "We ask for time," said they. If the reformed allowed themselves to be cheated by these dilatory measures, all was over. When once the Bernese had quitted Neufchatel, the governor and the clergy would easily have the upper hand. They therefore remained firm. "No, no!" said they, "now!—no delay!—not a day! not an hour!" But the governor, in the face of a proceeding that would decide the legal fall of Popery, trembled, and obstinately opposed the cries of the people. The magistrates were already indignant, the burghers murmured, and the most violent looked at their swords. "They were resolved to compel us, sword in hand," wrote the governor to the princess. A fresh storm was gathering over Neufchatel. Yet a few more minutes' resistance, and it would burst forth upon the church, the town, and the castle, destroying not only statues, images, and altars, but "there would have remained dead men," said the lord of Rive.² He gave way in trouble and affright.

At the news of this concession, the partisans of Rome saw all their danger. They conferred, they concerted their measures, and in an instant their resolution was taken: they were resolved to fight.³ "My lord," said they, turning to M. de Rive, and touching the hilt of their swords, "all of us who adhere to the holy Sacrament are resolved to die martyrs for our holy faith."⁴ This demonstration did not escape the notice of the young soldiers who had returned from the Genevese war. One minute more and the swords would have been drawn, and the platform changed into a battlefield.

Monseigneur de Prangins, more wily than orthodox, shuddered at the thought. "I cannot suffer it," said he to the most violent of his party; "such an enterprise would forfeit my mistress's state and lordship."⁵ "I consent," said he to the Bernese, "to take the votes, with reserve nevertheless of the sovereignty, rights, and lordship of Madame." "And we,"

¹ *Le plus*, the majority.

² The Governor's letter to the Princess.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ *Ibid.*

replied the townspeople, "with the reserve of our liberties and privileges."

The Romanists, seeing the political power they had invoked now failing them, felt that all was lost. They will save their honour at least in this great shipwreck; they will subscribe their names, that posterity may know who had remained faithful to Rome. These proud supporters of the hierarchy advanced towards the governor; tears coursed down their rough cheeks, betraying thus their stifled anger. They wrote their signatures as witnesses at the foot of the solemn testament that Popery was now drawing up in Neufchâtel, in the presence of the Bernese deputies. They then asked, with tears in their eyes, "that the names and surnames of the good and of the perverse should be written in perpetual memory, and declared that they were still good and faithful burghers of Madame, and would do her service unto death!"¹

The reformed burghesses were convinced that it was only by frankly bearing testimony to their religious convictions that they could discharge their duty before God, their sovereign, and their fellow-citizens. So that the Catholics had scarcely protested their fidelity towards their lady, when, turning towards the governor, the reformed cried out: "We say the same in every other thing in which it shall please our Mistress to command us, save and except the evangelical faith, in which we will live and die."²

Everything was then prepared for taking the votes. The Church of Our Lady was opened, and the two parties advanced between the shattered altars, torn pictures, mutilated statues, and all those ruins of Popery, which clearly foretold to its partisans the last and irrevocable defeat it was about to undergo. The three lords of Berne took their station beside the governor as arbitrators of the proceedings and presidents of the assembly, and the voting began.

¹ Alors iceux dirent en pleurant que les noms et les surnoms des bons et des pervers fussent écrits en perpétuelle mémoire, et qu'ils protestoient être bons et fideles bourgeois de Madame, et lui faire service jusqu'à la mort.

² Governor's letter. Nous disons le semblable en toute autre chose où il plaira à Madame nous commander, sauf et reserve icelle foi évangélique, dans laquelle nous voulons vivre et mourir.

George de Rive, notwithstanding the despondency of his friends, was not altogether without hope. All the partisans of the ancient worship in Neufchatel had been forewarned; and but a few days previously the reformed themselves, by refusing a poll, had acknowledged the numerical superiority of their adversaries. But the friends of the Gospel in Neufchatel had a courage and a hope that seemed to repose on a firmer basis. Were they not the victorious party, and could they be vanquished in the midst of their triumph?

The two parties, however, moved forward, confounded with one another, and each man gave his vote in silence. They counted each other: the result appeared uncertain; fear froze each party by turns. At length the majority seemed to declare itself;—they took out the votes,—the result was proclaimed. A majority of eighteen voices gave the victory to the Reformation, and the last blow to the Papacy!

The Bernese lords immediately hastened to profit by this advantage. "Live henceforth," said they, "in good understanding with one another; let the mass be no longer celebrated; let no injury be done to the priests; and pay to your Lady, or to whomsoever they may be justly due, all tithes, quit-rent, cense, and revenues." These different points were proclaimed by the assembly, and a report was immediately drawn up, to which the deputies, the governors, and the magistrates of the city of Neufchatel affixed their respective seals.¹

Farel did not appear in all this business: one might have said that the reformer was not at Neufchatel; the citizens appealed only to the Word of God; and the governor himself, in his long report to the princess, does not once mention him. It was the apostles of our Lord, St. Peter, St. John, St. Paul, and St. James, who by their divine writings re-established the true foundations of the Church in the midst of the people of Neufchatel. The Word of God was the law of the *prud-hommes*. In vain will the Roman Church say, "But these very Scriptures,—it is I who give them to you; you cannot, therefore, believe in them without believing in me." It is *not*

¹ Reces de MM. de Berne, MS. Et que l'on paie à Madame ou à qui il sera dû justement dimes, cens, rentes et revenus.

from the Church of Rome that the Protestant Church receives the Bible. Protestantism has always existed in the Church. It has existed alone in every place where men have been engaged in the study of the Holy Scriptures, of their divine origin, of their interpretation, and in their dissemination. The Protestantism of the sixteenth century received the Bible from the Protestantism of every age. When Rome speaks of the hierarchy, she is on her own ground: as soon as she speaks of the Scriptures, she is on ours. If Farel had been put forward in Neufchatel, he would not perhaps have been able to stand against the pope; but the Word of Christ alone was concerned, and Rome must fall before Jesus.

Thus terminated, by a mutual contract, that day at first so threatening. If the reformed had sacrificed any of their convictions to a false peace, disorder would have been perpetuated in Neufchatel. A bold manifestation of the truth, and the inevitable shocks that accompanied it, far from destroying society, preserved it. This manifestation is the wind that lifts the vessel from the rocks and brings it into the harbour.

The lord of Prangins felt that, between fellow-citizens, "it is better to touch one another, even if it be by collision, than to avoid each other continually." The free explanation that had taken place had rendered the opposition of the two parties less irritating. "I give my promise," said the governor, "to undertake nothing against the vote of this day, for I am myself a witness that it has been honest, upright, without danger, and without coercion."¹

It was necessary to dispose of the spoils of the vanquished party: the governor opened the castle to them. Thither were transported the relics, the ornaments of the altars, the church papers, and even the organ; and the mass, expelled from the city, was there mournfully chanted every day.

All the ornaments, however, did not take this road. Some days after, as two citizens, named Fauche and Sauge, were going out together to their vineyards, they passed a little chapel, in which the latter had set up a wooden figure of St. John.

¹ Ungefährlich, ungezwungen, aufrecht und redlich. (Berne to the Governor, 17th Dec., 1530.)

He said to his companion, "There is an image I shall heat my stove with to-morrow." And, in fact, as he returned, he carried away the saint and laid it down in front of his house.

The next morning he took the image, and put it on the fire. Immediately a horrible explosion spread dismay through this humble family. The trembling Fauche doubted not that it was a miracle of the saint, and hastened to return to the mass. In vain did his neighbour Sauge protest to him upon oath that, during the night, he had made a hole in the statue, filled it with gunpowder, and closed it up again. Fauche would listen to nothing, and resolved to flee from the vengeance of the saints. He went and settled with his family at Morteau in Franche Comté.¹ Such are the miracles upon which the divinity of Rome reposes!

By degrees everything became settled: some of the canons, as Jacques Baillo, William de Pury, and Benedict Chambrier, embraced the Reformation. Others were recommended by the governor to the priory of Motiers, in the Val de Travers; and, in the middle of November, at the time when the winds began to rage among the mountains, several canons, surrounded by a few singing boys,—sad relics of the ancient, powerful, rich, voluptuous, and haughty chapter of Neufchatel,—painfully climbed the gorges of the Jura, and went to conceal in these lofty and picturesque valleys the disgrace of a defeat, which their long disorders and their insupportable tyranny had but too justly provoked.

During this time the new worship was organized. In room of the high-altar were substituted two marble tables to receive the bread and wine; and the Word of God was preached from a pulpit stripped of every ornament. The pre-eminence of the Word, which characterizes the evangelical worship, replaced in the church of Neufchatel the pre-eminence of the sacrament, which characterizes Popery. Towards the end of the second century, Rome, that ancient metropolis of all religions, after having welcomed the Christian worship in its primitive purity, had gradually transformed it into mysteries; a magic power had been ascribed to certain forms; and the reign of the sacri-

¹ Boyve Annals, MS.

fice offered by the priest had succeeded to the reign of the Word of God. The preaching of Farel had restored the Word to the rights which belonged to it; and those vaulted roofs, which the piety of count Ulric II. had, on his return from Jerusalem, dedicated to the worship of the Virgin, served at last, after four centuries, to nourish the faithful, as in the time of the apostles, "in the words of faith and of good doctrine."¹

CHAPTER IX.

Reaction preparing—Failure of the Plot—Farel in Valangin and near the Lake—De Bély at Fontaine—Farel's sufferings—Marcourt at Valangin—Disgraceful Expedient—Vengeance—The Reform established—French Switzerland characterized—Gathering Tempest.

THE convention, drawn up under the mediation of Berne, stipulated that "the change should take place only in the city and parish of Neufchatel." Must the rest of the country remain in darkness? This was not Farel's wish, and the zeal of the citizens, in its first fervour, effectually seconded him. They visited the surrounding villages, exhorting some, combating others. Those who were compelled to labour with their hands during the day went thither at night. "Now, I am informed," writes the governor to the princess, "that they are working at a reformation night and day."

George de Rive, in alarm, convoked the magistrates of all the districts in the earldom. These good folks believed that their consciences, as well as their places, depended upon Madame de Longueville. Affrighted at the thought of freely receiving a new conviction from the Word of God, they were quite ready to accept it from the countess as they would a new impost;—a sad helotism, in which religion springs from the soil, instead of descending from heaven! "We desire to live and die under the protection of our Lady," said the magistrates to the lord of Rive, "without changing the ancient faith, *until it be so ordered by*

¹ 1 Tim. iv. 6.

her."¹ Rome, even after her fall, could not receive a deeper insult.

These assurances of fidelity and the absence of the Bernese restored De Rive's confidence, and he secretly prepared a reaction among the nobles and the lower classes. There is in every historical catastrophe, in the fall of great establishments, and in the spectacle of their ruins, something which excites and improves the mind. This was what happened at the period in question. Some were more zealous for popery after its fall than in its day of power. The clergy gliding into the houses said mass to a few friends mysteriously called together around a temporary altar. If a child was born, the priest noiselessly arrived, breathed on the infant, made the sign of the cross on its forehead and breast, and baptized it according to the Roman ritual.² Thus they were rebuilding in secret what had been overthrown in the light of day. At length a counter-revolution was agreed upon; and Christmas-day was selected for the restoration of Roman Catholicism. While the Christians' songs of joy should be rising to heaven, the partisans of Rome were to rush into the church, expel the heretical assembly, overthrow the pulpit and the holy table, restore the images, and celebrate the mass in triumph. Such was the plan of the Neufchatelan vespers.³

The plot got wind. Deputies from Berne arrived at Neufchatel on the very eve of the festival. "You must see to this," said they to the governor: "if the reformed are attacked, we, their co-burghers, will protect them with all our power." The conspirators laid down their arms, and the Christmas hymns were not disturbed.

This signal deliverance augmented the devotion and zeal of the friends of the Gospel. Already Emer Beynon of Serrière, where Farel had one day landed from a small boat, ascending the pulpit, had said to his parishioners: "If I have been a good priest, I desire by the grace of God to be a still better pastor." It was necessary for these words to be heard from every pulpit.

¹ Choupard MS. Nous voulons vivre et mourir sous la protection de Madame, sans changer l'ancienne foi, *jusqu'à ce que par elle on soit ordonné.*

² Berne to Neufchatel, 17th December.

³ Berne to the Governor, 23d December.

Farel recommenced a career of labours, fatigues, and struggles, which the actions of the apostles and missionaries alone can equal.

Towards the end of the year 1530, he crossed the mountain in the middle of winter, entered the church of Valangin, went into the pulpit, and began to preach at the very moment that Guillemette de Vergy was coming to mass. She endeavoured to shut the reformer's mouth, but in vain, and the aged and noble dowager retired precipitately saying: "I do not think this is according to the old Gospels; if there are any new ones that encourage it, I am quite amazed."¹ The people of Valangin embraced the Gospel. The affrighted lieutenant ran to Neufchatel, thence to Berne, and on the 11th February 1531 laid his complaint before the council; but all was useless. "Why," said their excellencies of Berne to him, "why should you disturb the water of the river? let it flow freely on."

Farel immediately turned to the parishes on the slopes between the lake and Mount Jura. At Corcelles a fanatic crowd, well armed and led on by the curate of Neufchatel, rushed into the church where the minister was preaching, and he did not escape without a wound. At Bevay, the abbot John of Livron and his monks collected a numerous body of friends, surrounded the church, and having thus completed the blockade, entered the building, dragged the minister from the pulpit, and drove him out with blows and insults. Each time he re-appeared, they pursued him as far as Auvernier with stones and gunshots.

While Farel was thus preaching in the plain, he sent one of his brethren into the valley; it was John de Bély, a man of good family from Crest in Dauphiny. Beyond Valangin, at a little distance from Fontaine, on the left side of the road to Cernier, was a stone that remains to this day. Here in the open air, as if in a magnificent temple, this herald of the Gospel began to proclaim salvation by grace.² Before him stretched

¹ Chambrier, *Hist. de Neufchatel et Valangin*, p. 209. Je ne crois pas que ce soit selon les vieux évangiles; s'il y en a de nouveaux qui fassent cela faire, j'en suis esbahie.

² It does not appear that Bély could have stood and preached on this stone, as is generally said, unless what now remains is but a fragment of the original.

the declivity of Chaumont, dotted with the pretty villages of Fenin, Villars, Sole, and Savagnier, and beyond, where the mountains fell away, might be seen the distant and picturesque chain of the Alps. The most zealous of his hearers entreated him to enter the church. He did so; but suddenly the priest and his curate "arrived with great noise." They proceeded to the pulpit, dragged Bély down; and then turning to the women and young persons of the place, "excited them to beat him and drive him away."¹

John de Bély returned to Neufchatel, hooted and bruised, like his friend after the affair at Valangin; but these evangelists followed the traces of the apostle Paul, whom neither whips nor scourges could arrest.² De Bély often returned to Fontaine. The mass was abolished ere long in this village; Bély was its pastor for twenty-seven years; his descendants have more than once exercised the ministry there, and now they form the most numerous family of agriculturists in the place.

Farel, after evangelizing the shores of the lake to the south of Neufchatel, had gone to the north and preached at St. Blaise. The populace, stirred up by the priests and the lieutenant, had fallen upon him, and Farel escaped from their hands, severely beaten, spitting blood, and scarcely to be recognised. His friends had thrown him hurriedly into a boat, and conveyed him to Morat, where his wounds detained him for some time.³

At the report of this violence the reformed Neufchatelans felt their blood boil. If the lieutenant, the priest, and his flock have bruised the body of Christ's servant, which is truly the altar of the living God, why should they spare dead idols? Immediately they rush to St. Blaise, throw down the images, and do the same at the abbey of Fontaine-André,—a sanctuary of the ancient worship.

The images still existed at Valangin, but their last hour was about to strike. A Frenchman, Anthony Marcourt, had been nominated pastor of Neufchatel. Treading in Farel's footsteps, he repaired with a few of the citizens to Valangin on the 14th

¹ MS. AA. in the Choupard MS.

² 2 Cor. xi. 24, 25.

³ De Perrot: *L'Eglise et la Réformation*, ii. 233.

June, a great holiday in that town.¹ Scarcely had they arrived when a numerous crowd pressed around the minister, listening to his words. The canons, who were on the watch in their houses, and Madame de Vergy and M. de Bellegarde from their towers, sought how they could make a diversion against this heretical preaching? They could not employ force because of Berne. They had recourse to a brutal expedient, worthy of the darkest days of Popery, and which, by insulting the minister, might divert (they imagined) the attention of the people, and change it into shouts and laughter. A canon,² assisted by the countess's coachman, went to the stables and took thence two animals, which they led to the spot where Marcourt was preaching. We will throw a veil over this scene: it is one of those disgraceful subjects that the pen of history refuses to transcribe.³ But never did punishment follow closer upon crime. The conscience of the hearers was aroused at the sight of this infamous spectacle. The torrent, that such a proceeding was intended to check, rushed out of its channel. The indignant people, undertaking the defence of that religion which their opponents had wished to insult, entered the church like an avenging wave; the ancient windows were broken, the shields of the lords were demolished, the relics scattered about, the books torn, the images thrown down, and the altar overturned. But this was not enough: the popular wave, after sweeping out the church, flowed back again, and dashed against the canons' houses. Their inhabitants fled in consternation into the forests, and everything was destroyed in their dwellings.

Guillemette de Vergy and M. de Bellegarde, agitated and trembling behind their battlements, repented, but too late, of their monstrous expedient. They were the only ones who had not yet felt the popular vengeance. Their restless eyes watched the motions of the indignant townspeople. The work is completed: the last house is sacked! The burghers consult

¹ This incident is generally attributed to Farel, but Choupard, following an older manuscript, says, *le ministre de Neuchâtel*, by which title he always means Marcourt, and never Farel.

² Some historians say "the coachman of the countess;" but Choupard, on three different occasions, writes *a canon*. The latter is no doubt more revolting; but there is nothing incredible in it.

³ *De equo admissario loquitur qui equam init.*

together.—O horror!—they turn towards the castle,—they ascend the hill,—they draw near. Is then the abode of the noble counts of Arberg about to be laid waste? But no!—“We come,” said the delegates standing near the gate of the castle, “we are come to demand justice for the outrage committed against religion and its minister.” They are permitted to enter, and the trembling countess orders the poor wretches to be punished who had acted solely by her orders. But at the same time she sends deputies to Berne, complaining of the “great insults that had been offered her.”¹ Berne declared that the reformed should pay for the damage; but that the countess should grant them the free exercise of their worship. Jacques Veluzat, a native of Champagne, was the first pastor of Valangin. A little later we shall see new struggles at the foot of Mount Jura.

Thus was the Reformation established at Valangin, as it had been at Neufchatel: the two capitals of these mountains were gained to the Gospel. Ere long it received a legal sanction. Francis, marquis of Rothelin, son of the duchess of Longueville, arrived in the principality in March 1531, with the intention of playing on this small theatre the part of a Francis I. But he soon found out that there are revolutions which an irresistible hand has accomplished, and that must be submitted to. Rothelin excluded from the estates of the earldom the canons who had hitherto formed the first power, and replaced them by four bannerets and four burgesses. Then, availing himself of the principle that all abandoned property falls to the state, he laid his hands upon their rich heritage, and proclaimed freedom of conscience throughout the whole country. All the necessary forms having been observed with Madame, the politic M. de Rive became reformed also. Such was the support Rome received from the state, to which she had looked for her deliverance.

A great energy characterized the Reformation of French Switzerland; and this is shown by the events we have just witnessed. Men have attributed to Farel this distinctive feature of his work; but no man has ever created his own times;

¹ Curate of Bezancenet's Chronicle. Des grands vitupères qu'on lui avoit faits.

it is always, on the contrary, the times that create the man. The greater the epoch, the less do individualities prevail in it. All the good contained in the events we have just related came from that Almighty Spirit, of which the strongest men are but weak instruments. All the evil proceeded from the character of the people; and, indeed, it was almost always Popery that began these scenes of violence. Farel submitted to the influence of his times, rather than the times received his. A great man may be the personification and the type of the epoch for which God destines him: he is never its creator.

But it is time to quit the Jura and its beautiful valleys, brightened by the vernal sun, to direct our steps towards the Alps of German Switzerland, along which thick clouds and horrible tempests are gathering. The free and courageous people, who dwell there below the eternal glaciers, or on the smiling banks of the lakes, daily assume a fiercer aspect, and the collision threatens to be sudden, violent, and terrible. We have just been witnessing a glorious conquest: a dreadful catastrophe awaits us.

BOOK SIXTEENTH.—1528—1531.

SWITZERLAND—CATASTROPHE.

CHAPTER I.

Two great Lessons—Christian Warfare—Zwingli, Pastor, Statesman, and General—His noble Character—Persecutions—Swiss Catholics seek an Alliance with Austria—Great Dissatisfaction—Deputation to the Forest Cantons—Zwingli's Proposal—Moderation of Berne—Keyser's Martyrdom—Zwingli and War—Zwingli's Error.

It was the will of God that at the very gates of his revived Church there should be two great examples to serve as lessons for future generations. Luther and the German Reformation, declining the aid of the temporal power, rejecting the force of arms, and looking for victory only in the confession of the truth, were destined to see their faith crowned with the most brilliant success; while Zwingli and the Swiss Reformation, stretching out their hands to the mighty ones of the earth, and grasping the sword, were fated to witness a horrible, cruel, and bloody catastrophe fall upon the Word of God—a catastrophe which threatened to engulf the evangelical cause in the most furious whirlpool. God is a jealous God, and gives not his glory to another; he claims to perform his own work himself, and to attain his ends sets other springs in motion than those of a skilful diplomacy.¹

¹ It is always dangerous to judge of moral actions by their temporal results, and never more so than in such instances as that before us. Surely the author would not argue that martyrdom in one individual is any proof of the inferiority of his faith to that of another, who, in the providence of God, should be permitted to die a natural death. So, notwithstanding the difference of temporal results, the Swiss Reformers may, upon the whole, have been in the right, the German Reformers in the wrong. One might even view the results in another light, and say that Luther and the German Reformation, enjoying the protection of Protestant princes, and contenting themselves with freedom of conscience for themselves, thus allowed a vast part of their country, after its deliverance, to be re-usurped by

We are far from forgetting that we are called upon to relate facts and not to discuss theories; but there is a principle which the history we are narrating sets forth in capital letters: it is that professed in the Gospel, where it says: **THE WEAPONS OF OUR WARFARE ARE NOT CARNAL, BUT MIGHTY THROUGH GOD!** In maintaining this truth we do not place ourselves on the ground of any particular school, but on that of universal conscience and of the Word of God.

Of all carnal support that religion can invoke, there is none more injurious to it than arms and diplomacy. The latter throws it into tortuous ways; the former hurries it into paths of bloodshed; and religion, from whose brow has been torn the double wreath of truth and meekness, presents but a degraded and humiliated countenance, that no person can, that no person desires to recognise.

It was the very extension of the Reform in Switzerland that exposed it to the dangers under which it sunk. So long as it was concentrated at Zurich, it continued a religious matter; but when it had gained Berne, Basel, Schaffhausen, St. Gall, Glaris, Appenzell, and numerous bailiwicks, it formed inter-cantonal relations; and—here was the error and misfortune—while the connection should have taken place between church and church, it was formed between state and state.

As soon as spiritual and political matters became mingled together, the latter took the upper hand. Zwingli ere long thought it his duty to examine not only doctrinal, but also federal questions; and the illustrious reformer might be seen,

Rome, which would have ultimately re-usurped the whole but for the providential deliverance wrought by Gustavus Adolphus and his Swedes and Scots; while the Swiss Reformers, knowing that it is the divinely appointed office of human governments to use the sword for the protection of their subjects, by urging the Reformed Swiss states to the discharge of that duty, were honoured to establish the Reformation far more firmly in that country, though not so extensively as they could have wished.

But the truth is, the principles of Luther and the German Reformation were identical in the main with those of Zwingli and the Swiss. Who more zealous than Luther in calling on the German princes to unite in putting down, *by a vigorous use of the sword*, the peasants who rose against them under their fanatical leaders? Thus the sole difference in the case of Zwingli and his brethren was, that their union, and their use of the sword, were directed, not against the temporary excesses of poor rustics driven by real or fancied oppression into insurrectionary movements, which would soon have subsided of themselves, but against that far more cruel and inveterate enemy—the popedom and its fanatical slaves.—D. D. S.

unconscious of the snares beneath his feet, precipitating himself into a course strewn with rocks, at the end of which a cruel death awaited him.

The primitive Swiss cantons had resigned the right of forming new alliances without the consent of all; but Zurich and Berne had reserved the power. Zwingli thought himself therefore quite at liberty to promote an alliance with the evangelical states. Constance was the first city that gave her adhesion. But this Christian co-burghery, which might become the germ of a new confederation, immediately raised up numerous adversaries against Zwingli, even among the partisans of the Reformation.

There was yet time: Zwingli might withdraw from public affairs, and occupy himself entirely with those of the Gospel. But no one in Zurich had, like him, that application to labour, that correct, keen, and sure eye, so necessary for politicians. If he retired, the vessel of the state would be left without a pilot. Besides, he was convinced that political acts alone could save the Reform. He resolved, therefore, to be at one and the same time the man of the State and of the Church. The registers prove that in his later years he took part in the most important deliberations; and he was commissioned by the councils of his canton to write letters, compose proclamations, and draw up opinions. Already, before the dispute with Berne, looking upon war as possible, he had traced out a very detailed plan of defence, the manuscript of which is still in existence.¹ In 1528 he did still more; he showed, in a remarkable paper, how the republic should act with regard to the empire, France, and other European states, and with respect to the several cantons and bailiwicks. Then, as if he had grown gray at the head of the Helvetic troops (and it is but just to remark that he had long lived among soldiers), he explained the advantages there would be in surprising the enemy; and described even the nature of the arms and the manner of employing them. In truth an important revolution was then taking place in the art of war. The pastor of Zurich is at once the head of the state and general of the army: this double—this triple part of the

¹ Escher et Hottinger, Archives ii. 263.

reformer was the ruin of the Reformation and of himself. Undoubtedly we must make allowances for the men of this age, who, being accustomed to see Rome wield two swords for so many centuries, did not understand that they must take up one and leave the other.¹ We must admire the strength of that superior genius, which, while pursuing a political course, in which the greatest minds would have been absorbed, ceased not however to display an indefatigable activity as pastor, preacher, divine, and author. We must acknowledge that the republican education of Zwingli had taught him to confound his country with his religion, and that there was in this great man enough to fill up many lives. We must appreciate that indomitable courage which, relying upon justice, feared not, at a time when Zurich had but one or two weak cities for allies, to confront the redoubtable forces of the empire and of the confederation; but we should also see in the great and terrible lesson that God gave him, a precept for all times and for every nation; and finally, understand what is so often forgotten, "that the kingdom of Christ is not of this world."

The Roman Catholic cantons, on hearing of the new alliances

¹ Here there is an extraordinary confusion of ideas. In no part of the author's narrative do we find the Reformed Church, at Zwingli's instance, taking up that civil sword, for usurping which Rome is so justly to be condemned. That the civil government of Zurich was justified in using that sword the author fully admits; but Zwingli, will he say, recommended its use in defending the Reformation, and this was tantamount to the Reformed Church itself using that sword. But if this be so, then the scriptural sanction for the use of the sword by the civil magistrate, is subjected, without the slightest scriptural warrant, to one very singular exception. It may be wielded, it seems, for the punishment of all evil doers except those who slay men because of their profession of the gospel, and for the praise of all but of those who are God's most faithful servants and martyrs! As our author, though a minister of the gospel, has repeatedly addressed political advice to his fellow-citizens of Geneva, of course he cannot with any consistency blame Zwingli for doing so. As for the kind of counsel proffered and pressed by the Reformer, not only was it perfectly consistent with our author's avowal that Zurich was bound to defend its oppressed citizens, but as the ill success of that canton is clearly to be traced to the fatal *neglect of its Reformer's most urgent advices and remonstrances*, the reader is left in a state of complete bewilderment in trying to discover what it is in Zwingli that the author would blame. Between his premises and conclusions there seems not the slightest logical connection—Zwingli is represented as wielding the supreme power of the state and the chief command of its army, and to this is attributed the ruin of the Reformation and himself. And yet, strange to say, the reader, as he proceeds, will see that the ruin referred to, was the manifest result of a course at once of action and of inaction, which suggests the regret that very different counsels, and a very different spirit from Zwingli's, prevailed alike in the state and in the army.—D. D. S.

of the reformed, felt a violent indignation. William of Diesbach, deputy from Berne at the diet, was forced to submit to the keenest reproaches. The sitting, for a while interrupted, was resumed immediately after his departure. "They may try to patch up the old faith," said the Bernese, as he withdrew, "it cannot, however, last any longer."¹ In truth, they patched away with all their might, but with a sharp and envenomed needle that drew blood. Joseph Am Berg of Schwytz and Jacques Stocker of Zug, bailiffs of Thurgovia, behaved with cruelty towards all who were attached to the Gospel. They enforced against them fines, imprisonment, torture, the scourge, confiscation, and banishment: they cut out the ministers' tongues, beheaded them, or condemned them to be burnt.² At the same time they took away the Bibles and all the evangelical books; and if any poor Lutherans, fleeing from Austria, crossed the Rhine and that low valley where its calm waters flow between the Alps of the Tyrol and of Appenzell,—if these poor creatures, tracked by the lansquenets, came to seek a refuge in Switzerland, they were cruelly given up to their persecutors.

The heavier lay the hands of the bailiffs on Thurgovia and the Rheinthal, the greater conquests did the Gospel make. The bishop of Constance wrote to the Five Cantons, that if they did not act with firmness, all the country would embrace the Reform. In consequence of this, the cantons convoked at Frauenfeld all the prelates, nobles, judges, and persons of note in the district; and a second meeting taking place six days after (6th December 1528) at Weinfeld, deputies from Berne and Zurich entreated the assembly to consider the honour of God above all things, and in no respect to care for the threats of the world.³ A great agitation followed upon this discourse. At last a majority called for the preaching of the Word of God; the people came to the same decision; and the Rheinthal, as well as Bremgarten, followed this example.

What was to be done? The flood had become hourly more

¹ Mögen sie blätzen am alten Glauben. (Hottinger, Zwingli, p. 389.)

² Die Zungen geschlitzt, mit dem Schwerdt richten und verbrannt. (Bull. ii. 31.)

³ Die Eer Gottes, uwer Seelen Heil. (Bulling. Chron. ii. 28.)

encroaching. Must then the Forest Cantons open their valleys to it at last? Religious antipathies put an end to national antipathies; and these proud mountaineers, directing their looks beyond the Rhine, thought of invoking the succour of Austria, which they had vanquished at Morgarten and at Sempach.¹ The fanatical German party that had crushed the revolted Swabian peasants was all-powerful on the frontiers. Letters were exchanged; messengers passed to and fro across the river; at last they took advantage of a wedding in high rank that was to take place at Feldkirch in Swabia, six leagues from Appenzell. On the 16th February 1529, the marriage-party, forming a brilliant cavalcade, in the midst of which the deputies of the Five Cantons were concealed, made their entry into Feldkirch, and Am Berg had an immediate interview with the Austrian governor. "The power of the enemies of our ancient faith has so increased," said the Swiss, "that the friends of the Church can resist them no longer. We therefore turn our eyes to that illustrious prince who has saved in Germany the faith of our fathers."

This alliance was so very unnatural, that the Austrians had some difficulty in believing it to be sincere. "Take hostages," said the Waldstettes, "write the articles of the treaty with your own hands; command and we will obey!"—"Very good!" replied the Austrians; "in two months you will find us again at Waldshut, and we will let you know our conditions."

A rumour of these negotiations which spread abroad excited great dissatisfaction, even in the partisans of Rome. In no place did it burst out with greater force than in the council of Zug. The opposing parties were violently agitated; they stamped their feet, they started from their seats, and were nearly coming to blows; but hatred prevailed over patriotism. The deputies of the Forest Cantons appeared at Waldshut; they suspended the arms of their cantons by the side of those of the oppressors of Switzerland; decorated their hats with peacocks' feathers (the badge of Austria), and laughed, drank, and chattered with the Imperialists. This strange alliance was

¹ Bulling. Chron. li. 48.

at last concluded.¹ "Whoever shall form new sects among the people," it ran, "shall be punished with death, and, if need be, with the help of Austria. This power, in case of emergency, shall send into Switzerland six thousand foot soldiers, and four hundred horse, with all requisite artillery. If necessary, the reformed cantons shall be blockaded, and all provisions intercepted." To the Romish cantons, then, belongs the initiative of this measure so much decried. Finally, Austria guaranteed to the Waldstettes the possession, not only of the common bailiwicks, but of all the *conquests* that might be made on the left bank of the Rhine.

Dejection and consternation immediately pervaded all Switzerland. This national complaint, which Bullinger has preserved, was sung in every direction:—

Wail, Helvetians, wail,
For the peacock's plume of pride
To the forest cantons' savage bull
In friendship is allied.

All the cantons not included in this alliance, with the exception of Friburg, assembled in diet at Zurich, and resolved to send a deputation to their mountain confederates, with a view to reconciliation. The deputation, admitted at Schwytz in the presence of the people, was able to execute its mission without tumult. At Zug there was a cry of "No sermon! no sermon!" At Altorf the answer was, "Would to God that your new faith was buried for ever!" At Lucerne they received this haughty reply: "We shall know how to defend ourselves, our children, and our children's children, from the poison of your rebellious priests." It was at Unterwalden that the deputation met with the worst reception. "We declare our alliance at an end," said they. "It is we,—it is the other Waldstettes who are the real Swiss. We graciously admitted you into our confederation, and now you claim to become our masters!—The emperor, Austria, France, Savoy, and Valais will assist us!" The deputies retired in astonishment, shuddering as they passed before the house of the secretary of state, where they saw the arms of Zurich, Berne, Basel, and Strasburg hanging from a lofty gibbet.

¹ Bullinger gives the treaty at full length. (Chron. ii. 49-50.)

The deputation had scarcely returned to Zurich and made their report, when men's minds were inflamed. Zwingli proposed to grant no peace to Unterwalden, if it would not renounce foreign service, the alliance with Austria, and the government of the common bailiwicks. "No! no!" said Berne, that had just stifled a civil war in its own canton, "let us not be so hasty. When the rays of the sun shine forth, each one wishes to set out; but as soon as it begins to rain, every man loses heart! The Word of God enjoins peace. It is not with pikes and lances that faith is made to enter the heart. For this reason, in the name of our Lord's sufferings, we entreat you to moderate your anger."

This Christian exhortation would have succeeded, if the fearful news that reached Zurich, on the very day when the Bernese delivered their moderate speech, had not rendered it unavailing.

On Saturday the 22d May, Jacques Keyser, a pastor and father of a family in the neighbourhood of the Greiffensee, after coasting the fertile shores of this little lake, crossed the rich pastures of the bailiwick of Gruningen, passed near the Teutonic house of Bubikon and the convent of Ruti, and reached that simple and wild district bathed by the upper part of Lake Zurich. Making his way to Oberkirk, a parish in the Gaster district, between the two lakes of Zurich and Wallensfadt, of which he had been nominated pastor, and where he was to preach on the morrow, he crossed on foot the lengthened and rounded flanks of the Buchberg, fronting the picturesque heights of the Ammon. He was confidently advancing into those woods which for many weeks he had often traversed without obstruction, when he was suddenly seized by six men, posted there to surprise him, and carried off to Schwytz. "The bailiffs," said they to the magistrates, "have ordered all innovating ministers to be brought before the tribunals: here is one that we bring you." Although Zurich and Glaris interposed; although the government of Gaster, where Keyser had been taken, did not then belong to Schwytz; the landsgemeinde desired a victim, and on the 29th May they condemned the minister to be burned alive. On being informed of his sentence, Keyser

burst into tears.¹ But when the hour of execution arrived, he walked cheerfully to death, freely confessed his faith, and gave thanks to the Lord even with his latest breath. "Go and tell them at Zurich how he thanks us!" said one of the Schwytz magistrates, with a sarcastic smile, to the Zurich deputies. Thus had a fresh martyr fallen under the hands of that formidable power that is "drunk with the blood of the saints."²

The cup was full. The flames of Keyser's pile became the signal of war. Exasperated Zurich uttered a cry that resounded through all the confederation. Zwingli above all called for energetic measures. Everywhere,—in the streets, in the councils, and even in the pulpits,—he surpassed in daring even the most valiant captains. He spoke at Zurich,—he wrote to Berne. "Let us be firm, and fear not to take up arms," said he. "This peace, which some desire so much, is not peace, but war: while the war that we call for is not war but peace."³ We thirst for no man's blood, but we will clip the wings of the oligarchy.⁴ If we shun it, the truth of the Gospel and the ministers' lives will never be secure among us."

Thus spoke Zwingli. In every part of Europe he beheld the mighty ones of the earth aiding one another to stifle the reviving animation of the Church; and he thought that without some decisive and energetic movement, Christianity, overwhelmed by so many blows, would soon fall back into its ancient slavery. Luther under similar circumstances, arrested the swords ready to be crossed, and demanded that the Word of God alone should appear on the field of battle.⁵ Zwingli thought

¹ *Weinet häfftig.* (Bull. ii. 149.)

² Rev. xvii. 6.

³ *Bellum cui nos instamus, pax est, non bellum.* (Vita Zwinglii, per O. Myconium.)

⁴ *Oligarchie nervi succidantur.* (Ibid.)

⁵ Here the author commits an egregious error. The circumstances were altogether different. In proof of this let me refer the reader to the Rev. John Scott's elaborate inquiry into Luther's views of the duty of the German Protestant states and their soundness. From this it clearly appears: 1st, That Luther's recommendations of implicit submission to the emperor were founded on an erroneous application of the scriptural injunction of obedience on the part of subjects to their governors. 2d, That he came to see and acknowledge that in this he had erred, as the Protestant princes were nowise subject to the emperor, so as to bring them under that rule. 3d, That an examination of the Germanic constitution proves that the princes were bound to defend their subjects when attacked, even though by the emperor. And lastly, That the proceedings of the Protestant princes, in forming the defensive league of Smalcald, were justified not only by the general principles of the Germanic constitution but by the particular

not thus. In his opinion war was not revolt, for Switzerland had no master. "Undoubtedly," said he, "we must trust in God alone; but when He gives us a just cause, we must also know how to defend it, and like Joshua and Gideon, shed blood in behalf of our country and our God."

If we adopt the principles of justice which govern the rulers of nations, the advice of Zwingli was judicious and irreproachable. It was the duty of the Swiss magistrates to defend the oppressed against the oppressor. But is not such language, which might have been suitable in the mouth of a magistrate, blamable in a minister of Christ?¹ Perhaps Zwingli forgot his quality of pastor, and considered himself only as a citizen, consulted by his fellow-citizens; perhaps he wished to defend Switzerland, and not the Church, by his counsels; but it is a question if he ought ever to have forgotten the Church and his ministry.² We think we may go even further; and while

capitulation by which Charles V., at his election, became bound to respect the rights of the princes.

But with regard to Zwingli, the clear independence of Zurich and Berne made it impossible that he should commit Luther's mistake, in misapplying the scriptural injunction of obedience to the civil magistracy to the case of two independent states. The Waldstettes which had begun war against Zurich and Berne, by committing to the flames, or otherwise persecuting, the subjects of these two cantons when they fell in their way, for no crime but that of apostatizing from Rome, had no sort of claim to imperial or magisterial authority over those other two cantons. The rule of scripture in the case of Zurich and Berne therefore was, not submission to those other states, but protection to their own subjects. Mr. John Scott's admirable elucidation of these points extends from the 95th to the 110th page of the 1st volume of his *Continuation of Milner's History of the Church of Christ* (4th edition) and proves how much more just and clear his views were on that matter than our author's. The latter's error is the more surprising, as he immediately adds, "Zwingli thought not thus. In his opinion war was not revolt, for Switzerland had no master." So that in the very same paragraph we have the circumstances of Luther and Zwingli represented as *similar*, and stated to be *quite different*, Luther condemning as revolt what Zwingli justified as war against criminals.—D. D. S.

¹ Indeed! If the magistrate would have been doing his duty in following Zwingli's advice, could Zwingli be blamed as a minister of Christ, for advising, nay, for urging him to that duty? No doubt Zwingli not only did not forget his quality as pastor, but on the very ground of his sustaining that office thought it right to advise the government to discharge its high office of being a minister of God for good.—D. D. S.

² Zwingli might have produced high authority for departing, under the pressure of urgent circumstances, from that absolute and unintermitted devotion to ministerial duty which Paul enjoins on Timothy. Paul himself laboured with his own hands at tent-making rather than be chargeable to the churches; and even on his voyage to Rome, took the chief direction of the ship in which he with others was wrecked. It does not appear that Zwingli did more than give his country, and the cause of the gospel when intimately united with that of his country, the benefit of talents which had unquestionably been given him, and which he, no

granting all that may be urged in favour of the contrary supposition, we may deny that the secular power ought ever to interfere with the sword to protect the faith.

To accomplish his designs, the reformer needed even in Zurich the greatest unity. But there were many men in that city devoted to interests and superstitions which were opposed to him. "How long," he had exclaimed in the pulpit on the 1st December 1528, "how long will you support in the council these unbelievers, these impious men, who oppose the Word of God?"¹ They had decided upon purging the council, as required by the reformer; they had examined the citizens individually; and then had excluded all the hostile members.

CHAPTER II.

Free Preaching of the Gospel in Switzerland—Zwingli supports the common Bailiwicks—War—Zwingli joins the Army—The Zurich Army threatens Zug—The Landamman Aebli—Bernese Interposition—Zwingli's Opposition—Swiss Cordiality—Order in the Zurich Camp—A Conference—Peace restored—Austrian Treaty torn—Zwingli's Hymn—Nuns of Saint Catherine.

ON Saturday the 15th June 1529, seven days after Keyser's martyrdom, all Zurich was in commotion. The moment was come when Unterwalden should send a governor to the common bailiwicks; and the images, having been burnt in those districts, Unterwalden had sworn to take a signal revenge.² Thus the consternation had become general. "Keyser's pile, thought they, "will be rekindled in all our villages." Many of the inhabitants flocked to Zurich, and on their alarmed and agitated features, one might, in imagination, have seen reflected the flames that had just consumed the martyr.

These unhappy people found a powerful advocate in Zwingli. The reformer imagined that he had at last attained the object he never ceased to pursue—the free preaching of the Gospel in Switzerland. To inflict a final blow would, in his idea, suffice

doubt, was on that account bound to exercise when there was a clear and distinct call in Providence for his doing so.—D. D. S.

¹ Den rath reinigen. (Fussli Beyträge, iv. 91.)

² Den gotzen brand, an inen mitt der Hand zu rächen. (Bull. Chron. ii. 193.)

to bring this enterprize to a favourable issue. "Greedy pensioners," said Zwingli to the Zurichers, "profit by the ignorance of the mountaineers to stir up these simple souls against the friends of the Gospel. Let us therefore be severe upon these haughty chiefs. The mildness of the lamb would only serve to render the wolf more ferocious.¹ Let us propose to the Five Cantons to allow the free preaching of the Word of the Lord, to renounce their wicked alliances, and to punish the abettors of foreign service. As for the mass, idols, rites, and superstitions, let no one be forced to abandon them. It is for the Word of God alone to scatter with its powerful breath all this idle dust.² Be firm, noble lords, and in despite of certain black horses, as black at Zurich as they are at Lucerne,³ but whose malice will never succeed in overturning the chariot of Reform, we shall clear this difficult pass, and arrive at the unity of Switzerland and at unity of faith." Thus Zwingli, while calling for force against political abuses, asked only liberty for the Gospel; but he desired a prompt intervention, in order that this liberty might be secured to it. *Ecolampadius* thought the same: "It is not a time for delay," said he; "it is not a time for parsimony and pusillanimity! So long as the venom shall not be utterly removed from this adder in our bosoms we shall be exposed to the greatest dangers."⁴

The council of Zurich, led away by the reformer, promised the bailiwicks to support religious liberty among them; and no sooner had they learnt that Anthony ab Acker of Unterwalden was proceeding to Baden with an army, than they ordered five hundred men to set out for Bremgarten with four pieces of artillery. This was the 5th June, and on the same evening the standard of Zurich waved over the convent of Mouri.

The war of religion had begun. The horn of the Waldstettes re-echoed afar in the mountains: men were arming in every direction, and messengers were sent off in haste to invoke the assistance of the Valais and of Austria. Three days later (Tuesday the 8th June), six hundred Zurichers, under the com-

¹ *Lupus lenitate agni, magis magisque vorax fit.* (Zw. Epp. ii. 296.)

² *Dei verbum enim hos pulveres omnes facile flatu suo disperget.* (Ibid.)

³ The Pensioners.—*Exceptis aliquot nigris equis.* (Ibid. 298.)

⁴ *Venenum a domestico illo colubro.* (Ibid.)

mand of Jacques Werdmüller, set out for Rapperschwyl and the district of Gaster; and, on the morrow, four thousand men repaired to Cappel, under the command of the valiant Captain George Berguer, to whom Conrad Schmidt, pastor of Kussnacht, had been appointed chaplain. "We do not wish you to go to the war," said burgomaster Roust to Zwingli; "for the pope, the archduke Ferdinand, the Romish cantons, the bishops, the abbots, and the prelates, hate you mortally. Stay with the council: we have need of you."—"No!" replied Zwingli, who was unwilling to confide so important an enterprise to any one; "when my brethren expose their lives I will not remain quietly at home by my fireside. Besides, the army also requires a watchful eye, that looks continually around it." Then, taking down his glittering halberd, which he had carried (as they say) at Marignan, and placing it on his shoulder, the reformer mounted his horse and set out with the army.¹ The walls, towers, and battlements were covered with a crowd of old men, children, and women, among whom was Anna, Zwingli's wife.

Zurich had called for the aid of Berne; but that city, whose inhabitants showed little disposition for a religious war, and which besides was not pleased at seeing the increasing influence of Zurich, replied, "Since Zurich has begun the war without us, let her finish it in like manner." The evangelical states were disunited at the very moment of struggle.

The Romish cantons did not act thus. It was Zug that issued the first summons; and the men of Uri, of Schwytz, and of Unterwalden had immediately begun to march. On the 8th June the great banner floated before the townhouse of Lucerne, and on the next day the army set out to the sound of the antique horns that Lucerne pretended to have received from the emperor Charlemagne.

On the 10th June, the Zurichers, who were posted at Cappel, sent a herald at daybreak to Zug, who was commissioned, according to custom, to denounce to the Five Cantons the rupture of the alliance. Immediately Zug was filled with cries and alarm. This canton, the smallest in Switzerland, not having

¹ Sondern sass auf ein Ross, und führte eine hübsche Helparten auf den Achseln. (Füssli Beytr. iv. 103.)

yet received all the confederate contingents, was not in a condition to defend itself. The people ran to and fro, sent off messengers, and hastily prepared for battle; the warriors fitted on their armour, the women shed tears, and the children shrieked

Already the first division of the Zurich army, amounting to two thousand men, under the command of William Thöming, and stationed near the frontier below Cappel, was preparing to march, when they observed, in the direction of Baar, a horseman pressing the flanks of his steed, and galloping up as fast as the mountain which he had to ascend would permit. It was Aebli, landamman of Glaris. "The Five Cantons are prepared," said he, as he arrived, "but I have prevailed upon them to halt, if you will do the same. For this reason I entreat my lords and the people of Zurich, for the love of God and the safety of the confederation, to suspend their march at the present moment." As he uttered these words, the brave Helvetian shed tears.¹ "In a few hours," continued he, "I shall be back again. I hope, with God's grace, to obtain an honourable peace, and to prevent our cottages from being filled with widows and orphans."

Aebli was known to be an honourable man, friendly to the Gospel, and opposed to foreign service: his words, therefore, moved the Zurich captains, who resolved to halt. Zwingli alone, motionless and uneasy, beheld in his friend's intervention the machinations of the adversary. Austria, occupied in repelling the Turks, and unable to succour the Five Cantons, had exhorted them to peace. This, in Zwingli's opinion, was the cause of the propositions brought to them by the Landamman of Glaris. So at the moment Aebli turned round to return to Zug,² Zwingli, approaching him, said with earnestness, "Gossip landamman, you will render to God an account of all this. Our adversaries are caught in a sack: and hence they give you sweet words. By and by they will fall upon us unawares, and there will be none to deliver us." Prophetic

¹ Das redt er mitt weynenden Ougen. (Bull. ii. 169.)

² Als nun der Amman wiederum zu den 5 orten ryten wont. (Bull. Chron. ii. 170.) Zwingli was godfather to one of Aebli's children.

words, whose fulfilment went beyond all foresight! "Dear gossip!" replied the landamman, "I have confidence in God that all will go well. Let each one do his best." And he departed.

The army, instead of advancing upon Zug, now began to erect tents along the edge of the forest and the brink of the torrent, a few paces from the sentinels of the Five Cantons; while Zwingli, seated in his tent, silent, sad, and in deep thought, anticipated some distressing news from hour to hour.

He had not long to wait. The deputies of the Zurich council came to give reality to his fears. Berne, maintaining the character that it had so often filled as representative of the federal policy, declared that if Zurich or the cantons would not make peace, they would find means to compel them: this state at the same time convoked a diet at Arau, and sent five thousand men into the field, under the command of Sebastian Diesbach. Zwingli was struck with consternation.

Aebli's message, supported by that of Berne, was sent back by the council to the army; for, according to the principles of the time, "wherever the banner waves, there is Zurich."—"Let us not be staggered," cried the reformer, ever decided and firm; "our destiny depends upon our courage; to-day they beg and entreat, and in a month, when we have laid down our arms, they will crush us. Let us stand firm in God. Before all things, let us be just: peace will come after that." But Zwingli, transformed to a statesman, began to lose the influence which he had gained as a servant of God. Many could not understand him, and asked if what they had heard was really the language of a minister of the Lord. "Ah!" said one of his friends, who perhaps knew him best, Oswald Myconius, "Zwingli certainly was an intrepid man in the midst of danger; but he always had a horror of blood, even of that of his most deadly enemies. The freedom of his country, the virtues of our forefathers, and, above all, the glory of Christ, were the sole end of all his designs.¹—I speak the truth, as if in the presence of God," adds he.

While Zurich was sending deputies to Arau, the two armies

¹ *Libertas patriæ, virtutes avitæ, et imprimis gloria Christi.* (Osw. Myc. *De vita Zw.*)

received re-enforcements. The men of Thurgovia and St. Gall joined their banners to that of Zurich: the Valaisans and the men of St. Gothard united with the Romanist cantons. The advanced posts were in sight of each other at Thun, Leematt, and Goldesbrunnen, on the delightful slopes of the Albis.

Never, perhaps, did Swiss cordiality shine forth brighter with its ancient lustre. The soldiers called to one another in a friendly manner, and shook hands, styling themselves confederates and brothers. "We shall not fight," said they. "A storm is passing over our heads, but we will pray to God, and he will preserve us from every harm." Scarcity afflicted the army of the Five Cantons, while abundance reigned in the camp of Zurich.¹ Some young famishing Waldstettes one day passed the outposts: the Zurichers made them prisoners, conducted them to the camp, and then sent them back laden with provisions, with still greater good-nature than was shown by Henry IV. at the siege of Paris. At another time, some warriors of the Five Cantons, having placed a bucket filled with milk on the frontier-line, cried out to the Zurichers that they had no bread. The latter came down immediately, and cut their bread into the enemies' milk, upon which the soldiers of the two parties began with jokes to eat out of the same dish—some on this side, some on that. The Zurichers were delighted that, notwithstanding the prohibition of their priests, the Waldstettes ate with heretics. When one of the troop took a morsel that was on the side of his adversaries, the latter sportively struck him with their spoons, and said: "Do not cross the frontier!" Thus did these good Helvetians make war upon one another; and hence it was that the Burgomaster Sturm of Strasburg, one of the mediators, exclaimed: "You confederates are a singular people! When you are disunited, you live still in harmony with one another, and your ancient friendship never slumbers."²

The most perfect order reigned in the camp of Zurich. Every day Zwingli, the commander Schmidt, Zink, abbot of

¹ A measure of corn was sold for a florin, and one of wine for a half-batz, about three half-pence. (Bull. Chron. ii. 182.)

² Wenn ihr schon uneins sind, so sind ir eins. (Ibid. 183.)

Cappel, or some other minister, preached among the soldiers. No oath or dispute was heard; all disorderly women were turned out of the camp; prayers were offered up before and after every meal; and each man obeyed his chiefs. There were no dice, no cards, no games calculated to excite quarrels; but psalms, hymns, national songs, bodily exercise, wrestling, or pitching the stone, were the military recreations of the Zurichers.¹ The spirit that animated the reformer had passed into the army.

The assembly at Arau, transported to Steinhausen in the neighbourhood of the two camps, decreed that each army should hear the complaints of the opposite party. The reception of the deputies of the Five Cantons by the Zurichers was tolerably calm; it was not so in the other camp.

On the 15th June, fifty Zurichers, surrounded by a crowd of peasants, proceeded on horseback to the Waldstettes. The sound of the trumpet, the roll of the drum, and repeated salvos of artillery announced their arrival. Nearly twelve thousand men of the smaller cantons, in good order, with uplifted heads and arrogant looks, were under arms. Escher of Zurich spoke first, and many persons from the rural districts enumerated their grievances after him, which the Waldstettes thought exaggerated. "When have we ever refused you the federal right?" asked they. "Yes, yes!" replied Funk, Zwingli's friend; "we know how you exercise it. That pastor (Keyser) appealed to it, and you referred him—to the executioner!" "Funk, you would have done better to have held your tongue," said one of his friends. But the words had slipped out: a dreadful tumult suddenly arose; all the army of the Waldstettes was in agitation; the most prudent begged the Zurichers to retire promptly, and protected their departure.

At length the treaty was concluded on the 26th June 1529. Zwingli did not obtain all he desired. Instead of the free preaching of the Word of God, the treaty stipulated only liberty of conscience; it declared that the common bailiwicks should pronounce for or against the Reform by a majority of votes. Without decreeing the abolition of foreign pensions, it was recommended to the Romish cantons to renounce the

¹ Sondern sang, sprang, wurf und Stieß die Steine. (Füssli Beyt. iv. 106.)

alliance formed with Austria; the Five Cantons were to pay the expenses of the war, Murner to retract his insulting words, and an indemnity was secured to Keyser's family.¹

An incontrovertible success had just crowned the warlike demonstration of Zurich. The Five Cantons felt it. Gloomy, irritated, silently champing the bit that had been placed in their mouths, their chiefs could not decide upon giving up the deed of their alliance with Austria. Zurich immediately recalled her troops, the mediators redoubled their solicitations, and the Bernese exclaimed: "If you do not deliver up this document we will ourselves go in procession and tear it from your archives." At last it was brought to Cappel on the 26th June, two hours after midnight. All the army was drawn out at eleven in the forenoon, and they began to read the treaty. The Zurichers looked with astonishment at its breadth and excessive length, and the nine seals which had been affixed, one of which was in gold. But scarcely had a few words been read, when Aebli, snatching the parchment cried out: "Enough, enough!"—"Read it, read it!" said the Zurichers; "we desire to learn their treason!" But the Bailiff of Glaris replied boldly: "I would rather be cut in a thousand pieces than permit it." Then dashing his knife into the parchment, he cut it in pieces in the presence of Zwingli and the soldiers,² and threw the fragments to the secretary, who committed them to the flames. "The paper was not Swiss," says Bullinger, with sublime simplicity.

The banners were immediately struck. The men of Unterwalden retired in anger; those of Schywtz swore they would for ever preserve their ancient faith; while the troops of Zurich returned in triumph to their homes. But the most opposite thoughts agitated Zwingli's mind. "I hope," said he, doing violence to his feelings, "that we bring back an honourable peace to our dwellings. It was not to shed blood that we set out."³ God has once again shown the great ones of the earth that they can do nothing against us." Whenever

¹ Supra, p. 319. The treaty is given entire in Bullinger, ii. 185, and Ruehat, ii.

² *Tabellæ federis a prætorè Pagì Glaronensis gladio concissæ et deletæ, id quod ipse vidit.* (Zw. Epp. ii. 310.)

³ Cum non eadem factum profecti sumus. (Ibid.)

he gave way to his natural disposition, a very different order of thoughts took possession of his mind. He was seen walking apart in deep dejection, and anticipating the most gloomy future. In vain did the people surround him with joyful shouts. "This peace," said he, "which you consider a triumph, you will soon repent of, striking your breasts." It was at this time that, venting his sorrow, he composed, as he was descending the Albis, a celebrated hymn often repeated to the sound of music in the fields of Switzerland, among the burghers of the confederate cities, and even in the palaces of kings. The hymns of Luther and of Zwingli play the same part in the German and Swiss Reformation as the Psalms in that of France.

Do thou direct thy chariot, Lord,
 And guide it at thy will;
 Without thy aid our strength is vain,
 And useless all our skill.
 Look down upon thy saints brought low,
 And prostrate laid beneath the foe.
 Beloved Pastor, who hast saved
 Our souls from death and sin,
 Uplift thy voice, awake thy sheep
 That slumbering lie within
 Thy fold, and curb with thy right hand
 The rage of Satan's furious band.
 Send down thy peace, and banish strife,
 Let bitterness depart;
 Revive the spirit of the past
 In every Switzer's heart:
 Then shall thy Church for ever sing
 The praises of her heavenly King.

An edict, published in the name of the confederates, ordered the revival everywhere of the old friendship and brotherly concord; but decrees are powerless to work such miracles.

This treaty of peace was nevertheless favourable to the Reform. Undoubtedly it met with a violent opposition in some places. The nuns of the vale of St. Catherine in Thurgovia, deserted by their priests and excited by some noblemen beyond the Rhine, who styled them in their letters, "Chivalrous women of the house of God," sang mass themselves, and appointed one of their number preacher to the convent. Certain deputies from the Protestant cantons having had an interview with them, the abbess and three of the nuns secretly crossed the river by night, carrying with them the papers of the monastery and the orna-

ments of the church. But such isolated resistance as this was unavailing. Already in 1529 Zwingli was able to hold a synod in Thurgovia, which organized the church there, and decreed that the property of the convents should be consecrated to the instruction of pious young men in sacred learning. Thus concord and peace seemed at last to be re-established in the confederation.

CHAPTER III.

Conquests of Reform in Schaffhausen and Zurzach—Reform in Glaris—To-day the Cowl, To-morrow the Reverse—Italian Bailiwicks—The Monk of Como—Egidio's Hope for Italy—Call of the Monk of Locarno—Hopes of reforming Italy—The Monks of Wettingen—Abbey of Saint Gall—Kilian Koufli—Saint Gall recovers its Liberty—The Reform in Soleure—Miracle of Saint Ours—Popery triumphs—The Grisons invaded by the Spaniards—Address of the Ministers to the Romish Cantons—God's Word the means of Unity—Æcolampadius for Spiritual Influence—Autonomy of the Church.

WHENEVER a conqueror abandons himself to his triumph, in that very confidence he often finds destruction. Zurich and Zwingli were to exemplify this mournful lesson of history. Taking advantage of the national peace, they redoubled their exertions for the triumph of the Gospel. This was a legitimate zeal, but it was not always wisely directed. To attain the unity of Switzerland by unity of faith was the object of the Zurichers; but they forgot that, by desiring to force on a unity, it is broken to pieces, and that freedom is the only medium in which contrary elements can be dissolved, and a salutary union established. While Rome aims at unity by anathemas, imprisonment, and the stake, Christian truth demands unity through liberty. And let us not fear that liberty, expanding each individuality beyond measure, will produce by this means an infinite multiplicity. While we urge every mind to attach itself to the Word of God, we give it up to a power capable of restoring its diverging opinions to a wholesome unity.

Zwingli at first signalized his victory by legitimate conquests. He advanced with courage. "His eye and his arm were everywhere." "A few wretched mischief-makers," says Salat, a

Romanist chronicler, "penetrating into the Five Cantons, troubled men's souls, distributed their frippery, scattered everywhere little poems, tracts, and testaments, and were continually repeating that the people ought not to believe the priests."¹ This was not all: while the Reform was destined to be confined around the lake of the Waldstettes to a few fruitless efforts, it made brilliant conquests among the cantons,—the allies and subjects of Switzerland; and all the blows there inflicted on the papacy re-echoed among the lofty valleys of the primitive cantons, and filled them with affright. Nowhere had popery shown itself more determined than in the Swiss mountains. A mixture of Romish despotism and Helvetian roughness existed there. Rome was resolved to conquer all Switzerland, and yet she beheld her most important positions successively wrested from her.

On the 29th September 1529, the citizens of Schaffhausen removed the "great God"² from the cathedral, to the deep regret of a small number of devotees whom the Roman worship still counted in this city; then they abolished the mass, and stretched out their hands to Zurich and to Berne.

At Zurzack, near the confluence of the Rhine and the Aar, at the moment when the priest of the place, a man devoted to the ancient worship, was preaching with zeal, a person named Tüfel (devil), raising his head, observed to him: "Sir, you are heaping insults on good men, and loading the pope and the saints of the Roman calendar with honour; pray where do we find that in the Holy Scriptures?" This question, put in a serious tone of voice, raised a sly smile on many faces, and the congregation with their eyes fixed on the pulpit awaited the reply. The priest in astonishment and at his wit's end, answered with a trembling voice: "Devil is thy name; thou actest like the devil, and thou art the devil! For this reason I will have nothing to do with thee." He then hastily left the pulpit, and ran away as if Satan himself had been behind him. Immediately the images were torn down, and the mass abolished. The Roman Catholics sought to console themselves by repeating everywhere:

¹ Die sectischen haltend vil elends Huel volk gefunden, &c. (Salat, Chron.)

² Le bon Dieu, probably the patron saint. (W.)

"At Zurzack it was the devil who introduced the Reformation."¹

The priests and warriors of the Forest Cantons beheld the overthrow of the Romish faith in countries that lay nearer to them. In the canton of Glaris, whence by the steep passes of the Klaus and the Prugel,² the Reform might suddenly fall upon Uri and Schwytz, two men met face to face. At Mollis, Fridolin Brunner who questioned himself every day by what means he could advance the cause of Christ,³ attacked the abuses of the Church with the energy of his friend Zwingli,⁴ and endeavoured to spread among the people, who were passionately fond of war, the peace and charity of the Gospel. At Glaris, on the contrary, Valentine Tschudi studied with all the circumspection of his friend Erasmus to preserve a just medium between Rome and the Reform. And although, in consequence of Fridolin's preaching, the doctrines of purgatory, indulgences, meritorious works, and intercession of the saints, were looked at by the Glaronais as mere follies and fables,⁵ they still believed with Tschudi that the body and blood of Christ were substantially in the bread of the Lord's Supper.

At the same time a movement in opposition to the Reform was taking place in that high and savage valley, where the Linth, roaring at the foot of vast rocks with jagged crests—enormous citadels which seem built in the air,—bathes the villages of Schwanden and Ruti with its waters. The Roman Catholics, alarmed at the progress of the Gospel, and wishing to save these mountains at least, had scattered with liberal hands the money they derived from their foreign pensions; and from that time violent hostility divided old friends, and men who appeared to have been won over to the Gospel basely sought for a pretext to conceal a disgraceful flight.⁶ "Peter⁷ and I," wrote Rasdorfer, pastor of Ruti, in despair, "are labouring in the vine-

¹ That der Tüffel den ersten Angriff.

² This is the road by which the army of Suwaroff escaped in 1799.

³ Nam quotidie cogitare soleo quanam re Christianum adjuvum profectum. (Zw. Epp. ii. 13.)

⁴ Audeo ego intrepide omnem ecclesie abusum et omnia humana precepta in enunciatione verbi Dei dammare. (Ibid.)

⁵ Nugas esse et fabulas. (Ibid.)

⁶ Jam ere convicti palinodiam canunt. (Ibid. 292.)

⁷ Pierre Rumelin, pastor of Schwanden.

yard, but alas! the grapes we gather are not employed for the sacrifice, and the very birds do not eat them. We fish, but after having toiled all night, we find that we have only caught leeches.¹ Alas! we are casting pearls before dogs, and roses before swine!" The spirit of revolt against the Gospel soon descended from these valleys with the noisy waters of the Linth as far as Glaris and Mollis. "The council, as if it had been composed only of silly women, shifted its sails every day," said Rasdorfer;² "one day it will have the cowl, on the next it will not."³ Glaris, like a leaf carried along on the bosom of one of its torrents, and which the waves and eddies drive in different directions, wavered, wheeled about, and was nearly swallowed up.

But this crisis came to an end: the Gospel suddenly regained strength, and on Easter Monday 1530, a general assembly of the people "put the mass and the altars to the vote." A powerful party that relied upon the Five Cantons vainly opposed the Reform. It was proclaimed, and its vanquished and disconcerted enemies were forced to content themselves, says Bullinger, with mysteriously concealing a few idols, which they reserved for better days.

In the meanwhile, the Reform advanced in the exterior *Rhodes* of Appenzell,⁴ and in the district of Sargans. But what most exasperated the cantons that remained faithful to the Romish doctrines, was to see it pass the Alps and appear in Italy, in those beautiful districts round Lake Maggiore, where, near the embouchure of the Maggia, within the walls of Locarno, in the midst of laurels, pomegranates, and cypresses, flourished the noble families of Orelli, Muralto, Magoria, and Duni, and where floated since 1512 the sovereign standard of the cantons. "What!" said the Waldstettes, "is it not enough that Zurich and Zwingli infest Switzerland! They have the impudence to

¹ Tota enim nocte piscantes, sanguisugas, aspendios cepimus. (Zw. Epp. ii. 13.) Rasdorfer evidently alludes to what Pliny says of a kind of vine termed *Aspendios*: E diverso aspendios, damnata aris. Ferunt eam nec ab alite ulla attingi. (Hist. Nat. lib. xiv. cap. xviii. § 22.)

² Vertit vela indies senatus noster muliereularum more. (Ibid.)

³ Vult jam cucullum, post non vult. (Ibid.) That is, at one time it recognises, at another rejects, the Abbot of Saint Gall.

⁴ See Benedict Noll's Letter to Zwingli, Epp. ii. 635.

carry their pretended Reform even into Italy,—even into the country of the pope!”

Great irregularities prevailed there among the clergy: “Whoever wishes to be damned must become a priest,” was a common saying.¹ But the Gospel succeeded in making its way even into that district. A monk of Como, Egidio à Porta, who had taken the cowl in 1511, against the wishes of his family,² struggled for years in the Augustine convent, and nowhere found peace for his soul. Motionless, environed, as it appeared to him, with profound night, he cried aloud: “Lord, what wilt thou that I should do?” Erelong the monk of Como thought he heard these words in his heart: “Go to Ulrich Zwingli and he will tell thee.” He rose trembling with emotion. “It is you,” wrote he to Zwingli immediately, “but no! it is not you, it is God who, through you, will deliver me from the nets of the hunters.” “Translate the New Testament into Italian,” replied Zwingli; “I will undertake to get it printed at Zurich.” This is what the Reform did for Italy more than three centuries ago.

Egidio therefore remained. He commenced translating the Gospel; but at one time he had to beg for the convent, at another to repeat his “hours,” and then to accompany one of the fathers on his journeys.³ Everything that surrounded him increased his distress. He saw his country reduced to the greatest misery by desolating wars,—men formerly rich, holding out their hands for alms,—crowds of women driven by want to the most shameful degradation. He imagined that a great political deliverance could alone bring about the religious independence of his fellow-countrymen.

On a sudden he thought that this happy hour was arrived. He perceived a band of Lutheran lansquenets descending the Alps. Their serried phalanxes, their threatening looks, were directed towards the banks of the Tiber. At their head

¹ St. Charles Borromeo, archbishop of Milan, suppressed somewhat later several convents in this district: “Monialium non dicam collegia, sed amantium contubernia,” said he. (*Die evangel. Gem. in Locarno* von F. Meyer, i. 109.)

² *Subdixi memet a parentum patrocinio, cucullumque nigrum ex animo suscepi.* (Zw. Epp. i. 418.)

³ *Confratres nonnulli viri certe et pietate et eruditione nequaquam contemtilibiles.* (Zw. Epp. i. 533.)

marched Freundsberg, wearing a chain of gold around his neck, and saying: "If I reach Rome I will make use of it to hang the pope." "God wills to save us," wrote Egidio to Zwingli: "write to the constable;¹ entreat him to deliver the people over whom he rules,—to take from the shaven crowns, whose God is their belly, the wealth which renders them so proud,—and to distribute it among the people who are dying of hunger. Then let each one preach without fear the pure Word of the Lord.—The strength of Antichrist is near its fall!"

Thus, about the end of 1526, Egidio already dreamt of the Reformation of Italy. From that time his letters cease: the monk disappeared. There can be no doubt that the arm of Rome was able to reach him, and that, like so many others, he was plunged into the gloomy dungeon of some convent.

In the spring of 1530, a new epoch commenced for the Italian bailiwicks. Zurich appointed Jacques Werdmüller bailiff of Locarno; he was a grave man, respected by all, and who even in 1524 had kissed the feet of the pope; he had since then been won over to the Gospel, and had sat down at the feet of the Saviour.² "Go," said Zurich, "and bear yourself like a Christian, and in all that concerns the Word of God conform to the ordinances." Werdmüller met with nothing but darkness in every quarter. Yet, in the midst of this gloom, a feeble glimmering seemed to issue from a convent situated on the delightful shores of Lake Maggiore. Among the Carmelites at Locarno was a monk named Fontana, skilled in the Holy Scriptures, and animated with the same spirit that had enlightened the monk of Como. The doctrine of salvation, "without money and without price," which God proclaims in the Gospel, filled him with love and joy. "As long as I live," said he, "I will preach upon the Epistles of St. Paul;"³ for it was particularly in these epistles that he had found the truth. Two monks, of whose names we are ignorant, shared his sentiments. Fontana wrote a letter "to all the Church of Christ

¹ Bourbon, who commanded in Italy on behalf of the emperor. (Supra, book xiii. p. 16.)

² Luke x. 39.

³ *Se dum vivat satis de Epistolis Pauli concionaturum esse.* (Zw. Epp. ii. 407.)

in Germany," which was forwarded to Zwingli. We may imagine we hear that man of Macedonia, who appeared in a vision to Paul in the night, calling him to Europe, and saying, "Come over and help us."¹—"O, trusty and well-beloved of Christ Jesus," cried the monk of Locarno to Germany, "remember Lazarus, the beggar, in the Gospel,—remember that humble Canaanitish woman, longing for the crumbs that fell from the Lord's table! hungry as David, I have recourse to the shew-bread placed upon the altar. A poor traveller devoured by thirst, I rush to the springs of living water."² Plunged in darkness, bathed in tears, we cry to you who know the mysteries of God to send us by the hands of the munificent J. Werdmüller all the writings of the divine Zwingli, of the famous Luther, of the skilful Melancthon, of the mild Œcolampadius, of the ingenious Pomeranus, of the learned Lambert, of the elegant Brenz, of the penetrating Bucer, of the studious Leo, of the vigilant Hütten, and of the other illustrious doctors, if there are any more. Excellent princes, pivots of the Church, our holy mother, make haste to deliver from the slavery of Babylon a city of Lombardy that has not yet known the Gospel of Jesus Christ. We are but three who have combined together to fight on behalf of the truth;³ but it was beneath the blows of a small body of men, chosen by God, and not by the thousands of Gideon, that Midian fell. Who knows if, from a small spark, God may not cause a great conflagration?"

Thus three men on the banks of the Maggia hoped at that time to reform Italy. They uttered a call to which, for three centuries, the evangelical world has not replied. Zurich, however, in these days of its strength and of its faith, displayed a holy boldness, and dared extend her heretical arms beyond the Alps. Hence, Uri, Schwytz, Unterwalden, and all the Romanists of Switzerland gave vent to loud and terrible threats, swearing to arrest even in Zurich itself the course of these presumptuous invasions.

¹ Acts xvi. 9.

² *Debilis et infirmus apud piscinam, salutem mei et patrie toto mentis affectu citissime expecto.* (Hottinger, *secul.* 16, pars 2. p. 619.)

³ *Confederati conjunctique in expeditionem veritatis tres tantum numero sumus.* (*Ibid.* p. 620.)

But the Zurichers did not confine themselves to this: they gave the confederates more serious cause of fear by waging incessant war against the convents,—those centres of ultramontane fanaticism. The extensive monastery of Wettingen, around which roll the waters of the Limmat, and which, by its proximity to Zurich, was exposed more than any other to the breath of reform, was in violent commotion. On the 23d August 1529, a great change took place; the monks ceased to sing mass; they cut off each other's beards, not without shedding a few tears; they laid down their frocks and their hoods, and clothed themselves in becoming secular dresses.¹ Then, in astonishment at this metamorphosis, they listened devoutly to the sermon which Sebastian Benli of Zurich came and preached to them, and ere-long employed themselves in propagating the Gospel, and in singing psalms in German. Thus Wettingen fell into the current of that river which seemed to be everywhere reviving the confederation. The cloister, ceasing to be a house for gaming, gluttony, and drunkenness, was changed into a school. Two monks alone in all the monastery remained faithful to the cowl

The commander of Mulinen, without troubling himself about the threats of the Romish cantons, earnestly pressed the commandery of St. John at Hitzkirch towards the Reformation. The question was put to the vote, and the majority declared in favour of the Word of God. "Ah!" said the commander, "I have been long pushing behind the chariot."² On the 4th September the commandery was reformed. It was the same with that of Wadenswyl, with the convent of Pfeffers, and others besides. Even at Mury the majority declared for the Gospel; but the minority prevailed through the support of the Five Cantons.³ A new triumph, and one of greater value, was destined to indemnify the reform, and to raise the indignation of the Waldstettes to the highest pitch.

The abbot of St. Gall, by his wealth, by the number of his subjects, and the influence which he exercised in Switzerland, was one of the most formidable adversaries of the Gospel. In

¹ Bekleitend sich in erbare gemeine Landskleyder. (Bull. Chron. ii. 21.)

² Diu me in hoc curru promovendo laborasse, priusquam tam longe processit. (Zw. Epp. ii. 334.)

³ Das das minder müst das meer sin. (Bull. ii. 241.)

1529, therefore, at the moment when the army of Zurich took the field against the Five Cantons, the abbot Francis of Geisberg, in alarm and at the brink of death, caused himself to be hastily removed into the strong castle of Rohrschach, not thinking himself secure except within its walls. Four days after this, the illustrious Vadian, burgomaster of St. Gall, entered the convent, and announced the intention of the people to resume the use of their cathedral-church, and to remove the images. The monks were astonished at such audacity, and having in vain protested and cried for help, put their most precious effects in a place of safety, and fled to Einsidlen.

Among these was Kilian Kouffi, head-steward of the abbey, a cunning and active monk, and, like Zwingli, a native of the Tockenburg. Knowing how important it was to find a successor to the abbot, before the news of his death was bruited abroad, he came to an understanding with those who waited on the prelate; and the latter dying on Tuesday in Holy Week, the meals were carried as usual into his chamber, and with downcast eyes and low voice the attendants answered every inquiry about his health. While this farce was going on round a dead body, the monks who had assembled at Einsidlen repaired in all haste to Rapperschwyl, in the territory of St. Gall, and there elected Kilian, who had so skilfully managed the affair. The new abbot went immediately to Rohrschach, and on Good Friday he there proclaimed his own election and the death of his predecessor. Zurich and Glaris declared they would not recognise him, unless he could prove by the Holy Scriptures that a monkish life was in conformity with the Gospel. "We are ready to protect the house of God," said they; "and for this reason we require that it be consecrated anew to the Lord. But we do not forget that it is our duty also to protect the people. The free Church of Christ should raise its head in the bosom of a free people." At the same time the ministers of St. Gall published forty-two theses, in which they asserted that convents were not "houses of God, but houses of the devil."¹ The abbot, supported by Lucerne and Schwytz, which with Zurich and Glaris exercised sovereign power in St.

¹ Thesis 8. Bull. ii. 115.

Gall, replied that he could not dispute about rights which he held from kings and emperors. The two natives of the Tockenbourg, Zwingli and Kilian, were thus struggling around St. Gall,—the one claiming the people for the abbey, and the other the abbey for the people. The army of Zurich having approached Wyl, Kilian seized upon the treasures and muniments of the convent, and fled precipitately beyond the Rhine. As soon as peace was concluded, the crafty monk put on a secular dress, and crept mysteriously as far as Einsidlen, whence on a sudden he made all Switzerland re-echo with his cries. Zurich in conjunction with Glaris replied by publishing a constitution, according to which a governor, “confirmed in the evangelical faith,” should preside over the district, with a council of twelve members, while the election of pastors was left to the parishes.¹ Not long afterwards, the abbot, expelled and a fugitive, while crossing a river near Bregentz, fell from his horse, got entangled in his frock, and was drowned. Of the two combatants from the Tockenbourg, it was Zwingli who gained the victory.

The convent was put up to sale, and was purchased by the town of St. Gall, “with the exception,” says Bullinger, “of a detached building, called *Hell*, where the monks were left who had not embraced the Reform.”² The time having arrived when the governor sent by Zurich was to give place to one from Lucerne, the people of St. Gall called upon the latter to swear to their constitution. “A governor has never been known,” replied he, “to make an oath to peasants; it is the peasants who should make oath to the governor!” Upon this he retired: the Zurich governor remained, and the indignation of the Five Cantons against Zurich, which so daringly assisted the people of St. Gall in recovering their ancient liberties, rose to the highest paroxysm of anger.

A few victories, however, consoled in some degree the partisans of Rome. Soleure was for a long time one of the most contested battle-fields. The citizens and the learned were in favour of Reform: the patricians and canons for Popery.

¹ Die Pfarer soll den Gmeinden ins gfallens zu erkiesen Zugestellt syn. (Bull. ii. 268.)

² Allein was ein gebuw die *Hell* genampt, das liess man den Munchen blyten. (Ibid. 271.)

Philip Grotz of Zug was preaching the Gospel there, and the council desiring to compel him to say mass, one hundred of the reformed appeared in the hall of assembly on the 13th September, 1529, and with energy called for liberty of conscience. As Zurich and Berne supported this demand, their prayer was granted.

Upon this the most fanatical of the Roman Catholics, exasperated at the concession, closed the gates of the city, pointed the guns, and made a show of expelling the friends of the Reformation. The council prepared to punish these agitators, when the reformed, willing to set an example of Christian moderation, declared they would forgive them.¹ The Great Council then published throughout the canton that the dominion of conscience belonging to God alone, and faith being the free gift of His grace, each one might follow the religion which he thought best. Thirty-four parishes declared for the Reformation, and only two for the mass. Almost all the rural districts were in favour of the Gospel; but the majority in the city sided with the pope.² Haller, whom the reformed of Soleure had sent for, arrived, and it was a day of triumph for them. It was in the middle of winter: "To-day," ironically observed one of the evangelical Christians, "the patron saint (St. Ours) will sweat!" And in truth—oh! wonderful!—drops of moisture fell from the holy image! It was simply a little holy water that had frozen and then thawed. But the Romanists would listen to no raillery on so illustrious a prodigy, which may remind us of the blood of St. Januarius at Naples. All the city resounded with piteous cries,—the bells were tolled,—a general procession moved through the streets,—and high mass was sung in honour of the heavenly prince who had shown in so marvellous a manner the pangs he felt for his dearly beloved. "It is the fat minister of Berne (Haller) who is the cause of the saint's alarm," said the devout old women. One of them declared that she would thrust a knife into his body; and certain Roman Catholics threatened to go to the Cordeliers' church and murder the pastors who

¹ Ruchat, ii. 139.

² Major pars agri abolita superstitione a parte nostra stat. Major et potior pars urbis a papistis. (Zw. Epp. ii. 489.)

preached there. Upon this the reformed rushed to that church and demanded a public discussion: two hundred of their adversaries posted themselves at the same time in the church of St. Ours and refused all inquiry. Neither of the two parties was willing to be the first to abandon the camp in which it was entrenched. The senate, wishing to clear the two churches thus in a manner transformed into citadels, announced that at Martinmas, *i. e.* nine months later, a public disputation should take place. But as the reformed found the delay too long, both parties remained for a whole week more under arms. Commerce was interrupted,—the public offices were closed,—messengers ran to and fro,—arrangements were proposed;—but the people were so stiff-necked,¹ that no one would give way. The city was in a state of siege. At last all were agreed about the discussion, and the ministers committed four theses to writing, which the canons immediately attempted to refute.

Nevertheless they judged it a still better plan to elude them. Nothing alarmed the Romanists so much as a disputation. “What need have we of any?” said they. “Do not the writings of the two parties declare their sentiments?” The conference was, therefore, put off until the following year. Many of the reformed, indignant at these delays, imprudently quitted the city; and the councils, charmed at this result, which they were far from expecting, hastily declared that the people should be free in the canton, but that in the city no one should attack the mass. From that time the reformed were compelled every Sunday to leave Soleure and repair to the village of Zuchswyl to hear the Word of God. Thus popery, defeated in so many places, triumphed in Soleure.

Zurich and the other reformed cantons attentively watched these successes of their adversaries, and lent a fearful ear to the threats of the Roman Catholics, who were continually announcing the intervention of the emperor; when on a sudden a report was heard that nine hundred Spaniards had entered the Grisons; that they were led by the Chatelain of Musso, recently invested with the title of marquis by Charles the Fifth; that the chatelain’s brother-in-law, Didier d’Embs, was also march-

¹ *Tam duræ cervicis populus est.* (Zw. Epp. ii. 489.)

ing against the Swiss at the head of three thousand imperial lansquenets; and that the emperor himself was ready to support them with all his forces. The Grisons uttered a cry of alarm. The Waldstettes remained motionless; but all the reformed cantons assembled their troops, and eleven thousand men began their march.¹ The emperor and the duke of Milan having soon after declared that they would not support the chatelain, this adventurer beheld his castle rased to the ground, and was compelled to retire to the banks of the Sesia, giving guarantees of future tranquillity; while the Swiss soldiers returned to their homes, red with indignation against the Five Cantons, who by their inactivity had infringed the federal alliance.² "Our prompt and energetic resistance," said they, "has undoubtedly baffled their perfidious designs; but the reaction is only adjourned. Although the parchment of the Austrian alliance has been torn in pieces, the alliance itself still exists. The truth has freed us, but soon the imperial lansquenets will come and try to place us again under the yoke of slavery."

Thus in consequence of so many violent shocks, the two parties that divided Switzerland had attained the highest degree of irritation. The gulf that separated them widened daily. The clouds—the forerunners of the tempest—drove swiftly along the mountains, and gathered threateningly above the valleys. Under these circumstances Zwingli and his friends thought it their duty to raise their voices, and if possible to avert the storm. In like manner Nicholas de Flue had in former days thrown himself between the hostile parties.

On the 5th September, 1530, the principal ministers of Zurich, Berne, Basel, and Strasburg,—Æcolampadius, Capito, Megander, Leo Juda, and Myconius,—were assembled at Zurich in Zwingli's house. Desirous of taking a solemn step with the Five Cantons, they drew up an address that was presented to the Confederates at the meeting of the diet at Baden. However unfavourable the deputies were, as a body, to these heretical ministers, they nevertheless listened to this epistle,

¹ Bull. Chron. ii. 357.

² Ward ein grosser Unwill wieder sie. (Ibid. 361.)

but not without signs of impatience and weariness.¹ "You are aware, gracious lords, that concord increases the power of states, and that discord overthrows them."² You are yourselves a proof of the first of these truths. Setting out from a small beginning, you have, by a good understanding one with another, arrived at a great end. May God condescend to prevent you also from giving a striking proof of the second! Whence comes disunion, if not from selfishness? and how can we destroy this fatal passion, except by receiving from God the love of the common weal? For this reason we conjure you to allow the Word of God to be freely preached among you, as did your pious ancestors. When has there ever existed a government, even among the heathens, which saw not that the hand of God alone upholds a nation? Do not two drops of quicksilver unite so soon as you remove that which separates them? Away then with that which separates you from our cities, that is, the absence of the Word of God; and immediately the Almighty will unite us, as our fathers were united. Then placed in your mountains, as in the centre of Christendom, you will be an example to it, its protection and its refuge; and after having passed through this vale of tears, being the terror of the wicked and the consolation of the faithful, you will at last be established in eternal happiness."

Thus frankly did these men of God address their brothers, the Waldstettes. But their voice was not attended to. "The ministers' sermon is rather long,"³ said some of the deputies yawning and stretching their arms, while others pretended to find in it new cause of complaint against the cities.

This proceeding of the ministers was useless: the Waldstettes rejected the Word of God, which they had been entreated to admit; they rejected the hands that were extended towards them in the name of Jesus Christ. They called for the pope and not for the Gospel. All hope of reconciliation appeared lost.

¹ *Lecta est epistola nostra in comitiis Badensibus.* (Æcol. to Bucer, 28th December 1530.)

² *Wie mit einhelligkeit kleine Ding gross werdend.* (Zw. Opp. ii. 78.)

³ *Libellum supplicem ad quinque pagos breviorē vellent.* (Zw. Epp. ii. 511.) *Fastidiant tam saneta.* (Æcol.)

Some persons, however, had at that time a glimpse of what might have saved Switzerland and the Reformation,—the *autonomy* (self-government) of the Church, and its independence of political interests. Had they been wise enough to decline the secular power to secure the triumph of the Gospel, it is probable that harmony might have been gradually established in the Helvetic cantons, and that the Gospel would have conquered by its Divine strength. The power of the Word of God presented chances of success that were not afforded by pikes and muskets. The energy of faith, the influence of charity, would have proved a securer protection to Christians against the burning piles of the Waldstettes than diplomatists and men-at-arms. None of the reformers understood this so clearly as *Æcolampadius*. His handsome countenance, the serenity of his features, the mild expression of his eyes, his long and venerable beard, the spirituality of his expression, a certain dignity that inspired confidence and respect, gave him rather the air of an apostle than of a reformer. It was the power of the inner word that he particularly extolled; perhaps he even went too far in spiritualism. But, however that may be, if any man could have saved Reform from the misfortunes that were about to befall it—that man was he. In separating from the Papacy, he desired not to set up the magistracy in its stead. “The magistrate who should take away from the churches the authority that belongs to them,” wrote he to Zwingli, “would be more intolerable than Antichrist himself (*i. e.* the pope).”¹—“The hand of the magistrate strikes with the sword, but the hand of Christ heals. Christ has not said,—If thy brother will not hear thee, tell it to the magistrate, but—*tell it to the Church*. The functions of the State are distinct from those of the Church. The State is free to do many things which the purity of the Gospel condemns.”² *Æcolampadius* saw how important it was that his convictions should prevail among the reformed. This man, so mild and so spiritual, feared not to stand forth boldly in defence of doctrines then so novel. He expounded them before a

¹ Intolerabilior enim Antichristo ipso magistratus, qui Ecclesiis auctoritatem suam adimit. (Zw. Epp. ii. 510.)

² Ipsorum functio alia est et ecclesiastica, multaque ferre et facere potest quam puritas evangelica non agnoscit. (Ibid.)

synodal assembly, and next developed them before the senate of Basel.¹ It is a strange circumstance that these ideas, for a moment at least, were acceptable to Zwingli;² but they displeased an assembly of the brethren to whom he communicated them; the politic Bucer above all feared that this independence of the Church would in some measure check the exercise of the civil power.³ The exertions of Œcolampadius to constitute the Church were not, however, entirely unsuccessful. In February 1531, a diet of four reformed cantons (Basel, Zurich, Berne, and St. Gall), was held at Basel, in which it was agreed, that whenever any difficulty should arise with regard to doctrine or worship, an assembly of divines and laymen should be convoked, which should examine what the Word of God said on the matter.⁴ This resolution, by giving greater unity to the renovated Church, gave it also fresh strength.⁵

CHAPTER IV.

Zwingli and the Christian State—Zwingli's double Part—Zwingli and Luther in Relation to Politics—Philip of Hesse and the Free Cities—Projected Union between Zwingli and Luther—Zwingli's political Action—Project of Alliance against the Emperor—Zwingli advocates active Resistance—He destines the Imperial Crown for Philip—Faults of the Reformation—Embassy to Venice—Giddiness of the Reformation—Projected Alliance with France—Zwingli's plan of Alliance—Approaching Ruin—Slanders in the Five Cantons—Violence—Mysterious Paper—Berne and Basel vote for Peace—General Diet at Baden—Evangelical Diet at Zurich—Political Reformation of Switzerland—Activity of Zurich.

BUT it was too late to tread in this path which would have prevented so many disasters. The Reformation had already entered with all her sails set upon the stormy ocean of politics, and

¹ *Orationis mee quam, fratrum nomine, coram senatu habui.* (Zw. Epp. ii. 510.)

² *Ut mihi magis ac magis arridet.* (Ibid. 518.)

³ *Ut non impediatur alicui magistratum Christianum.* (Bucer to Zw. p. 836.)

⁴ J. J. Hottinger, iii. 554.

⁵ It seems hardly credible that the author can have deliberately committed these sentiments to the press, with the examples of Italy and Spain staring him, as it were, in the face to confute them. In these it is well known that the gospel, about this very period, had many who were ready to seal their testimony to its truths by their blood, and of whom a large number did perish in the prisons or by the fires of the Inquisition. No secular arm was raised in their defence. And what was the consequence? If we are to believe the author, the gospel must have

terrible misfortunes were gathering over her. The impulse communicated to the Reform came from another than *Ecclampadius*. Zwingli's proud and piercing eyes,—his harsh features,—his bold step,—all proclaimed in him a resolute mind and the man of action. Nurtured in the exploits of the heroes of antiquity, he threw himself, to save Reform, in the footsteps of Demosthenes and Cato, rather than in those of St. John and St. Paul. His prompt and penetrating looks were turned to the right and to the left,—to the cabinets of kings and the councils of the people, whilst they should have been directed solely to God. We have already seen, that as early as 1527, Zwingli, observing how all the powers were rising against the Reformation, had conceived the plan of a *co-burghery* or Christian State,¹ which should unite all the friends of the Word of God in one holy and powerful league. This was so much the easier as Zwingli's reformation had won over Strasburg, Augsburg, Ulm, Reutlingen, Lindau, Memmingen, and other towns of Upper Germany. Constance in December 1527, Berne in June 1528, St. Gall in November of the same year, Bienne in January 1529, Mulhausen in February, Basel in March, Schaffhausen in September, and Strasburg in December, entered into this alliance. This political phasis of Zwingli's character is in the eyes of some persons his highest claim to glory; we do not hesitate to acknowledge it as his greatest fault. The reformer,

conquered in these countries by its Divine strength. Far from that, even the slightest ember of evangelical faith was trodden out, and spiritual darkness overspread those beautiful regions.

Are we then to hold that the gospel has no such Divine power as the author attributes to it? Far from it. But the gospel, by itself, and by the mere ministry of the Word, is not the divinely-appointed means for suppressing tyranny, punishing evil doers, and protecting the innocent. God's ordinance for this purpose is that of the civil government; those who in the offices of government and magistracy desire to be guided by his will as revealed in his word, become, in the natural course of things, his instruments and agents in defending the gospel and those who adhere to it. And when in the discharge of their lawful functions, among which the author has expressly admitted the protection of the oppressed, they prevented the gospel from being extirpated from Switzerland as it was extirpated from Spain and Italy, unquestionably such protection was lawfully offered and lawfully accepted—the Divine will was obtemperated, not contravened, those Christians who aided and supported their governments in the execution of these duties, were doing their duty, and they would have failed in that duty had they declined.

To confound their conduct with that of Rome in enforcing its doctrines by the terrors of fire and sword, is a monstrous mistake.—D. D. S.

¹ *Civitas Christiana*.

deserting the paths of the apostles, allowed himself to be led astray by the perverse example of popery.¹ The primitive Church never opposed their persecutors but with the sentiments derived from the Gospel of peace. Faith was the only sword by which it vanquished the mighty ones of the earth. Zwingli felt clearly that by entering into the ways of worldly politicians, he was leaving those of a minister of Christ; he therefore sought to justify himself. "No doubt, it is not by human strength," said he, "it is by the strength of God alone that the Word of the Lord should be upheld. But God often makes use of men as instruments to succour men. Let us therefore unite, and from the sources of the Rhine to Strasburg let us form but one people and one alliance."²

Zwingli played two parts at once—he was a reformer and a magistrate. But these are two characters that ought no more to be united than those of a minister and of a soldier. We will not altogether blame the soldiers and the magistrates; in forming leagues and drawing the sword, even for the sake of religion, they act according to their point of view, although it is not the same as ours; but we must decidedly blame the Christian minister who becomes a diplomatist or a general.

In October 1529, as we have already observed, Zwingli repaired to Marburg, whither he had been invited by Philip of Hesse; and while neither of them had been able to come to an understanding with Luther, the landgrave and the Swiss reformer, animated by the same bold and enterprising spirit, soon agreed together.

The two reformers differed not less in their political than in their religious system. Luther, brought up in the cloister and

¹ There hardly could be a grosser misrepresentation, and it is amazing that the author could have been so blinded to the difference. Was Zwingli's principle then that of eternal war against infidels? Was it the extermination of those who differed from him in creed? Was uniformity of worship founded, not on conviction, but on implicit subjection to some counterpart to Rome on the side of the Reformation? No such thing, and to impute these things to him, is to slander him grossly. His object was the defence of the oppressed by their legitimate guardians, and his counsels were exactly in conformity with apostolical definitions. What, according to scripture, is the divinely-appointed office and mission of civil governments? Is it not to punish evil doers, and to be a praise to those that do well? And is it not directly intimated that for this, "he," the civil governor, "*weareth not the sword in vain?*"—D. D. S.

² Dass von oben hinab hie dises Rhyns, bis gen Strasbourg ein Volk und Bundniss würde. (Zw. Op. ii. 28.)

in monastic submission, was imbued in youth with the writings of the Fathers of the Church; Zwingli, on the other hand, reared in the midst of Swiss liberty, had, during those early years which decide the course of all the rest, imbibed the history of the ancient republics. Thus, while Luther was in favour of a passive obedience, Zwingli advocated resistance against tyrants.

These two men were the faithful representatives of their respective nations. In the north of Germany, the princes and nobility were the essential part of the nation, and the people—strangers to all political liberty—had only to obey. Thus, at the epoch of the Reformation they were content to follow the voice of their doctors and chiefs. In Switzerland, in the south of Germany, and on the Rhine, on the contrary, many cities, after long and violent struggles, had won civil liberty; and hence we find in almost every place the people taking a decided part in the Reform of the Church. There was good in this; but evil was close at hand. The reformers, themselves men of the people, who dared not act upon princes, might be tempted to hurry away the people. It was easier for the Reformation to unite with republics than with kings. This facility nearly proved its ruin. The Gospel was thus to learn that its alliance is in heaven.

There was, however, one prince with whom the reformed party of the free states desired to be in union; this was Philip of Hesse. It was he who in great measure prompted Zwingli's warlike projects. Zwingli desired to make him some return, and to introduce his new friend into the evangelical league. But Berne, watchful to avert anything that might irritate the emperor and its ancient confederates, rejected this proposal, and thus excited a lively discontent in the "Christian State."—"What!" cried they, "do the Bernese refuse an alliance that would be honourable for us, acceptable to Jesus Christ, and terrible to our adversaries?"¹ "The Bear," said the high-spirited Zwingli, "is jealous of the Lion (Zurich); but there will be an end to all these artifices, and victory will remain

¹ *Ipsis et nobis honestius, ob religionis et caritatis causam, Christo gratius, ob conjunctas vires utilius, hostibusque terribilius.* (Zw. Epp. ii. 481.)

with the bold." It would appear, indeed, according to a letter in cipher, that the Bernese at last sided with Zwingli, requiring only that this alliance with a prince of the empire should not be made public.¹

Still Œcolampadius had not given way, and his meekness contended, although modestly, with the boldness of his impetuous friend. He was convinced that faith was destined to triumph only by the cordial union of all believers. A valuable relief occurred to reanimate his exertions. The deputies of the Christian co-burghery having assembled at Basel in 1530, the envoys from Strasburg endeavoured to reconcile Luther and Zwingli. Œcolampadius wrote to Zwingli on the subject, begging him to hasten to Basel,² and not show himself too unyielding. "To say that the body and blood of Christ are really in the Lord's Supper, may appear to many too hard an expression," said he, "but is it not softened, when it is added—spiritually and not bodily?"³

Zwingli was immovable. "It is to flatter Luther that you hold such language, and not to defend the truth."⁴ *Edere est credere.*⁵ Nevertheless there were men present at the meeting, who were resolved upon energetic measures. Brotherly love was on the eve of triumphing: peace was to be obtained by union. The elector of Saxony himself proposed a concord of all evangelical Christians, to which the Swiss cities were invited by the landgrave to accede. A report spread that Luther and Zwingli were about to make the same confession of faith. Zwingli, calling to mind the early professions of the Saxon reformer, said one day at table before many witnesses, that Luther would not think so erroneously about the eucharist, if he were not misled by Melancthon.⁶ The union of the whole of the Reformation

¹ *Tantum recusaverunt aperte agere.* (Zw. Epp. ii. 487.) This cipher 3 appears to indicate the Bernese.

² *Si potes, mox advola.* (Ibid. 547.)

³ *Christi corpus et sanguinem adesse vero in cœna fortasse cuiusdam durius sonat, sed mitigatur dum adiungitur animo non corpore.* (Ibid.)

⁴ *Hæc omnia fieri pro Luthero neque pro veritate propugnandi causa.* (Ibid. 550.)

⁵ *To eat is to believe.* (Ibid.)

⁶ *Memini dudum Tiguri te dicentem cum convivio me exciperes, Lutherum non adeo perperam de Eucharistia sentire, nisi quod Melancthon ex alio eum cogeret.* (Ibid. 502.)

seemed about to be concluded: it would have vanquished by its own weapons. But Luther soon proved that Zwingli was mistaken in his expectations. He required a written engagement by which Zwingli and *Æcolampadius* should adhere to his sentiments, and the negotiations were broken off in consequence. Concord having failed, there remained nothing but war. *Æcolampadius* must be silent, and Zwingli must act.

And in truth from that hour Zwingli advanced more and more along that fatal path into which he was led by his character, his patriotism, and his early habits. Stunned by so many violent shocks, attacked by his enemies and by his brethren, he staggered and his head grew dizzy. From this period the reformer almost entirely disappears, and we see in his place the politician, the great citizen, who beholding a formidable coalition preparing its chains for every nation, stands up energetically against it. The emperor had just formed a close alliance with the pope. If his deadly schemes were not opposed it would be all over, in Zwingli's opinion, with the Reformation, with religious and political liberty, and even with the confederation itself. "The emperor," said he, "is stirring up friend against friend, enemy against enemy: and then he endeavours to raise out of this confusion the glory of the Papacy, and, above all, his own power. He excites the Chatelain of Musso against the Grisons—Duke George of Saxony against Duke John—the Bishop of Constance against the city—the Duke of Savoy against Berne—the Five Cantons against Zurich—and the bishops of the Rhine against the landgrave; then, when the confusion shall have become general, he will fall upon Germany, will offer himself as a mediator, and ensnare princes and cities by fine speeches, until he has them all under his feet. Alas! what discord, what disasters, under the pretence of re-establishing the empire and restoring religion!"¹ Zwingli went farther. The reformer of a small town in Switzerland, rising to the most astonishing political conceptions, called for a European alliance against such fatal designs. The son of a peasant of the Tockenburg held up his head against the heir of so many crowns. "That man must either be a

¹ *Quæ dissidia, quas turbas, quæ mala, quas clades!* (Zw. Epp. ii. 429.)

traitor or a coward," wrote he to a senator of Constance, "who is content to stretch and yawn, when he ought to be collecting men and arms on every side, to convince the emperor that in vain he tries to re-establish the Romish faith, to enslave the free cities, and to subdue the Helvetians.¹ He showed us only six months ago how he would proceed. To-day he will take one city in hand, to-morrow another; and so, step by step, until they are all reduced. Then their arms will be taken away, their treasures, their machines of war, and all their power..... Arouse Lindau and all your neighbours; if they do not awake, public liberty will perish under the pretext of religion. We must place no confidence in the friendship of tyrants. Demosthenes teaches us that there is nothing so hateful in their eyes as *την των πολεων ελευθεριαν*.² The emperor with one hand offers us bread, but in the other he conceals a stone."³ And a few months later Zwingli wrote to his friends in Constance: "Be bold; fear not the schemes of Charles. The razor will cut him who is sharpening it."⁴

Away, then, with delay! Should they wait until Charles the Fifth claimed the ancient castle of Hapsburg? The papacy and the empire, it was said at Zurich, are so confounded together,⁵ that one cannot exist or perish without the other. Whoever rejects Popery should reject the empire, and whoever rejects the emperor should reject the pope.

It appears that Zwingli's thoughts even went beyond a simple resistance. When once the Gospel had ceased to be his principal study, there was nothing that could arrest him. "A single individual," said he, "must not take it into his head to dethrone a tyrant; this would be a revolt, and the kingdom of God commands peace, righteousness, and joy. But if a whole people with common accord, or if the majority at least, rejects him, without committing any excess, it is God himself who

¹ Romanam fidem restituere, urbes liberas capere, Helvetios in ordinem cogere. (Zw. Epp. ii. March 1530.)

² "The freedom of cities." These words are in Greek in the original.

³ Caesar altera manu panem ostentat, altera lapidem celat. (Zw. Epp. March 1530.)

⁴ Incidet in cotem aliquando novacula. (Ibid. 544.)

⁵ Bapst und Keyserthumen habend sich dermassen in einandern geflickt. (Bull. ii. 343.)

acts."¹ Charles V. was at that time a tyrant in Zwingli's eyes; and the reformer hoped that Europe, awakening at length from its long slumber, would be the hand of God to hurl him from his throne.

Never since the time of Demosthenes and of the two Catos had the world seen a more energetic resistance to the power of its oppressors. Zwingli in a political point of view is one of the greatest characters of modern times: we must pay him this honour, which is, perhaps, for a minister of God, the greatest reproach. Everything was prepared in his mind to bring about a revolution that would have changed the history of Europe. He knew what he desired to substitute in place of the power he wished to overthrow. He had already cast his eyes upon the prince who was to wear the imperial crown instead of Charles. It was his friend the landgrave. "Most gracious prince," wrote he on the 2d November 1529, "if I write to you as a child to a father, it is because I hope that God has chosen you for great events.....I dare think, but I dare not speak of them².....However, we must bell the cat at last.³.....All that I can do with my feeble means to manifest the truth, to save the universal Church, to augment your power and the power of those who love God—with God's help, I will do." Thus was this great man led astray. It is the will of God that there be spots even in those who shine brightest in the eyes of the world, and that only one upon earth shall say—"Which of you convinceth me of sin?" We are now viewing the faults of the Reformation: they arise from the union of religion with politics. I could not take upon myself to pass them by; the recollection of the errors of our predecessors is perhaps the most useful legacy they have bequeathed to us.

It appears that already at Marburg Zwingli and the landgrave had drawn out the first sketch of a general alliance against Charles V. The landgrave had undertaken to bring over the princes, Zwingli the free cities of Southern Germany and Switzerland. He went still further, and formed a plan of

¹ So ist es mit Gott. (Zw. Opp.)

² Spero Deum te ad magnas res.....quas quidem cogitare sed non dicere licet. (Zw. Epp. ii. 666.)

³ Sed fieri non potest quin tintinnabulum aliquando feli adnectatur. (Ibid.)

gaining over to this league the republics of Italy—the powerful Venice at least—that she might detain the emperor beyond the Alps, and prevent him from leading all his forces into Germany. Zwingli, who had earnestly pleaded against all foreign alliances, and proclaimed on so many occasions that the only ally of the Swiss should be the arm of the Almighty, began now to look around for what he had condemned, and thus prepared the way for the terrible judgment that was about to strike his family, his country, and his Church.

He had hardly returned from Marburg, and had made no official communication to the Great Council, when he obtained from the senate the nomination of an ambassador to Venice. Great men, after their first success, easily imagine that they can do everything. It was not a statesman who was charged with this mission, but one of Zwingli's friends, who had accompanied him into Germany, to the court of the future chief of the new empire—the Greek professor, Rodolph Collins, a bold and skilful man, and who knew Italian. Thus the Reform stretched its hands to the Doge and the Procurator of St. Marc. The Bible was not enough for it—it must have the *Golden Book*: never did a greater humiliation befall God's work. The opinion which Protestants then entertained of Venice may, however, partly excuse Zwingli. There was in that city more independence of the pope, more freedom of thought, than in all the rest of Italy. Luther himself about this time wrote to Gabriel Zwilling, pastor at Torgau: "With what joy do I learn what you write to me concerning the Venetians. God be praised and glorified, for that they have received his Word!"¹

Collins was admitted, on the 26th December, to an audience with the doge and senate, who looked with an air of astonishment at this schoolmaster, this strange ambassador, without attendants, and without parade. They could not even understand his credentials, in so singular a style were they drawn up, and Collins was forced to explain their meaning. "I am come to you," said he, "in the name of the council of Zurich

¹ *Lætus audio de Venetis quæ scribis: quod verbum Dei receperint, Deo gratia ac gloria.* (7th March 1528. L. Epp. iii. 289.)

and of the cities of the Christian co-burghery—free cities like Venice, and to which common interests should unite you. The power of the emperor is formidable to republics; he is aiming at a universal monarchy in Europe; if he succeeds, all the free states will perish. We must therefore check him."¹ The doge replied that the republic had just concluded an alliance with the emperor, and betrayed the distrust that so mysterious a mission excited in the Venetian senate. But afterwards, in a private conference,² the doge, wishing to preserve a retreat on both sides, added, that Venice gratefully received the message from Zurich, and that a Venetian regiment, armed and paid by the republic itself, should be always ready to support the evangelical Swiss. The chancellor, covered with his purple robe, attended Collins to the door, and, at the very gates of the ducal palace, confirmed the promise of support. The moment the Reformation passed the magnificent porticos of St. Marc it was seized with giddiness; it could but stagger onwards to the abyss. They dismissed poor Collins by placing in his hands a present of twenty crowns. The rumour of these negotiations soon spread abroad, and the less suspicious, Capito for example, shook their heads, and could see in this pretended agreement nothing but the accustomed perfidy of Venice.³

This was not enough. The cause of the Reform was fated to drink the cup of degradation to the very dregs. Zwingli, seeing that his adversaries in the empire increased daily in numbers and in power, gradually lost his ancient aversion for France; and, although there was now a greater obstacle than before between him and Francis I.,—the blood of his brethren shed by that monarch,—he showed himself favourably disposed to a union that he had once so forcibly condemned.⁴

Lambert Maigret, a French general, who appears to have had

¹ Formidandam rebus-publicis potentiam Caesaris, quæ omnino ad Europæ monarchiam vergit. (Zw. Epp. ii. 445.)

² Postea privatim alia respondisse. (Ibid.)

³ Perfidiam adversus Casarem, fidem videri volunt. (Capito, Ibid.)

⁴ Let us remember that such was the persuasion among the Reformed, that Francis I. was not really and from conviction opposed to them—that not only did Calvin dedicate his "Institutes" to him, but Beza gave his portrait a place amongst his *Icons*.—D. D. s.

some leaning to the Gospel—which is a slight excuse for Zwingli—entered into correspondence with the reformer, giving him to understand that the secret designs of Charles V. called for an alliance between the king of France and the Swiss republics. “Apply yourself,” said this diplomatist to him in 1530, “to a work so agreeable to our Creator, and which, by God’s grace, will be very easy to your mightiness.”¹ Zwingli was at first astonished at these overtures. “The king of France,” thought he, “cannot know which way to turn.”² Twice he took no heed of this prayer; but the envoy of Francis I. insisted that the reformer should communicate to him a plan of alliance. At the third attempt of the ambassador, the simple child of the Tockenbourg mountains could no longer resist his advances. If Charles V. must fall, it cannot be without French assistance; and why should not the Reformation contract an alliance with Francis I., the object of which would be to establish a power in the empire that should in its turn oblige the king to tolerate the Reform in his own dominions? Everything seemed to meet the wishes of Zwingli; the fall of the tyrant was at hand, and he would drag the pope along with him. He communicated the general’s overtures to the secret council, and Collins set out, commissioned to bear the required project to the French ambassador.³ “In ancient times,” it ran, “no kings or people ever resisted the Roman empire with such firmness as those of France and Switzerland. Let us not degenerate from the virtues of our ancestors. His most Christian Majesty—all whose wishes are that the purity of the Gospel may remain undefiled⁴—engages therefore to conclude an alliance with the Christian co-burghery that shall be in accordance with the Divine law, and that shall be submitted to the censure of the evangelical theologians of Switzerland.” Then followed an outline of the different articles of the treaty.

Lanzerant, another of the king’s envoys, replied the same

¹ *Operi Creatori nostro acceptissimo, Dominationi tuæ facillimo, media gratia Dei.* (Zw. Epp. ii. 413.)

² *Regem admodum desperare et inopem concilii esse, ut nesciat quo se vertat.* (Ibid. 414.)

³ *Bis negavi, at tertio misi, non sine conscientia Probularum.* (Ibid. 422.)

⁴ *Nihil enim æqui esse in votis Christianissimi Regis, atque ut Evangelii puritas illibata permaneat.* (Ibid. 417.)

day (27th February) to this astonishing project of alliance about to be concluded between the reformed Swiss and the persecutor of the French reformed, *under reserve of the censure of the theologians*..... This was not what France desired: it was Lombardy, and not the Gospel that the king wanted. For that purpose, he needed the support of all the Swiss. But an alliance which ranged the Roman Catholic cantons against him, would not suit him. Being satisfied, therefore, for the present with knowing the sentiments of Zurich, the French envoys began to look coolly upon the reformer's scheme. "The matters you have submitted to us are admirably drawn up," said Lanzerant to the Swiss commissioner, "but I can scarcely understand them, no doubt because of the weakness of my mind..... We must not put any seed into the ground, unless the soil be properly prepared for it."

Thus, the Reform acquired nothing but shame from these propositions. Since it had forgotten these precepts of the Word of God: "Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers!"¹ how could it fail to meet with striking reverses? Already, Zwingli's friends began to abandon him. The landgrave, who had pushed him into this diplomatic career, drew towards Luther, and sought to check the Swiss reformer, particularly after this saying of Erasmus had sounded in the ears of the great: "They ask us to open our gates, crying aloud—the Gospel! the Gospel!..... Raise the cloak, and under its mysterious folds you will find—democracy."

While the Reform, by its culpable proceedings, was calling down the chastisement of Heaven, the Five Cantons, that were to be the instruments of its punishment, accelerated with all their might those fatal days of anger and of vengeance. They were irritated at the progress of the Gospel throughout the confederation, while the peace they had signed became every day more irksome to them. "We shall have no repose," said they, "until we have broken these bonds and regained our former liberty."² A general diet was convoked at Baden for the 8th January, 1531. The Five cantons then declared that

¹ 2 Cor. vi. 14.

² Nitt ruwen biss sy der banden ledig. (Bull. ii. 324.)

if justice was not done to their grievances, particularly with respect to the abbey of St. Gall, they would no more appear in diet.¹ "Confederates of Glaris, Schaffhausen, Friburg, Soleure, and Appenzell," cried they, "aid us in making our ancient alliances respected, or we will ourselves contrive the means of checking this guilty violence; and may the Holy Trinity assist us in this work!"²

They did not confine themselves to threats. The treaty of peace had expressly forbidden all insulting language—"for fear," it said, "that by insults and calumnies, discord should again be excited, and greater troubles than the former should arise." Thus was concealed in the treaty itself the spark whence the conflagration was to proceed. In fact, to restrain the rude tongues of the Waldstettes was impossible. Two

¹ The author leaves it to be inferred that the grievances complained of by the Five Cantons really existed. Now Ruchat gives, at p. 353 of his 2d vol., a categorical statement of the alleged grievances, and follows it up immediately with what appear satisfactory answers on the part of Zurich to all the charges adduced. To save space I subjoin the latter only, the more as they indicate what the grievances were. "I. That this treaty bore that the subjects of the abbot of St. Gall were to be delivered from the things they complained of; that Lucerne and Schwytz had always delayed doing so; but that Zurich and Glaris had executed it (the deliverance agreed upon). That thus as the Lucerne captain had shown no wish to comply with the regulations that had been made for that country, Zurich ought not to be blamed for it. II. That according to the same treaty, full power was to be left to the churches of the common lordships to regulate among themselves the matter of religion, and that the mass and images were not to be restored after being abolished. That Zurich observed that part of it also. That in regard to civil matters, they submitted to the plurality of votes. But if they wanted to decide among themselves, by a plurality of votes, the affairs of religion, which the churches should have regulated for them; it would be easily seen that no regard would be had to the plurality of the votes of the churches, and that the treaty of peace would be entirely violated. III. That as for the affair of the Rheinthal, their answer was that it had nothing to do with religion, but with a formal disobedience on the part of the peasantry, who refused to submit to the court to whose jurisdiction they belonged, and to pay their dues. In fine, as these sorts of things had been regulated, or even explained in the treaty of peace, according to the strictest principles of justice (*à rigueur de droit*), after its ratification they thought it unreasonable to wish that they should be opened up anew." Here Ruchat's authority is Hottinger.

Now the reader will mark that so far from trampling on treaties, Zurich complains that while it had rigorously complied with them, the Five Cantons had first broken them and then wished to open them up anew; and, moreover, that so far from the civil power, as the author has alleged, having usurped authority over the churches, Zurich, under the government of its Reformed magistracy, protested in favour of the churches being left to regulate religious matters by a majority of their own votes, instead of being subjected to a majority of civil votes.

But the Zurichers did not confine themselves to setting forth the above allegations in their defence, they charged the Five Cantons with manifest infractions of the treaty, and "with brutal and gross insolences and insults."—D. N. S.

² Darzu helfe uns die helig dryfaltikeit. (Bull. ii. 330.)

Zurichers, the aged prior Ravensbühler, and the pensioner Gaspard Gödli, who had been compelled to renounce, the one his convent, and the other his pension, especially aroused the anger of the people against their native city. They used to say everywhere in these valleys, and with impunity, that the Zurichers were heretics; that there was not one of them who did not indulge in unnatural sins, and who was not a robber at the very least;¹ that Zwingli was a thief, a murderer, and an arch-heretic; and that, on one occasion at Paris (where he had never been), he had committed a horrible offence, in which Leo Juda had been his pander.² "I shall have no rest," said a pensioner, "until I have thrust my sword up to the hilt in the heart of this impious wretch." Old commanders of troops, who were feared by all on account of their unruly character; the satellites who followed in their train; insolent young people, sons of the first persons in the state, who thought everything lawful against miserable preachers and their stupid flocks; priests inflamed with hatred, and treading in the footsteps of these old captains and giddy young men, who seemed to take the pulpit of a church for the bench of a pot-house: all poured torrents of insults on the Reform and its adherents. "The townspeople," exclaimed with one accord these drunken soldiers and fanatic priests, "are heretics, soul-stealers, conscience-slayers, and Zwingli—that horrible man, who commits infamous sins—is the *Lutheran God*."³

They went still further. Passing from words to deeds, the Five Cantons persecuted the poor people among them who loved the Word of God, flung them into prison, imposed fines upon them, brutally tormented them, and mercilessly expelled them from their country. The people of Schwytz did even worse. Not fearing to announce their sinister designs, they appeared at a landsgemeinde wearing pine branches in their hats, in sign of war, and no one opposed them. "The Abbot of St. Gall," said they, "is a prince of the empire, and holds his investiture from the emperor. Do they imagine that Charles V. will not

¹ Es were kein Zurycher er hätte chuy und merchen gehygt. (Bull. ii. 336.)

² Alls der zu Parys ein Esel gehygt; und habe imm Leo Jud denselben gehept. (Ibid.)

³ Der lutherischen Gott. (Ibid. 337.)

avenge him?"—"Have not these heretics," said others, "dared to form a *Christian fraternity*, as if old Switzerland was a heathen country?" Secret councils were continually held in one place or another.¹ New alliances were sought with the Valais, the pope, and the emperor²—blamable alliances, no doubt, but such as they might at least justify by the proverb: "Birds of a feather go together;" which Zurich and Venice could not say.³

The Valaisans at first refused their support: they preferred remaining neuter; but on a sudden their fanaticism was inflamed. A sheet of paper was found on an altar—such at least was the report circulated in the valleys—in which Zurich and Berne were accused of preaching that to commit an offence against nature is a smaller crime than to hear mass!⁴ Who had placed this mysterious paper on the altar? Came it from

¹ Radschlagtend und tagentend heymlich v. c. (Bull. ii. 336.)

² Nüwe fründschaften, by den Walliseren, dem Bapst, und den Keysserischen. (Ibid.)

³ Irrespective altogether of religion, we find from the author's own statements that the state of things in Switzerland was such that Zurich had either to abdicate its office as a government charged with the protection of its subjects, or to take measures for their protection. I do not suppose the author would maintain that it was called to do the first, but in doing the second it appears that he would have had it to act as a church, not as a state. It was to make no alliance with any other government not purely Christian. This may have been most desirable but certainly was not very practicable, and was most remote from the author's general opinions on the subject, as he inculcates the essential difference between church and state, assigning a purely spiritual character to the one, a purely secular character to the other. To protect large communities as well as individuals from such a horrible extermination as Rome constantly plotted, and here and there succeeded in executing, against those who in their public or private character chose to cast off her authority for that of the Bible, was surely as legitimate an object as the suppression at the present day of the Slave trade. Yet the British empire and the French monarchy are engaged in joint efforts for accomplishing that object which I presume the author would be the first to applaud. Why then should he blame a coalition between Venice and Zurich, or between France and Zurich, for the arrest of the imperial and papal powers in their joint enterprises against the independence of Europe and the lives of its Reformed inhabitants? To pray and to look to God for aid, to avoid intimate union with unbelievers, I believe to be the duty of states as well as individuals, and the Zurich government would have been extremely culpable had it neglected the former, or had it offered to coalesce with Venice and France on terms that would have compromised its own Christianity. But the course it pursued seems liable to neither objection. It was simply that of a man who, requiring the assistance of others to extinguish a fire or to prevent a murder, does not think it necessary to allow the house to be burnt down or his neighbour's life to be taken, because he can find no real Christian at hand to help him to prevent such results. He naturally and properly will take the best assistance he can find.—D. D. S.

⁴ Ut si quis rem obscenam cum jumento sive bove habeat, minus peccare quam si missam inaudiat. (Zw. Epp. p. 610.)

man? Did it fall from heaven?.....They know not; but however that might be, it was copied, circulated, and read everywhere; and the effects of this fable, invented by some villain, says Zwingli,¹ was such that Valais immediately granted the support it had at first refused. The Waldstettes, proud of their strength, then closed their ranks; their fierce eyes menaced the heretical cantons; and the winds bore from their mountains to their neighbours of the towns a formidable clang of arms.

At the sight of these alarming manifestations the evangelical cities were in commotion. They first assembled at Basel in February 1531, then at Zurich in March. "What is to be done?" said the deputies from Zurich, after setting forth their grievances; "how can we punish these infamous calumnies, and force these threatening arms to fall?"—"We understand," replied Berne, "that you would have recourse to violence; but think of these secret and formidable alliances that are forming with the pope, the emperor, the king of France, with so many princes, in a word with all the priests' party. to accelerate our ruin;—think on the innocence of so many pious souls in the Five Cantons, who deplore these perfidious machinations;—think how easy it is to begin a war, but that no one can tell when it will end."² Sad foreboding! which a catastrophe, beyond all human foresight, accomplished but too soon. "Let us therefore send a deputation to the Five Cantons," continued Berne; "let us call upon them to punish these infamous calumnies in accordance with the treaty; and if they refuse, let us break off all intercourse with them."—"What will be the use of this mission?" asked Basel. "Do we not know the brutality of this people? And is it not to be feared that the rough treatment to which our deputies will be exposed, may make the matter worse? Let us rather convoke a general diet." Schaffhausen and St. Gall having concurred in this opinion, Berne summoned a diet at Baden for the 10th April, at which deputies from all the cantons were assembled.

Many of the principal men among the Waldstettes disap-

¹ *Perfidorum ac sceleratorum hominum commentum.* (Zw. Epp. p. 610.)

² *Aber sin end und ussag möchte nieman bald wissen.* (Bull. ii. 346.)

proved of the violence of the retired soldiers and of the monks. They saw that these continually repeated insults would injure their cause. "The insults of which you complain," said they to the diet, "afflict us no less than you. We shall know how to punish them, and we have already done so. But there are violent men on both sides. The other day a man of Basel having met on the highroad a person who was coming from Berne, and having learnt that he was going to Lucerne:—'To go from Berne to Lucerne,' exclaimed he, 'is passing from a father to an arrant knave!'" The mediating cantons invited the two parties to banish every cause of discord.

But the war of the Chatelain of Musso having then broken out, Zwingli and Zurich, who saw in it the first act of a vast conspiracy, destined to stifle the Reform in every place, called their allies together. "We must waver no longer," said Zwingli; "the rupture of the alliance on the part of the Five Cantons, and the unheard-of insults with which they load us, impose upon us the obligation of marching against our enemies,¹ before the emperor, who is still detained by the Turks, shall have expelled the landgrave, seized upon Strasburg, and subjugated even ourselves." All the blood of the ancient Swiss seemed to boil in this man's veins; and while Uri, Schwytz, and Unterwalden basely kissed the hand of Austria, this Zurich—the greatest Helvetian of the age—faithful to the memory of old Switzerland, but not so to still holier traditions, followed in the glorious steps of Stauffacher and Winkelried.

The warlike tone of Zurich alarmed its confederates. Basel proposed a summons, and then, in case of refusal, the rupture of the alliance. Schaffhausen and St. Gall were frightened even at this step: "The mountaineers, so proud, indomitable, and exasperated," said they, "will accept with joy the dissolution of the confederation, and then shall we be more advanced?" Such was the posture of affairs, when, to the great astonishment of all, deputies from Uri and Schwytz made their appearance. They were coldly received; the cup of honour was not offered to them; and they had to walk, according to their own account, in the midst of the insulting cries of the people. They

¹ Sy gwaltig ze überziehen. (Bull. ii. 366.)

unsuccessfully endeavoured to excuse their conduct. "We have long been waiting," was the cold reply of the diet, "to see your actions and your words agree."¹ The men of Schwytz and of Uri returned in sadness to their homes; and the assembly broke up, full of sorrow and distress.

Zwingli beheld with pain the deputies of the evangelical towns separating without having come to any decision. He no longer desired only a reformation of the Church; he wished for a transformation in the confederacy; and it was this latter reform that he now was preaching from the pulpit, according to what we learn from Bullinger.² He was not the only person who desired it. For a long time the inhabitants of the most populous and powerful towns of Switzerland had complained that the Waldstettes, whose contingent of men and money was much below theirs, had an equal share in the deliberations of the diet, and in the fruits of their victories. This had been the cause of division after the Burgundian war. The Five Cantons, by means of their adherents, had the majority. Now Zwingli thought that the reins of Switzerland should be placed in the hands of the great cities, and, above all, in those of the powerful cantons of Berne and Zurich. New times, in his opinion, called for new forms. It was not sufficient to dismiss from every public office the pensioners of foreign princes, and substitute pious men in their place; the federal compact must be remodelled, and settled upon a more equitable basis. A national constituent assembly would doubtless have responded to his wishes. These discourses, which were rather those of a tribune of the people than of a minister of Jesus Christ, hastened on the terrible catastrophe.

And indeed the animated words of the patriot reformer passed from the church where they had been delivered into the councils and the halls of the guilds, into the streets and the fields. The burning words that fell from this man's lips kindled the hearts of his fellow-citizens. The electric spark, escaping with noise and commotion, was felt even in the most distant

¹ Und wortt und werk mit einandern gangen werind. (Bull. ii. 367.)

² Trang gar hauftig uff eine gemeine Reformation gemeiner Eydenoschaft. (Ibid. 368.)

cottage. The ancient traditions of wisdom and prudence seemed forgotten. Public opinion declared itself energetically. On the 29th and 30th April, a number of horsemen rode hastily out of Zurich; they were envoys from the council, commissioned to remind all the allied cities of the encroachment of the Five Cantons, and to call for a prompt and definitive decision. Reaching their several destinations, the messengers recapitulated the grievances.¹ "Take care," said they in conclusion; "great dangers are impending over all of us. The emperor and King Ferdinand are making vast preparations; they are about to enter Switzerland with large sums of money, and with a numerous army."

Zurich joined actions to words. This state, being resolved to make every exertion to establish the free preaching of the Gospel in those bailiwicks where it shared the sovereignty with the Roman Catholic cantons, desired to interfere by force wherever negotiations could not prevail.² The federal rights, it must be confessed, were trampled under foot at St. Gall, in Thurgovia, in the Rheinthal; and Zurich substituted arbitrary decisions in their place, that excited the indignation of the Waldstettes to the highest degree. Thus the number of enemies to the Reform kept increasing; the tone of the Five Cantons became daily more threatening, and the inhabitants of the canton of Zurich, whom their business called into the mountains, were loaded with insults, and sometimes badly treated. These violent proceedings excited in turn the anger of the reformed cantons. Zwingli traversed Thurgovia, St. Gall, and the Tockenbourg,

¹ They are to be found in Bullinger, ii. 368-376.

² If this were so, the author has much better reason to argue from such a procedure, against the Zurichers, as attempting to propagate the gospel by the sword, than he will find in Zwingli's counselling war with the Waldstettes. It may be alleged, however, in defence of the Zurich government, that wherever the people seemed, as was so generally the case, eager to receive the gospel, there was but a show of justice in sacrificing their inalienable rights of conscience to any tyranny whatever, under pretence of maintaining the federal rights. If we are to adopt the maxim that whatever is, is right, no doubt Zurich ought to have refrained from intermeddling or innovating. But unfortunately much of what then was, was wrong; and it seemed intolerable that while any part of the government of the bailiwicks was, during any time, committed to Zurich, it should be compelled quietly to sanction the wrong. Indeed, it must in such cases have carried the majority of the people with it, as it is not to be supposed, that had its innovations depended for their permanence absolutely on an external and what might be called intermittent government, they would have given such offence.—D. D. S.

everywhere organizing synods, taking part in their proceedings, and preaching before excited and enthusiastic crowds. In all parts he met with confidence and respect. At St. Gall an immense crowd assembled under his windows, and a concert of voices and instruments expressed the public gratitude in harmonious songs.¹ "Let us not abandon ourselves," he repeated continually, "and all will go well." It was resolved that a meeting should be held at Arau on the 12th May, to deliberate on a posture of affairs that daily became more critical. This meeting was to be the beginning of sorrows.

CHAPTER V.

Diet of Arau—Helvetic Unity—Berne proposes to close the Markets—Opposition of Zurich—Proposition agreed to and published—Zwingli's War Sermon—Blockade of the Waldstettes—No Bread, no Wine, no Salt—Indignation of the Forest Cantons—The Roads blockaded—Processions—Cry of despair—France tries to conciliate—Diet at Bremgarten—Hope—The Cantons inflexible—The Strength of Zurich broken—Discontent—Zwingli's false Position—Zwingli demands his Dismission—The Council remonstrate—He remains—Zwingli at Bremgarten—Zwingli's Farewell to Bullinger—Zwingli's Agony—The Forest Cantons reject all Conciliation—Frightful Omens—The Comet—Zwingli's Tranquillity.

ZWINGLI's scheme with regard to the establishment of a new Helvetic constitution did not prevail in the diet of Arau. Perhaps it was thought better to see the result of the crisis. Perhaps a more Christian, a more federal view—the hope of procuring the unity of Switzerland by unity of faith—occupied men's minds more than the pre-eminence of the cities. In truth, if a certain number of cantons remained with the pope, the unity of the confederation was destroyed, it might be for ever. But if all the confederation was brought over to the same faith, the ancient Helvetic unity would be established on the strongest and surest foundation. Now was the time for acting—or never; and there must be no fear of employing a violent remedy to restore the whole body to health.

¹ And yet one would suppose from the general strain of the author's remarks, that it was not by conviction, but by the sword and by compulsion, that the Swiss left Rome for the Reformation under Zwingli.—D. D. S.

Nevertheless, the allies shrank back at the thought of restoring religious liberty or political unity by means of arms; and to escape from the difficulties in which the confederation was placed, they sought a middle course between war and peace. "There is no doubt," said the deputies from Berne, "that the behaviour of the cantons with regard to the Word of God fully authorizes an armed intervention; but the perils that threaten us on the side of Italy and the empire—the danger of arousing the lion from his slumber—the general want and misery that afflict our people—the rich harvests that will soon cover our fields, and which the war would infallibly destroy—the great number of pious men among the Waldstettes, and whose innocent blood would flow along with that of the guilty:—all these motives enjoin us to leave the sword in the scabbard. Let us rather close our markets against the Five Cantons; let us refuse them corn, salt, wine, steel, and iron; we shall thus impart authority to the friends of peace¹ among them, and innocent blood will be spared."² The meeting separated forthwith to carry this intermediate proposition to the different evangelical cantons; and on the 15th May again assembled at Zurich.

Convinced that the means apparently the most violent were nevertheless both the surest and the most humane, Zurich resisted the Bernese proposition with all its might. "By accepting this proposition," said they, "we sacrifice the advantages that we now possess, and we give the Five Cantons time to arm themselves, and to fall upon us first. Let us take care that the emperor does not then assail us on one side, while our ancient confederates attack us on the other; a just war is not in opposition to the Word of God; but this is contrary to it—taking the bread from the mouths of the innocent as well as the

¹ It is evident that the Bernese had no idea of the desperate antipathy of their neighbours to the gospel, or rather, perhaps, of the tremendous power wielded by a selfish and cunning priesthood over a superstitious people. They never dreamt of the resistance to reason and humanity proving so obstinate, as to entail extreme physical sufferings on the old, the young, and the weak, rather than yield to their dictates. They never calculated on exciting in the Waldstettes that fierce and dogged resentment which Zwingli's better knowledge of human nature enabled him to foresee, and which led him so warmly to prefer open war, or the direct punishment by the state of evil-doers, and thus the procuring of peace to the oppressed.

—D. D. S.

² Und dadurch unshuldiez Blüt erspart wurde. (Bull. ii. 383.)

guilty; straitening by hunger the sick, the aged, pregnant women, children, and all who are deeply afflicted by the injustice of the Waldstettes.¹ We should beware of exciting by this means the anger of the poor, and transforming into enemies many who at the present time are our friends and our brothers!"

We must acknowledge that this language, which was Zwingli's, contained much truth. But the other cantons, and Berne in particular, were immovable. "When we have once shed the blood of our brothers," said they, "we shall never be able to restore life to those who have lost it; while, from the moment the Waldstettes have given us satisfaction, we shall be able to put an end to all these severe measures. We are resolved not to begin the war." There were no means of running counter to such a declaration. The Zurichers consented to refuse supplies to the Waldstettes; but it was with hearts full of anguish, as if they had foreseen all that this deplorable measure would cost them.² It was agreed that the severe step that was now about to be taken should not be suspended except by common consent, and that, as it would create great exasperation, each one should hold himself prepared to repel the attacks of the enemy. Zurich and Berne were commissioned to notify this determination to the Five Cantons; and Zurich, discharging its task with promptitude, immediately forwarded an order to every bailiwick to suspend all communication with the Waldstettes, commanding them at the same time to abstain from ill usage and hostile language. Thus the Reformation, becoming imprudently mixed up with political combinations, marched from fault to fault; it pretended to preach the Gospel to the poor, and was now about to refuse them bread!³

On the Sunday following—it was Whitsunday—the resolution was published from the pulpits. Zwingli walked towards his, where an immense crowd was waiting for him. The piercing eye of this great man easily discovered the dangers of the mea-

¹ Krauke, alte, shwangere wyber, kinder und sunst betrubte. (Bull. ii. 384.)

² Schmerzlich und kummersachlich. (Ibid. 386.)

³ State this correctly and the impression produced by it is very different. "Thus the government of Zurich, unhappily called to maintain the cause of the oppressed, was constrained to employ the harshest measures, in order, without war, to open the preaching of the gospel to the poor."—D. D. S.

sure in a political point of view, and his Christian heart deeply felt all its cruelty. His soul was overburdened, his eyes down-cast. If at this moment the true character of a minister of the Gospel had awoke within him;—if Zwingli with his powerful voice had called on the people to humiliation before God, to forgiveness of trespasses, and to prayer, safety might yet have dawned on “broken-hearted” Switzerland. But it was not so.¹ More and more the Christian disappears in the reformer, and the citizen alone remains; but in that character he soars far above all, and his policy is undoubtedly the most skilful. He saw clearly that every delay may ruin Zurich; and after having made his way through the congregation, and closed the book of the Prince of Peace, he hesitated not to attack the resolution which he had just communicated to the people, and on the very festival of the Holy Ghost to preach war. “He who fears not to call his adversary a criminal,” said he in his usual forcible language, “must be ready to follow the word with a blow.² If he does not strike, he will be stricken. Men of Zurich! you deny food to the Five Cantons, as to evil doers; well! let the blow follow the threat, rather than reduce poor innocent creatures to starvation. If, by not taking the offensive, you appear to believe that there is not sufficient reason for punishing the Waldstettes, and yet you refuse them food and drink, you will force them by this line of conduct to take up arms, to raise their hands, and to inflict punishment upon you. This is the fate that awaits you.”

These words of the eloquent reformer moved the whole assembly. Zwingli's politic mind already so influenced and misled all the people, that there were few souls Christian enough to feel how strange it was, that on the very day when they

¹ Is the author so sure that it was not so? I apprehend that no one who is at all familiar with Zwingli's writings, who considers his words when he offered to leave Zurich, as related a few pages further on, and his prayers as he passed from Zurich to Capel on the memorable day of his death, can for a moment suppose that he did not call on his fellow-citizens “to humiliation before God, to forgiveness of trespasses, and to prayer.” The author complains that the Christian disappears in the Reformer, and the citizen alone remains. But this disappearance of the Christian in the citizen, is quite a modern phenomenon, and never could have been manifested by one who, like Zwingli, made his Christian principles influence his *whole* conduct, both public, private, and ecclesiastical.—D. D. S.

² Das er wortt und faust mitt einander gan lasse. (Bull. ii. 388.)

were celebrating the outpouring of the Spirit of peace and love upon the Christian Church, the mouth of a minister of God should utter a provocation to war. They looked at this sermon only in a political point of view: "It is a seditious discourse; it is an excitement to civil war!"¹ said some. "No," replied others, "it is the language that the safety of the state requires!" All Zurich was agitated. "Zurich has too much fire," said Berne. "Berne has too much cunning," replied Zurich.² Zwingli's gloomy prophecy was too soon to be fulfilled.

No sooner had the reformed cantons communicated this pitiless decree to the Waldstettes than they hastened its execution; and Zurich showed the greatest strictness respecting it. Not only the markets of Zurich and of Berne, but also those of the free bailiwicks of St. Gall, of the Tockenbourg, of the district of Sargans and of the valley of the Rhine, a country partly under the sovereignty of the Waldstettes, were shut against the Five Cantons. A formidable power had suddenly encompassed with barrenness, famine, and death the noble founders of Helvetian liberty. Uri, Schwytz, Unterwalden, Zug, and Lucerne, were, as it seemed, in the midst of a vast desert. Their own subjects, thought they at least, the communes that have taken the oath of allegiance to them, would range themselves on their side! But no; Bremgarten, and even Mellingen, refused all succour. Their last hope was in Wesen and the Gastal. Neither Berne nor Zurich had anything to do there; Schwytz

¹ There is a perverseness of reasoning against Zwingli here which one finds it difficult to reconcile with the author's general view of his character. So far from the Reformer's address being opposed to the spirit of peace and love, had it been other than it was, it would have been liable to that charge. For what were his grand reasons for war; first, because it was right for governments such as those of Zurich and Berne, who according to the word of God had a Divine commission to wield the sword against evil doers, that the Five Cantons should not be allowed to oppress and murder the innocent; it was as *criminals*, not adversaries, they were regarded. Secondly, because however really merciful as well as just it would be to take this severe step, the starving out of the inhabitants of the mountains, male and female, young and old, was at once unmerciful and unjust. It was war directed against the innocent as well as the guilty, and in its direst form. So far too from being expedient, it could not but have the effect of diverting the minds of the Five Cantons from a candid consideration of the wrongs they were inflicting on persons whose sole fault was fidelity to their convictions, and of concentrating all their feelings in one desperate determination to revenge what must have appeared a piece of inhuman policy.—D. D. S.

² It was Zwingli who thus characterized the two cities:—

Bern: klage Zurich wäre zu hitzig;

Zurich: Berne wäre zu witzig.—Stettler.

and Glaris alone ruled over them; but the power of their enemies had penetrated everywhere. A majority of thirteen votes had declared in favour of Zurich at the landsgemeinde of Glaris; and Glaris closed the gates of Wesen and of the Gastal against Schwytz. In vain did Berne itself cry out: "How can you compel subjects to refuse supplies to their lords?" In vain did Schwytz raise its voice in indignation; Zurich immediately sent to Wesen—gunpowder and bullets. It was upon Zurich, therefore, that fell all the odium of a measure which that city had at first so earnestly combated. At Arau, at Bremgarten, at Mellingen, in the free bailiwicks, were several carriages laden with provisions for the Waldstettes. They were stopped, unloaded, and upset: with them barricades were erected on the roads leading to Lucerne, Schwytz, and Zug. Already a year of dearth had made provisions scarce in the Five Cantons;—already had a frightful epidemic, the *Sweating Sickness*, scattered everywhere despondency and death: but now the hand of man was joined to the hand of God; the evil increased, and the poor inhabitants of these mountains beheld unheard-of calamities approach with hasty steps. No more bread for their children—no more wine to revive their exhausted strength—no more salt for their flocks and herds! Everything failed them that man requires for subsistence.¹ One could not see such things, and be a man, without feeling his heart wrung. In the confederate cities, and out of Switzerland, numerous voices were raised against this implacable measure. What good can result from it? Did not St. Paul write to the Romans: "If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink: for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head."² And when the magistrates wished to convince certain refractory communes of the utility of the measure: "We desire no religious war," cried they. "If the Waldstettes will not believe in God, let them stick to the devil!"

But it was especially in the Five Cantons that earnest complaints were heard. The most pacific individuals, and even

¹ Deshalb sey bald grossen mangel erlittend an allem dem das der Mensch gelaben soll. (Bull. ii. 396.)

² Ibid. Rom. xii. 20.

the secret partisans of the Reform, seeing famine invade their habitations, felt the deepest indignation. The enemies of Zurich skilfully took advantage of this disposition; they fostered these murmurs; and soon the cry of anger and distress re-echoed from all the mountains. In vain did Berne represent to the Waldstettes that it is more cruel to refuse men the nourishment of the soul than to cut off that of the body. "God," replied these mountaineers in their despair, "God causes the fruits of the earth to grow freely for all men!"¹ They were not content with groaning in their cottages, and venting their indignation in the councils; they filled all Switzerland with complaints and menaces.² "They wish to employ famine to tear us from our ancient faith; they wish to deprive our wives and our children of bread, that they may take from us the liberty we derive from our forefathers. When did such things ever take place in the bosom of the confederation? Did we not see, in the last war, the confederates with arms in their hands, and who were ready to draw the sword, eating together from the same dish? They tear in pieces old friendships—they trample our ancient manners under foot—they violate treaties—they break alliances.....We invoke the charters of our ancestors. Help! help!.....Wise men of our people, give us your advice, and all you who know how to handle the sling and the sword, come and maintain with us the sacred possessions, for which our fathers, delivered from the yoke of the stranger, united their arms and their hearts."

At the same time the Five Cantons sent into Alsace, Brisgau, and Swabia, to obtain salt, wine, and bread; but the administration of the cities was implacable; the orders were everywhere given and everywhere strictly executed. Zurich and the other allied cantons intercepted all communication, and sent back to Germany the supplies that had been forwarded to their brethren. The Five Cantons were like a vast fortress, all the issues from which are closely guarded by watchful sentinels. The afflicted Waldstettes, on beholding themselves alone with famine between their lakes and their mountains,

¹ Hartmann von Hallwyll to Albert of Mulinen, 7th August.

² Klagend sich allent halben wyt und breit. (Bull. ii. 397.)

had recourse to the observances of their worship. All sports, dances, and every kind of amusement were interdicted;¹ prayers were directed to be offered up; and long processions covered the roads of Einsidlen and other resorts of pilgrims. They assumed the belt, and staff, and arms of the brotherhood to which they each belonged; each man carried a chaplet in his hands, and repeated paternosters; the mountains and the valleys re-echoed with their plaintive hymns. But the Waldstettes did still more: they grasped their swords—they sharpened the points of their halberds—they brandished their weapons in the direction of Zurich and of Berne, and exclaimed with rage: “They block up their roads, but we will open them with our right arms!”² No one replied to this cry of despair; but there is a just Judge in heaven to whom vengeance belongs, and who will soon reply in a terrible manner, by punishing those misguided persons, who, forgetful of Christian mercy, and making an impious mixture of political and religious matters, pretend to secure the triumph of the Gospel by famine and by armed men.

Some attempts, however, were made to arrange matters; but these very efforts proved a great humiliation for Switzerland and for the Reform. It was not the ministers of the Gospel, it was France—more than once an occasion of discord to Switzerland—that offered to restore peace. Every proceeding calculated to increase its influence among the cantons was of service to its policy. On the 14th May, Maigret and Dangertin (the latter of whom had received the Gospel truth, and consequently did not dare return to France),³ after some allusions to the spirit which Zurich had shown in this affair—a spirit little in accordance with the Gospel—said to the council: “The king our master has sent you two gentlemen to consult on the means of preserving concord among you. If war and tumult invade Switzerland, all the society of the Helvetians will be destroyed,⁴ and whichever party is the conqueror, he will

¹ *Stelltent ab spielen, Tanzen.*—Tschudi der Capeller krieg, 1531. This MS. is attributed to Egidius Tschudi, who must have written it in 1533, in favour of the Five Cantons, and was printed in the “*Helvetia*,” vol. ii. 165.

² *Trowtend auch die Straassen uff zu thun mit gwalt.* (Bull. ii. 397.)

³ *Ep. Rugeri ad Bulling.*, 12th November 1560.

⁴ *Universa societas Helveticorum dilabatur, si tumultus et bellum inter eam eruperit.* (Zw. Epp. ii. 604.)

be as much ruined as the other." Zurich having replied that if the Five Cantons would allow the free preaching of the Word of God, the reconciliation would be easy, the French secretly sounded the Waldstettes, whose answer was: "We will never permit the preaching of the Word of God as the people of Zurich understand it."^{1 2}

These more or less interested exertions of the foreigners having failed, a general diet became the only chance of safety that remained for Switzerland. One was accordingly convoked at Bremgarten. It was opened in presence of deputies from France, from the duke of Milan, from the countess of Neuchâtel, from the Grisons, Valais, Thurgovia, and the district of Sargans; and met on five different occasions,—on the 14th and 20th June, on the 9th July, and the 10th and 23d August. The chronicler Bullinger, who was pastor of Bremgarten, delivered an oration at the opening, in which he earnestly exhorted the confederates to union and peace.

A gleam of hope for a moment cheered Switzerland. The blockade had become less strict; friendship and good neighbourhood had prevailed in many places over the decrees of the state. Unusual roads had been opened across the wildest mountains to convey supplies to the Waldstettes. Provisions were concealed in bales of merchandise; and while Lucerne imprisoned and tortured its own citizens, who were found with the pamphlets of the Zurichers,³ Berne punished but slightly the peasants who had been discovered bearing food for Unterwalden and Lucerne; and Glaris shut its eyes on the frequent violation of its orders.

¹ Responderunt verbi Dei prædicationem non laturos, quomodo nos intelligamus. (Zw. Epp. ii. 607.)

² This was their way of stating what in other words might have run thus: "Whoever shall bring the faith and the consolations of the Gospel to the perishing souls in our valleys shall, like Keyser, be committed to the flames." Atrocious as was the policy suggested by Berne, and adopted, against Zwingli's remonstrances, by Zurich, it is surely unworthy of an historian who might at least have been candid to the Reformed, to paint in such glowing terms the horrors of that policy, while he withdraws attention altogether from the criminality and cruelty of that of the popish cantons. Indeed, throughout the whole of this 16th Book of his History, we find the presence of a theory which he himself never clearly defines, and which could not possibly have been realized in the circumstances of Switzerland at the time, perverting his judgment, perplexing his reasonings, and leading him into descriptions which, from their unconscious partiality, have all the effect of deliberate misrepresentations.—D. D. S.

³ Warf sie in Gefängniß. (Bull. iii. 30.)

The voice of charity that had been momentarily stifled, pleaded with fresh energy the cause of their confederates before the reformed cantons.

But the Five Cantons were inflexible. "We will not listen to any proposition before the raising of the blockade," said they. "We will not raise it," replied Berne and Zurich, "before the Gospel is allowed to be freely preached, not only in the common bailiwicks, but also in the Five Cantons." This was undoubtedly going too far, even according to the natural law and the principles of the confederation. The councils of Zurich might consider it their duty to have recourse to war for maintaining liberty of conscience in the common bailiwicks; but it was unjust—it was a usurpation, to constrain the Five Cantons in a matter that concerned their own territory.¹ Nevertheless the mediators succeeded, not without much trouble, in drawing up a plan of conciliation that seemed to harmonize with the wishes of both parties. The conference was broken up, and this project was hastily transmitted to the different states for their ratification.

The diet met again a few days after; but the Five Cantons persisted in their demand, without yielding in any one point.

¹ This can be sound principle only under the idea that humanity is one-sided and justice blind to something besides bribes. Could the governments of Berne and Zurich justly or humanely homologate the outlawry and torture of the Christian brethren in the territory of the Five Cantons? It was an usurpation, it seems, to constrain the latter in a matter that concerned their own territory. And was it no usurpation to constrain the former in a matter that most certainly did concern their own territory, unless we are to suppose that their subjects had no human sympathies—no susceptibility of compassion—no capacity to feel pain on hearing that men and women were imprisoned and tortured for holding the Gospel in common with themselves. But all this is reasoning beside the point. The plain question addressed to the Five Cantons by Berne and Zurich was: "Are you resolved to be unjust, merciless, fiendish to innocent persons? If so, you can expect no interchange of kind offices with us. We must treat you as enemies, not to us only, but to the human race, until you cease to be so." Civilized nations have combined to treat slave-trading on the high seas as piracy; any protestation against this as an usurpation would be scouted by all men deserving the name of men, and so the combination of the Reformed Cantons against the atrocious procedure of the persecuting confederates receives an instant sanction from the unsophisticated voice of humanity, provided no gentler method could avail to arrest that bloody policy. War against fighting men was certainly far more humane than starvation directed against all, including old men and sucklings, women and children, who might have had no part in the evil that demanded such a check. And so far therefore from Zwingli departing, as the author repeatedly suggests, from his character as a man of peace, what he himself said was in one sense true, that the war he advised was really peace, and the peace recommended by others really war. To attack a whole nation is war; lawfully to punish the guilty part of it, is one of the duties of peace.—D. D. S.

In vain did Zurich and Berne represent to them, that, by persecuting the reformed, the cantons violated the treaty of peace; in vain did the mediators exhaust their strength in warnings and entreaties. The parties appeared at one time to approximate, and then on a sudden they were more distant and more irritated than ever. The Waldstettes at last broke up the third conference by declaring, that far from opposing the evangelical truth, they would maintain it, as it had been taught by the Redeemer, by his holy apostles, by the four doctors, and by their holy mother, the Church—a declaration that seemed a bitter irony to the deputies from Zurich and Berne. Nevertheless Berne, turning towards Zurich as they were separating, observed: "Beware of too much violence, even should they attack you!"

This exhortation was unnecessary. The strength of Zurich had passed away. The first appearance of the Reformation and of the reformers had been greeted with joy. The people, who groaned under a twofold slavery, believed they saw the dawn of liberty. But their minds, abandoned for ages to superstition and ignorance, being unable immediately to realize the hopes they had conceived, a spirit of discontent soon spread among the masses. The change by which Zwingli, ceasing to be a man of the Gospel, became the man of the State, took away from the people the enthusiasm necessary to resist the terrible attacks they would have to sustain. The enemies of the Reform had a fair chance against it, so soon as its friends abandoned the position that gave them strength. Besides, Christians could not have recourse to famine and to war to secure the triumph of the Gospel, without their consciences becoming troubled. The Zurichers "*walked not in the Spirit, but in the flesh; now, the works of the flesh are hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions.*"¹ The danger without was increasing, while within, hope, union, and courage were far from being augmented: men saw on the contrary the gradual disappearance of that harmony and lively faith which had been the strength of the Reform. The Reformation had grasped the sword, and that very sword pierced its heart.

¹ Galatians v. 19. 20.

Occasions of discord were multiplied in Zurich. By the advice of Zwingli, the number of nobles was diminished in the two councils, because of their opposition to the Gospel: and this measure spread discontent among the most honourable families of the canton. The millers and bakers were placed under certain regulations, which the dearth rendered necessary, and a great part of the townspeople attributed this proceeding to the sermons of the reformer, and became irritated against him. Rodolph Lavater, bailiff of Kibourg, was appointed captain-general, and the officers who were of longer standing than he were offended. Many who had been formerly the most distinguished by their zeal for the Reform, now openly opposed the cause they had supported. The ardour with which the ministers of peace demanded war spread in every quarter a smothered dissatisfaction, and many persons gave vent to their indignation. This unnatural confusion of Church and State, which had corrupted Christianity after the age of Constantine, was hurrying on the ruin of the Reformation. The majority of the Great Council, ever ready to adopt important and salutary resolutions, was destroyed. The old magistrates, who were still at the head of affairs, allowed themselves to be carried away by feelings of jealousy, against men whose non-official influence prevailed over theirs. All those who hated the doctrine of the Gospel, whether from love of the world or from love to the pope, boldly raised their heads in Zurich. The partisans of the monks, the friends of foreign service, the malcontents of every class, coalesced in pointing out Zwingli as the author of all the sufferings of the people.

Zwingli was heart-broken. He saw that Zurich and the Reformation were hastening to their ruin, and he could not check them. How could he do so, since, without suspecting it, he had been the principal accomplice in these disasters? What was to be done? Should the pilot remain in the ship which he is no longer permitted to save? There was but one means of safety for Zurich and for Zwingli. He should have retired from the political stage, and fallen back on that *kingdom which is not of this world*; he should, like Moses, have kept his hands and his heart night and day raised towards heaven, and ener-

getically preached repentance, faith, and peace. But religious and political matters were united in the mind of this great man by such old and dear ties, that it was impossible for him to distinguish their line of separation. This confusion had become his dominant idea; the Christian and the citizen were for him one and the same character; and hence it resulted, that all resources of the state—even cannons and arquebuses—were to be placed at the service of the Truth. When one peculiar idea thus seizes upon a man, we see a false conscience formed within him, which approves of many things condemned by the Word of the Lord.¹

This was now Zwingli's condition. War appeared to him legitimate and desirable; and if that was refused, he had only to withdraw from public life: he was for everything or nothing. He therefore, on the 26th July, appeared before the Great Council with dimmed eyes and disconsolate heart: "For eleven years," said he, "I have been preaching the Gospel among you, and have warned you faithfully and paternally of the woes that are hanging over you; but no attention has been paid to my words; the friends of foreign alliances, the enemies of the Gospel, are elected to the council, and while you refuse to follow my advice, I am made responsible for every misfortune. I cannot accept such a position, and I ask for my dismissal." The reformer retired bathed in tears.²

¹ Here the author reiterates his extraordinary idea, that however justifiable may be the use of "cannons and arquebuses," or by whatever other name the weapons included under the term "sword" in Scripture may be called, in protecting life and property in other cases, in that of Christians suffering for the faith, they are altogether unjustifiable—a principle which, carried to its obvious consequences, would have led the Zurich magistrates, when they happened to be Protestants, to submit their own bodies to be burnt like Keyser's, instead of protecting such as him. I must beg the reader's attention to previous notes, if he has not access to the Rev. J. Scott's excellent reasonings on Luther's case, to prove that Zwingli's conscience was not false, and that the Word of the Lord enjoins, instead of condemning the course he recommended.—D. D. S.

² Here the reader must at every step distinguish between the author and his facts. After complaining that Zwingli confounded the Christian and the citizen, as if these two characters were not necessarily confounded in every *Christian citizen*, he represents Zwingli as wishing to retire from Zurich because that state would not make war, and one would almost suppose that he actually shed tears because balked in his bloody longings. Zwingli, however, says no such thing. His reasons are, because "the friends of foreign alliances, the enemies of the gospel, are elected to the council." And were these not palpable proofs that, instead of the Christian and the citizen being confounded as they ought to have been in the men who did such things, these two characters were separated in them; or rather, as no citizen can be a real Christian without being a Christian citizen, their Christian character had disappeared. As for Zwingli desiring war now,

The council shuddered as they heard these words. All the old feelings of respect which they had so long entertained for Zwingli were revived; to lose him now was to ruin Zurich. The burgomaster and the other magistrates received orders to persuade him to recall his fatal resolution. The conference took place on the same day; Zwingli asked time for consideration. For three days and three nights he sought the road that he should follow. Seeing the dark storm that was collecting from all quarters, he considered whether he ought to quit Zurich and seek refuge on the lofty hills of the Tockenbourg, where he had been reared, at a time when his country and his Church were on the point of being assailed and beaten down by their enemies, like corn by the hailstorm. He groaned and cried to the Lord. He would have put away the cup of bitterness that was presented to his soul, but could not gather up the resolution. At length the sacrifice was accomplished, and the victim was placed shuddering upon the altar. Three days after the first conference, Zwingli reappeared in the council: "I will stay with you," said he, "and I will labour for the public safety—until death!"

From this moment he displayed new zeal. On the one hand he endeavoured to revive harmony and courage in Zurich; on the other he set about arousing and exciting the allied cities to increase and concentrate all the forces of the Reformation. Faithful to the political vocation he imagined to have received from God himself—persuaded that it was in the doubts and want of energy of the Bernese that he must look for the cause of all the evil, the reformer repaired to Bremgarten with Collins and Steiner, during the fourth conference of the diet; although he incurred great danger in the attempt. He arrived secretly by night, and having entered the house of his friend and dis-

there is not the least evidence to that effect, however he may have urged it when there was every prospect of the allied Reformed cantons marching in such force on the Five Cantons as to overawe them at once, and without bloodshed, into a respect for the persons and the consciences of their own subjects, as well as those of other cantons when in their power.

The presence of those whose place in the council was deplored by Zwingli, may well lead us to suspect that, admitted as they were in express contradiction to Christian principle, they became the instruments of God's wrath, by suggesting the delays, and causing the confusion of counsels which led to the disaster at Cappel.—D. D. S.

ciple, Bullinger, he invited the deputies of Berne (J. J. de Watteville and Im Hag) to meet him there with the greatest secrecy, and prayed them in the most solemn tone earnestly to reflect upon the dangers of the Reform. "I fear," said he, "that in consequence of our unbelief, this business will not succeed. By refusing supplies to the Five Cantons, we have begun a work that will be fatal to us. What is to be done? Withdraw the prohibition? The cantons will then be more insolent and haughty than ever. Enforce it? They will take the offensive, and if their attack succeed you will behold our fields red with the blood of the believers, the doctrine of truth cast down, the Church of Christ laid waste, all social relations overthrown, our adversaries more hardened and irritated against the Gospel, and crowds of priests and monks again filling our rural districts, streets, and temples.....And yet," added Zwingli, after a few instants of emotion and silence, "that also will have an end." The Bernese were filled with agitation by the solemn voice of the reformer. "We see," replied they, "all that is to be feared for our common cause, and we will employ every care to prevent such great disasters."—"I who write these things was present and heard them," adds Bullinger.¹

It was feared that if the presence of Zwingli at Bremgarten became known to the deputies of the Five Cantons, they would not restrain their violence. During this nocturnal conference three of the town councillors were stationed as sentinels in front of Bullinger's house. Before daybreak, the reformer and his two friends, accompanied by Bullinger and the three councillors, passed through the deserted streets leading to the gate on the road to Zurich. Three different times Zwingli took leave of Bullinger, who was ere long to be his successor. His mind was filled with a presentiment of his approaching death; he could not tear himself from that young friend whose face he was never to see again; he blessed him amidst floods of tears. "O my dear Henry!" said he, "may God protect you! Be faithful to our Lord Jesus Christ and to his Church." At length they separated; but at that very moment, says Bullin-

¹ These words are in Latin: *Hæc ipse, qui hæc scribo, ab illis audiivi, præsens colloquio.* (Bull. iii. 49.)

ger, a mysterious personage, clad in a robe as white as snow, suddenly appeared, and after frightening the soldiers who guarded the gate, plunged suddenly into the water, and vanished. Bullinger, Zwingli, and their friends did not perceive it; Bullinger himself sought for it all around, but to no purpose;¹ still the sentinels persisted in the reality of this frightful apparition. Bullinger in great agitation returned in darkness and in silence to his house. His mind involuntarily compared the departure of Zwingli and the white phantom; and he shuddered at the frightful omen which the thought of this spectre impressed upon his mind.

Sufferings of another kind pursued Zwingli to Zurich. He had thought that by consenting to remain at the head of affairs he would recover all his ancient influence. But he was deceived: the people desired to see him there, and yet they would not follow him. The Zurichers daily became more and more indisposed towards the war which they had at first demanded, and identified themselves with the passive system of Berne. Zwingli remained for some time stupified and motionless before this inert mass, which his most vigorous exertions could not move. But soon discovering in every quarter of the horizon the prophetic signs, precursors of the storm about to burst upon the ship of which he was the pilot, he uttered cries of anguish, and showed the signal of distress. "I see," exclaimed he one day to the people from the pulpit, whither he had gone to give utterance to his gloomy forebodings, "I see that the most faithful warnings cannot save you; you will not punish the pensioners of the foreigner.....They have too firm a support among us! A chain is prepared—behold it entire—it unrolls link after link—soon will they bind me to it, and more than one pious Zurichers with me.....It is against me they are enraged! I am ready; I submit to the Lord's will. But these people shall never be my masters.....As for thee, O Zurich, they will give thee thy reward; they will strike thee on the head. Thou wilt it. Thou refusest to punish them; well! it is they who will punish thee."² But God will not the less preserve his Word,

¹ Ein menschen in ein schneeweissen Kleid. (Bull. iii. 49.)

² Straafen wilt sy nitt, des werden sy dich straaen. (Ibid. 53.)

and their haughtiness shall come to an end." Such was Zwingli's cry of agony; but the immobility of death alone replied. The hearts of the Zurichers were so hardened that the sharpest arrows of the reformer could not pierce them, and they fell at his feet blunted and useless.

But events were pressing on, and justified all his fears. The Five Cantons had rejected every proposition that had been made to them. "Why do you talk of punishing a few wrongs?" they had replied to the mediators; "it is a question of quite another kind. Do you not require that we should receive back among us the heretics whom we have banished, and tolerate no other priests than those who preach conformably to the Word of God? We know what that means. No—no—we will not abandon the religion of our fathers; and if we must see our wives and our children deprived of food, our hands will know how to conquer what is refused to us: to that we pledge our bodies—our goods—our lives." It was with this threatening language that the deputies quitted the diet of Bremgarten. They had proudly shaken the folds of their mantles, and war had fallen from them.

The terror was general, and the alarmed citizens beheld everywhere frightful portents, terrific signs, apparently foreboding the most horrible events. It was not only the white phantom that had appeared at Bremgarten at Zwingli's side: the most fearful omens, passing from mouth to mouth, filled the people with the most gloomy presentiments. The history of these phenomena, however strange it may appear, characterizes the period of which we write. We do not create the times: it is our simple duty to paint them as they really were.

On the 26th July, a widow chancing to be alone before her house, in the village of Castelenschloss, suddenly beheld a frightful spectacle—blood springing from the earth all around her.¹ She rushed in alarm into the cottage.....but, oh horrible! blood is flowing everywhere—from the wainscot and from the stones;²—it falls in a stream from a basin on a shelf, and even

¹ Ante et post eam purus sanguis ita acriter ex dura terra effluxit, ut ex vena incisâ. (Zw. Epp. ii. 627.)

² Sed etiam sanguis ex terra, lignis, et lapidibus effluxit. (Ibid.)

the child's cradle overflows with it. The woman imagines that the invisible hand of an assassin has been at work, and rushes in distraction out of doors, crying murder! murder!¹ The villagers and the monks of a neighbouring convent assemble at the noise—they succeed in partly effacing the bloody stains; but a little later in the day, the other inhabitants of the house, sitting down in terror to eat their evening meal under the projecting eaves, suddenly discover blood bubbling up in a pond—blood flowing from the loft—blood covering all the walls of the house. Blood—blood—everywhere blood! The bailiff of Schenkenberg and the pastor of Dalheim arrive—inquire into the matter—and immediately report it to the lords of Berne and to Zwingli.

Scarcely had this horrible recital—the particulars of which are faithfully preserved in Latin and in German—filled all minds with the idea of a horrible butchery, than in the western quarter of the heavens there appeared a frightful comet,² whose immense train of a pale yellow colour turned towards the south. At the time of its setting, this apparition shone in the sky like the fire of a furnace.³ One night—on the 15th August as it would appear⁴—Zwingli and George Müller, formerly abbot of Wettingen, being together in the cemetery of the cathedral, both fixed their eyes upon this terrific meteor. “This ominous globe,” said Zwingli, “is come to light the path that leads to my grave. It will be at the cost of my life and of many good men with me. Although I am rather shortsighted, I foresee great calamities in the future.⁵ The truth and the Church will mourn; but Christ will never forsake us.” It was not only at Zurich that this flaming star spread consternation. Vadian being one night on an eminence in the neighbourhood of St.

¹ Ut eadem excurreret eodem clamitans. (Zw. Epp. ii. 627.)

² Ein gar erschrocklicher comet. (Bull. ii. 46.) It was Halley's comet, that returns about every 76 years. It appeared last in 1835.

³ Wie ein flamm in einer ess. (Ibid.) Perhaps Bullinger alludes in this way to the phenomenon remarked by Appian, astronomer to Charles V., who observed this comet at Ingolstadt, and who says that the tail disappeared as the nucleus approached the horizon. In 1456, its appearance had already excited great terror.

⁴ Cometam jam tribus noctibus viderunt apud nos alii, ego una tantum, puto 15 Augusti. (Zw. Epp. p. 634.)

⁵ Ego cæculus non unam calamitatem expecto. (Ibid. 626.)

Gall, surrounded by his friends and disciples, after having explained to them the names of the stars and the miracles of the Creator, stopped before this comet, which denounced the anger of God; and the famous Theophrastus declared that it foreboded not only great bloodshed, but most especially the death of learned and illustrious men. This mysterious phenomenon prolonged its frightful visitation until the 3d September.

When once the noise of these omens was spread abroad, men could no longer contain themselves. Their imaginations were excited; they heaped fright upon fright: each place had its terrors. Two banners waving in the clouds had been seen on the mountain of the Brunig; at Zug a buckler had appeared in the heavens; on the banks of the Reuss, reiterated explosions were heard during the night; on the lake of the Four Cantons, ships with aerial combatants careered about in every direction. War—war;—blood—blood!—these were the general cries.

In the midst of all this agitation, Zwingli alone seemed tranquil. He rejected none of these presentiments, but contemplated them with calmness. "A heart that fears God," said he, "cares not for the threats of the world. To forward the designs of God, whatever may happen,—this is his task. A carrier who has a long road to go must make up his mind to wear his waggon and his gear during the journey. If he carry his merchandise to the appointed spot, that is enough for him. We are the waggon and the gear of God. There is not one of the articles that is not worn, twisted, or broken; but our great Driver will not the less accomplish by our means his vast designs. Is it not to those who fall upon the field of battle that the noblest crown belongs? Take courage, then, in the midst of all these dangers, through which the cause of Jesus Christ must pass. Be of good cheer! although we should never here below see its triumphs with our own eyes. The Judge of the combat beholds us, and it is he who confers the crown. Others will enjoy upon earth the fruits of our labours; while we, already in heaven, shall enjoy an eternal reward."¹

¹ Zw. Opp. Comment. in Jeremiam. This work was composed the very year of Zwingli's death.

Thus spoke Zwingli, as he advanced calmly towards the threatening noise of the tempest, which, by its repeated flashes and sudden explosions, foreboded death.

CHAPTER VI.

The Five Cantons decide for War—Deceitful Calm—Fatal Inactivity—Zurich forewarned—Banner of Lucerne planted—Manifesto—The Bailiwicks pillaged—The Monastery of Cappel—Letter—Infatuation of Zurich—New Warnings—The War begins—The Toesin—A fearful Night—The War—Banner and Army of Zurich—Zwingli's Departure—Zwingli's Horse—Anna Zwingli.

THE Five Cantons, assembled in diet at Lucerne, appeared full of determination, and war was decided upon. "We will call upon the cities to respect our alliances," said they, "and if they refuse, we will enter the common bailiwicks by force to procure provisions, and unite our banners in Zug to attack the enemy." The Waldstettes were not alone. The nuncio, being solicited by his Lucerne friends, had required that auxiliary troops, paid by the pope, should be put in motion towards Switzerland, and he announced their near arrival.

These resolutions carried terror into Switzerland; the mediating cantons met again at Arau, and drew up a plan that should leave the religious question just as it had been settled by the treaty of 1529. Deputies immediately bore these propositions to the different councils. Lucerne haughtily rejected them. "Tell those who sent you," was the reply, "that we do not acknowledge them as our schoolmasters. We would rather die than yield the least thing to the prejudice of our faith." The mediators returned to Arau, trembling and discouraged. This useless attempt increased the disagreement among the reformed, and gave the Waldstettes still greater confidence. Zurich, so decided for the reception of the Gospel, now became daily more irresolute! The members of the council distrusted each other; the people felt no interest in this war; and Zwingli, notwithstanding his unshaken faith in the justice of his cause, had no hope for the struggle that was about to take place. Berne, on its side, did not cease to entreat Zurich to avoid pre-

cipitation. "Do not let us expose ourselves to the reproach of too much haste, as in 1529," was the general remark in Zurich. "We have sure friends in the midst of the Waldstettes; let us wait until they announce to us, as they have promised, some real danger."

It was soon believed that these temporizers were right. In fact the alarming news ceased. That constant rumour of war, which incessantly came from the Waldstettes, discontinued. There were no more alarms—no more fears! Deceitful omen! Over the mountains and valleys of Switzerland hangs that gloomy and mysterious silence, the forerunner of the tempest.

Whilst they were sleeping at Zurich, the Waldstettes were preparing to conquer their rights by force of arms. The chiefs, closely united to each other by common interests and dangers, found a powerful support in the indignation of the people. In a diet of the Five Cantons, held at Brunnen on the banks of the Lake of Lucerne, opposite Grutli, the alliances of the confederation were read; and the deputies having been summoned to declare by their votes whether they thought the war just and lawful, all hands were raised with a shudder. Immediately the Waldstettes had prepared their attack with the profoundest mystery. All the passes had been guarded—all communication between Zurich and the Five Cantons had been rendered impossible. The friends upon whom the Zurichers had reckoned on the banks of the Lakes Lucerne and Zug, and who had promised them intelligence, were like prisoners in their mountains. The terrible avalanche was about to slip from the icy summits of the mountain, and to roll into the valleys, even to the gates of Zurich, overthrowing everything in its passage, without the least forewarning of its fall. The mediators had returned discouraged to their cantons. A spirit of imprudence and of error—sad forerunner of the fall of republics as well as of kings—had spread over the whole city of Zurich. The council had at first given orders to call out the militia; then, deceived by the silence of the Waldstettes, it had imprudently revoked the decree, and Lavater, the commander of the army, had retired in discontent to Rybourg, and indignantly thrown far from him that sword which they had com-

manded him to leave in the scabbard. Thus the winds were about to be unchained from the mountains; the waters of the great deep, aroused by a terrible earthquake, were about to open; and yet the vessel of the state, sadly abandoned, sported up and down with indifference over a frightful gulf,—its yards struck, its sails loose and motionless—without compass or crew—without pilot, watch, or helm.

Whatever were the exertions of the Waldstettes, they could not entirely stifle the rumour of war, which from chalet to chalet called all their citizens to arms. God permitted a cry of alarm—a single one, it is true—to resound in the ears of the people of Zurich. On the 4th October, a little boy, who knew not what he was doing, succeeded in crossing the frontier of Zug, and presented himself with two loaves at the gate of the reformed monastery of Cappel, situated in the farthest limits of the canton of Zurich. He was led to the abbot, to whom the child gave the loaves without saying a word. The superior, with whom there chanced to be at that time a councillor from Zurich, Henry Peyer, sent by his government, turned pale at the sight. “If the Five Cantons intend entering by force of arms into the free bailiwicks,” had said these two Zurichers to one of their friends in Zug, “you will send your son to us with one loaf; but you will give him two if they are marching at once upon the bailiwicks and upon Zurich.” The abbot and the councillor wrote with all speed to Zurich. “Be upon your guard! take up arms,” said they; but no credit was attached to this information. The council were at that time occupied in taking measures to prevent the supplies that had arrived from Alsace from entering the cantons. Zwingli himself, who had never ceased to announce war, did not believe it. “These pensioners are really clever fellows,” said the reformer. “Their preparations may be after all nothing but a French manœuvre.”¹

He was deceived—they were a reality. Four days were to accomplish the ruin of Zurich. Let us retrace in succession the history of these disastrous moments.

On Sunday, 8th October, a messenger appeared at Zurich,

¹ Dise ire Rustung mochte woll eine französische prattik sein. (Bull. iii. 86.)

and demanded, in the name of the Five Cantons, letters of perpetual alliance.¹ The majority saw in this step nothing but a trick; but Zwingli began to discern the thunderbolt in the black cloud that was drawing near. He was in the pulpit: it was the last time he was destined to appear in it; and as if he had seen the formidable spectre of Rome rise frightfully above the Alps, calling upon him and upon his people to abandon the faith: "No—no!" cried he, "never will I deny my Redeemer!"

At the same moment a messenger arrived in haste from Mulinen, commander of the Knights-hospitallers of St. John at Hitzkylch. "On Friday, 6th October," said he to the councils of Zurich, "the people of Lucerne planted their banner in the Great Square.² Two men that I sent to Lucerne have been thrown into prison. To-morrow morning, Monday, 9th October, the Five Cantons will enter the bailiwicks. Already the country-people, frightened and fugitive, are running to us in crowds."—"It is an idle story," said the councils.³ Nevertheless they recalled the commander-in-chief Lavater, who sent off a trusty man, nephew of James Winckler, with orders to repair to Cappel, and if possible as far as Zug, to reconnoitre the arrangements of the cantons.

The Waldstettes were in reality assembling round the banner of Lucerne. The people of this canton; the men of Schwytz, Uri, Zug, and Unterwalden; refugees from Zurich and Berne, with a few Italians, formed the main body of the army, which had been raised to invade the free bailiwicks.⁴ Two manifestoes were published—one addressed to the cantons, the other to foreign princes and nations.

The Five Cantons energetically set forth the attacks made upon the treaties, the discord sown throughout the confederation, and finally the refusal to sell them provisions—a refusal whose only aim was (according to them) to excite the people against

¹ Die ewige Bünd abgefordert. (J. V. Hottinger, iii. 577.) According to Bullinger, this did not take place until Monday.

² Ire paner in den Brunnen gesteckt. (Bull. iii. 80.)

³ Ein gepösch und progeroy und unt darauff setzend. (Ibid.)

⁴ Melancthon, in writing to Camerarius on the 2d of November, says he had heard that 1000 Spaniards were engaged in the battle. The number of Spanish troops in Italy about that time makes this not unlikely, and coming from Italy they may have been confounded with the Italians.—D. D. S.

the magistrates, and to establish the Reform by force. "It is not true," added they, "that—as they are continually crying out—we oppose the preaching of the truth and the reading of the Bible. As obedient members of the Church, we desire to receive all that our holy mother receives. But we reject the books and the innovations of Zwingli and his companions."¹

Hardly had the messengers charged with these manifestoes departed, before the first division of the army began to march, and arrived in the evening in the free bailiwicks. The soldiers having entered the deserted churches, and seen the images of the saints removed and the altars broken, their anger was kindled; they spread like a torrent over the whole country, pillaged everything they met with, and were particularly enraged against the houses of the pastors, where they destroyed the furniture with oaths and maledictions. At the same time the division that was to form the main army marched upon Zug, thence to move upon Zurich.

Cappel, at three leagues from Zurich, and about a league from Zug, was the first place they would reach in the Zurich territory, after crossing the frontier of the Five Cantons. Near the Albis, between two hills of similar height, the Granges on the north, and the Ifelsberg on the south, in the midst of delightful pastures, stood the ancient and wealthy convent of the Cistercians, in whose church were the tombs of many ancient and noble families of these districts. The abbot Wolfgang Joner, a just and pious man, a great friend of the arts and letters, and a distinguished preacher, had reformed his convent in 1527. Full of compassion, rich in good works, particularly towards the poor of the canton of Zug and the free bailiwicks, he was held in great honour throughout the whole country.² He predicted what would be the termination of the war; yet as soon as danger approached, he spared no labour to serve his country.

It was on Sunday night that the abbot received positive intelligence of the preparations at Zug. He paced up and down his cell with hasty steps; sleep fled from his eyes; he drew near

¹ Als wir vertrauen Gott und der Welt antwort zu geben. (Bull. iii. 101.)

² That armen lüten vil guts.....und by aller Erbarkeit in grossern ansahen. (Ibid. 161.)

his lamp, and addressing his intimate friend, Peter Simmler, who succeeded him, and who was then residing at Kylehberg, a village on the borders of the lake, and about a league from the town, he hastily wrote these words: "The great anxiety and trouble which agitate me prevent me from busying myself with the management of the house, and induce me to write to you all that is preparing. The time is come.....the scourge of God appears.¹.....After many journeys and inquiries, we have learnt that the Five Cantons will march to-day (Monday) to seize upon Hitzkylch, while the main army assembles its banners at Baar, between Zug and Cappel. Those from the valley of the Adige and the Italians will arrive to-day or to-morrow." This letter, through some unforeseen circumstance, did not reach Zurich till the evening.

Meanwhile the messenger whom Lavater had sent—the nephew of J. Winckler—creeping on his belly, gliding unperceived past the sentinels, and clinging to the shrubs that overhung the precipices, had succeeded in making his way where no road had been cleared. On arriving near Zug, he had discovered with alarm the banner and the militia hastening from all sides at beat of drum: then traversing again these unknown passes, he had returned to Zurich with this information.²

It was high time that the bandage should fall from the eyes of the Zurichers; but the delusion was to endure until the end. The council which was called together met in small number. "The Five Cantons," said they, "are making a little noise to frighten us, and to make us raise the blockade."³ The council, however, decided on sending Colonel Rodolph Dumysen and Ulrich Funck to Cappel, to see what was going on; and each one, tranquillized by this unmeaning step, retired to rest.

They did not slumber long. Every hour brought fresh messengers of alarm to Zurich. "The banners of four cantons are assembled at Zug," said they. "They are only waiting for Uri. The people of the free bailiwicks are flocking to Cappel, and demanding arms.....Help! Help!"

¹ Die Zyt ist hie, das die rüt gottes sich wil erzeigen. (Bull. iii. 87.)

² Naben den Wachten, durch unwag und gestrupp. (Ibid.)

³ Sy machtend alcin ein geprog. (Ibid. 103.)

Before the break of day the council was again assembled, and it ordered the convocation of the Two Hundred. An old man, whose hair had grown gray on the battle-field and in the council of the state—the banneret John Schweitzer—raising his head enfeebled by age, and darting the last beam, as it were, from his eyes, exclaimed, “Now—at this very moment, in God’s name, send an advanced guard to Cappel, and let the army, promptly collecting round the banner, follow it immediately.” He said no more; but the charm was not yet broken. “The peasants of the free bailiwicks,” said some, “we know to be hasty, and easily carried away. They make the matter greater than it really is. The wisest plan is to wait for the report of the councillors.” In Zurich there was no longer either arm to defend or head to advise.¹

It was seven in the morning, and the assembly was still sitting, when Rodolph Gwerb, pastor of Rifferschwyl, near Cappel, arrived in haste. “The people of the lordship of Knonau,” said he, “are crowding round the convent, and loudly

¹ Ruchat thus accounts for the tardy proceedings at Zurich: “What was said on this subject at Zurich, was as follows:—I. The Zurichers seeing that the mediators held fast to the proposal they had made of a suspension of arms, trusted to their endeavours to procure its reception among others and remained inert; but the mediators, on receiving the answer of the Five Cantons rejecting that suspension, contented themselves with writing to them, withdrew to Soleure, and from thence to their homes, and never showed themselves more until after the battle of Cappel, to the great astonishment of the Reformed. II. There were in the Five Cantons several persons of consideration, who had led the Reformed to expect warning from them, as soon as they should see their people disposed in good earnest for war. But these could not keep their word, as the passages were all closed by the Five Cantons, and were strictly guarded; so that their army entered the lands of Zurich before the Zurichers could put themselves into a sufficient state of defence. Thus it was soon seen what would be the result. As early as the 9th of October, the abbot of Cappel wrote to P. Simmler: ‘The time is come when the rod of God is about to be put forth. The troops from the valley of the Adige and the Italians are arriving to-day and to-morrow.’ III. As the Zurichers had often been reproached, in the troubles that had arisen two years before, for being too keen, and for having recourse to arms unnecessarily, they desired on this occasion to show that they had no liking for war. IV. They could not believe that their enemies seriously projected war, but flattered themselves that the storm would be dissipated, as in 1529, by an amicable negotiation. So much was this the case, that, notwithstanding their being warned on the 9th of October that 1200 of the enemies’ forces had taken the Hitzkyrch road, and on the 10th that 1500 of them had taken that of Zug and Baar, there to wait for the men of Uri who had made up their minds only with difficulty to take up arms against Zurich, and that thus they were at the gates of Cappel and close to their frontiers, they could hardly be made to believe it. The consequence was that up to the 10th of October, not a man was ready to march, and even this proceeding did not take place without great opposition on the part of some.” See Ruchat, *Hist. de la Réf. de la Suisse*, vol. ii. p. 400.—D. D. A.

calling for chiefs and for aid. The enemy is approaching. Will our lords of Zurich (say they) abandon themselves, and us with them? Do they wish to give us up to slaughter?" The pastor, who had witnessed these mournful scenes, spoke with animation. The councillors, whose infatuation was to be prolonged to the last, were offended at his message. "They want to make us act imprudently," replied they, turning in their arm chairs.

They had scarcely ceased speaking before a new messenger appeared, wearing on his features the marks of the greatest terror: it was Schwytzer, landlord of the "Beech Tree" on Mount Albis. "My lords Dumysen and Funck," said he, "have sent me to you with all speed to announce to the council that the Five Cantons have seized upon Hitzkyleh, and that they are now collecting all their troops at Baar. My lords remain in the bailiwicks to aid the frightened inhabitants."

This time the most confident turned pale. Terror, so long restrained, passed like a flash of lightning through every heart.¹ Hitzkyleh was in the power of the enemy, and the war was begun.

It was resolved to expedite to Cappel a flying camp of six hundred men with six guns; but the command was intrusted to George Gödli, whose brother was in the army of the Five Cantons, and he was enjoined to keep on the defensive. Gödli and his troops had just left the city, when the captain-general Lavater, summoning into the hall of the Smaller Council the old banneret Schweitzer, William Toning, captain of the arquebusiers, J. Dennikon, captain of the artillery, Zwingli, and some others, said to them, "Let us deliberate promptly on the means of saving the canton and the city. Let the tocsin immediately call out all the citizens." The captain-general feared that the councils would shrink at this proceeding, and he wished to raise the landsturm by the simple advice of the chiefs of the army and of Zwingli. "We cannot take it upon ourselves," said they; "the two councils are still sitting; let us lay this proposition before them." They hastened towards the place of meeting; but, fatal mischance! there were only a few members

¹ Dieser Botschaft erschreck menklich übel. (Bull. iii. 104.)

of the Smaller Council on the benches. "The consent of the Two Hundred is necessary," said they. Again a new delay, and the enemy were on their march. Two hours after noon the Great Council met again, but only to make long and useless speeches.¹ At length the resolution was taken, and at seven in the evening the tocsin began to sound in all the country districts. Treason united with this dilatoriness, and persons who pretended to be envoys from Zurich stopped the landsturm in many places, as being contrary to the opinion of the council. A great number of citizens went to sleep again.

It was a fearful night. The thick darkness—a violent storm—the alarm-bell ringing from every steeple—the people running to arms—the noise of swords and guns—the sound of trumpets and of drums, combined with the roaring of the tempest, the distrust, discontent, and even treason, which spread affliction in every quarter—the sobs of women and of children—the cries which accompanied many a heart-rending adieu—an earthquake which occurred about nine o'clock at night, as if nature herself had shuddered at the blood that was about to be spilt, and which violently shook the mountains and the valleys:² all increased the terrors of this fatal night,—a night to be followed by a still more fatal day.

While these events were passing, the Zurichers encamped on the heights of Cappel to the number of about one thousand men, fixed their eyes on Zug and upon the lake, attentively watching every movement. On a sudden, a little before night, they perceived a few barks filled with soldiers coming from the side of Arth, and rowing across the lake towards Zug. Their number increases—one boat follows another—soon they distinctly hear the bellowing of the Bull (the horn) of Uri,³ and discern the banner. The barks draw near Zug; they are moored to the shore, which is lined with an immense crowd. The warriors of Uri and the arquebusiers of the Adige spring up and leap on shore, where they are received with acclamations,

¹ Ward so vil und lang darin geradschlagt. (Bull. iii. 104.)

² Ein starker Erdbidem, der das Land, auch Berg und Thal gwaltiglich erschütt. (Tschudi, Helvetia, ii. 186.)

³ Vil schiffen uff Zug faren, und hort man luyen den Uri Stier. (Bull. iii. 109.)

and take up their quarters for the night: behold the enemies assembled! The council are informed with all speed.

The agitation was still greater at Zurich than at Cappel: the confusion was increased by uncertainty. The enemy attacking them on different sides at once, they knew not where to carry assistance. Two hours after midnight five hundred men with four guns quitted the city for Bremgarten, and three or four hundred men with five guns for Wadenschwyl. They turned to the right and to the left, while the enemy was in front.

Alarmed at its own weakness, the council resolved to apply without delay to the cities of the Christian co-burghery. "As this revolt," wrote they, "has no other origin than the Word of God, we entreat you once—twice—thrice, as loudly, as seriously, as firmly, and as earnestly, as our ancient alliances and our Christian co-burghery permit and command us to do—to set forth without delay with all your forces. Haste! haste! haste! Act as promptly as possible¹—the danger is yours as well as ours." Thus spake Zurich; but it was already too late.

At break of day the banner was raised before the town-house; instead of flaunting proudly in the wind, it hung drooping down the staff—a sad omen that filled many minds with fear. Lavater took up his station under this standard; but a long period elapsed before a few hundred soldiers could be got together.² In the square and in all the city disorder and confusion prevailed. The troops, fatigued by a hasty march or by long waiting, were faint and discouraged.

At ten o'clock only 700 men were under arms. The selfish, the lukewarm, the friends of Rome and of the foreign pensioners, had remained at home. A few old men who had more courage than strength—several members of the two councils who were devoted to the holy cause of God's Word—many ministers of the Church who desired to live and die with the Reform—the boldest of the townspeople and a certain number of peasants, especially those from the neighbourhood of the city—such were the defenders who, wanting that moral force so necessary for

¹ Ylentz, ylentz, ylentz, uffs aller schnellist. (Bull. iii. 110.)

² Sammlet sich doch das volck gmachsam. (Ibid. 112.)

victory, incompletely armed, and without uniform, crowded in disorder around the banner of Zurich.

The army should have numbered at least 4000 men; they waited still; the usual oath had not been administered; and yet courieraftercourier arrived; breathless and in disorder, announcing the terrible danger that threatened Zurich. All this disorderly crowd was violently agitated—they no longer waited for the commands of their chiefs, and many without taking the oath rushed through the gates. About 200 men thus set out in confusion. All those who remained prepared to depart.

Zwingli was now seen issuing from a house before which a caparisoned horse was stamping impatiently: it was his own. His look was firm, but dimmed by sorrow. He parted from his wife, his children, and his numerous friends, without deceiving himself, and with a bruised heart.¹ He observed the thick waterspout, which, driven by a terrible wind, advanced whirling towards him. Alas! he had himself called up this hurricane by quitting the atmosphere of the Gospel of peace, and throwing himself into the midst of political passions.² He was convinced that he would be its first victim. Fifteen days

¹ Anna Rheinhard par G. Meyer of Knonau, and Bull. iii. 33.

² This is one among innumerable expressions in which our author writes more as the advocate of a particular theory, than according to the truth of history. The passions which had kindled this war, with the exception of that of revenge for the attempt to starve out the Waldstettes, with which Zwingli had nothing to do, were manifestly religious, not political. While the author reiterates *ad nauseam* his *insinuations*, rather than substantial charges against the Swiss Reformer, it were well that he had informed his readers what he deemed the duty of Zurich *as a state* to have been. This he never does. Had the state then no duties to discharge but that of passive submission to the vassal states of the popedom? Surely he would not maintain this. Then if it had duties to discharge, was it wrong in consulting a citizen so eminently qualified as Zwingli was to apply the rules of Christian prudence to the case? In regard to the domestic relations, surely a Christian does well to consult, at some difficult conjuncture, an able and experienced minister. And surely the political relations of society, and those who have to discharge the duties arising out of them, are equally within the jurisdiction of the same God, and equally, in so far as moral right is concerned, to be ruled by the deductions of Christian prudence, from the same directory—even the revealed will of that God. Who can doubt that compassion for men's souls, not political ambition, was the main-spring of Zwingli's conduct and counsels? And can we less doubt that when he counselled such and such courses to the government of Zurich, it was because he conceived that God called upon it to follow these in the discharge of a high moral responsibility, in the right exercise of which depended not only the temporal independence and welfare, but, what he as a minister must especially have felt, the spiritual emancipation of the Swiss. One really does not know what place the author would give to political relations, and the moral questions arising out of them. Either they must be beyond the cognisance of that Being whose kingdom we are taught by reason and scripture to believe *ruleth over*

before the attack of the Waldstettes, he had said from the pulpit: "I know the meaning of all this: I am the person specially pointed at. All this comes to pass—in order that I may die."¹² The council, according to an ancient custom, had called upon him to accompany the army as its chaplain. Zwingli did not hesitate. He prepared himself without surprise and without anger,—with the calmness of a Christian who places himself confidently in the hands of his God. If the cause of Reform was doomed to perish, he was ready to perish with it. Surrounded by his weeping wife and friends—by his children who clung to his garments to detain him, he quitted that house where he had tasted so much happiness. At the moment that his hand was upon his horse, just as he was about to mount, the animal violently started back several paces, and when he was at last in the saddle, it refused for a time to move, rearing and prancing backwards, like that horse which the greatest captain of modern times had mounted as he was about to cross the Niemen. Many in Zurich at that time thought with the soldier of the Grand Army when he saw Napoleon on the ground: "It is a bad omen! a Roman would go back!"³ Zwingli having at last mastered his horse, gave the reins, applied the spur, started forward, and disappeared.⁴

all, or they must fall within his cognisance, and therefore the Christian must seek for a solution of such questions in the Bible. In that search who so fit a counsellor as the much-maligned Zwingli?—D. D. S.

¹ *Ut ego tollar fiunt omnia. (De vita et obitu Zwinglii, Myconius.)*

² Zwingli's depression was, doubtless, partly owing to his having been emphatically a man of peace. This character the great John Müller distinctly gives him. "Zwingli's system," he tells us, "tended to habituate the nation to domestic virtues, to justice and quietness, and to induce them to live on peaceable terms among the surrounding monarchies, but by no means in the relation of intimate friends with them."—*Universal History*, vol. iii. p. 43. To such a man how different to go forth with his countrymen, to a bloody and probably doubtful conflict, which he felt they had brought on themselves by their indifference to the cause of the gospel, instead of advancing, at the head of an overpowering allied force, to a bloodless and certain victory over an oppressive faction, and to the establishment of a sure foundation for religious freedom and the preaching of the gospel.

When he said, "All this comes to pass—in order that I may die," may he not have alluded to some deep-laid plot of those in the council whom Zshokke alleges to have wished for war in order that the Zurichers might be defeated, and who of course would use their influence to lull all suspicion of danger among their fellow-citizens until too late? If this were so, how much cause had he to deplore the elevation of such men to the magistracy!

As for the idea that he had raised this hurricane by a reckless indulgence in *political* strife, it is confuted by the whole preceding narrative.—D. D. S.

³ *Ségur: Hist. de Napoléon et de la Grande Armée*, i. 142.

⁴ The author has been accused, not without reason, of giving too military a

At eleven o'clock the flag was struck, and all who remained in the square—about 500 men—began their march along with it. The greater part were torn with difficulty from the arms of their families, and walked sad and silent, as if they were going to the scaffold instead of battle. There was no order—no plan; the men were isolated and scattered, some running before, some after the colours, their extreme confusion presenting a fearful appearance;¹ so much so, that those who remained behind—the women, the children, and the old men, filled with gloomy forebodings, beat their breasts as they saw them pass, and many years after, the remembrance of this day of tumult and sadness drew this groan from Oswald Myconius: “Whenever I recall it to mind, it is as if a sword pierced my heart.” Zwingli, armed according to the usage of the chaplains of the confederation, rode mournfully behind this distracted multitude. Myconius, when he saw him, was nigh fainting.² Zwingli disappeared, and Oswald remained behind to weep.

He did not shed tears alone; in all quarters were heard lamentations, and every house was changed into a house of prayer.³ In the midst of this universal sorrow, one woman remained silent; her only cry was a bitter heart, her only language the mild and suppliant eye of faith:—this was Anna, Zwingli's wife.

character to Zwingli's appearance at the battle of Cappel. But having committed himself to so bold an assertion as that not only the minister of the gospel, but even the Christian, had disappeared in the politician, he is unconsciously led to colour all things accordingly. The reader must beware of taking his character of the great Swiss Reformer from this part of the author's history. We are told, indeed, that it was as *chaplain* that the magistrates required his attendance on the army, but we are not told what Ruchat tells us, and which best explains the extraordinary fact of the magistrates being willing to jeopard so precious a life, that it was not only as minister of religion, as a military adviser in the councils of the chief officers, and to direct and encourage the soldiers, but also “because they hoped that Zwingli, by his credit and by his eloquence, *might prove an excellent means of advancing peace*, the idea of which had not been altogether renounced.” (Ruchat, vol. ii. p. 495.) Not only so, but the picture of the high-mettled caparisoned steed with which this paragraph commences, and the comparison of Zwingli to Napoleon Bonaparte at its close, certainly ill comport with the plain fact that he went ostensibly in the simple capacity of army chaplain, and that even this he did with reluctance, for Ruchat says that “he would willingly have put off such a journey.”—D. D. S.

¹ Nullus ordo, nulla consilia, nullæ mentes, tanta animorum dissonantia, tam horrenda facies ante et post signa sparsim currentium hominum. (De vita et ob. Zwinglii.)

² Quem ut vidi repentino dolore cordis vix consistebam. (Ibid.)

³ Manebamus non certe sine jugibus suspiriis, non sine precibus ad Deum. (Ibid.)

She had seen her husband depart—her son, her brother, a great number of intimate friends and near relations, whose approaching death she foreboded. But her soul, strong as that of her husband, offered to God the sacrifice of her holiest affections. Gradually the defenders of Zurich precipitated their march, and the tumult died away in the distance.

CHAPTER VII.

The Scene of War—The Enemy at Zug—Declaration of War—Council—Army of the Forest Cantons appears—The first Gun fired—Zwingli's Gravity and Sorrow—Zurich Army ascending the Albis—Halt and Council at the Beech Tree—They quicken their March—Jauch's Reconnaissance—His Appeal—Ambuscade.

THIS night, which was so stormy in Zurich, had not been calmer among the inhabitants of Cappel. They had received the most alarming reports one after another. It was necessary to take up a position that would allow the troops assembled round the convent to resist the enemy's attack until the arrival of the reinforcements that were expected from the city. They cast their eyes on a small hill, which lying to the north towards Zurich, and traversed by the highroad, presented an uneven but sufficiently extensive surface. A deep ditch that surrounded it on three sides defended the approaches; but a small bridge, that was the only issue on the side of Zurich, rendered a precipitate retreat very dangerous. On the south-west was a wood of beech-trees; on the south, in the direction of Zug, was the highroad and a marshy valley. "Lead us to the Granges," cried all the soldiers. They were conducted thither. The artillery was stationed near some ruins. The line of battle was drawn up on the side of the monastery and of Zug, and sentinels were placed at the foot of the slope.

Meantime, the signal was given at Zug and Baar; the drums beat: the soldiers of the Five Cantons took up their arms. A universal feeling of joy animated them. The churches were opened, the bells rang, and the serried ranks of the cantons

entered the cathedral of St. Oswald, where mass was celebrated and the Host offered up for the sins of the people. All the army began their march at nine o'clock, with banners flying. The avoyer John Gölder commanded the contingent of Lucerne; the landamman James Troguer, that of Uri; the landamman Rychmuth, a mortal enemy of the Reformation, that of Schwytz; the landamman Zellger, that of Unterwalden; and Oswald Dooss that of Zug. Eight thousand men marched in order of battle: all the picked men of the Five Cantons were there. Fresh and active after a quiet night, and having only one short league to cross before reaching the enemy, these haughty Waldstettes advanced with a firm and regular step under the command of their chiefs.

On reaching the common meadow of Zug, they halted to take the oath: every hand was upraised to heaven, and all swore to avenge themselves. They were about to resume their march, when some aged men made signs to them to stop. "Comrades," said they, "we have long offended God. Our blasphemies, our oaths, our wars, our revenge, our pride, our drunkenness, our adulteries, the gold of the stranger to whom our hands have been extended, and all the disorders in which we have indulged, have so provoked his anger, that if he should punish us to-day, we should only receive the desert of our crimes." The emotion of the chiefs had passed into the ranks. All the army bent the knee in the midst of the plain; deep silence prevailed, and every soldier, with bended head, crossed himself devoutly, and repeated in a low voice five paters, as many aves, and the credo. One might have said that they were for a time in the midst of a vast and stilly desert. Suddenly the noise of an immense crowd was again heard. The army rose up. "Soldiers," said the captains, "you know the cause of this war. Bear your wives and your children continually before your eyes."

Then the chief usher (*grand sautier*) of Lucerne, wearing the colours of the canton, approached the chiefs of the army: they placed in his hands the declaration of war, dated on that very day, and sealed with the arms of Zug. He then set off on horseback, preceded by a trumpeter, to carry this paper to the commander of the Zurichers.

It was eleven in the morning. The Zurichers soon discovered the enemy's army, and cast a sorrowful glance on the small force they were able to oppose to it. Every minute the danger increased. All bent their knees, their eyes were raised to heaven, and every Zurichers uttered a cry from the bottom of his heart, praying for deliverance from God. As soon as the prayer was ended, they got ready for battle. There were at that time about twelve hundred men under arms.

At noon the trumpet of the Five Cantons sounded not far from the advanced posts. Gödli, having collected the members of the two councils who happened to be with the army, as well as the commissioned and non-commissioned officers, and having ranged them in a circle, ordered the secretary Rheinhard to read the declaration of which the Sautier of Lucerne was the bearer. After the reading, Gödli opened a council of war. "We are few in number, and the forces of our adversaries are great," said Landolt, bailiff of Marpac, "but I will here await the enemy in the name of God." "Wait!" cried the captain of the halberdiers, Rodolph Zigler; "impossible! let us rather take advantage of the ditch that cuts the road to effect our retreat, and let us everywhere raise a levée *en masse*." This was in truth the only means of safety. But Rudi Gallmann, considering every step backwards as an act of cowardice, cried out, stamping his feet forcibly on the earth, and casting a fiery glance around him, "Here—here shall be my grave!"¹—"It is now too late to retire with honour," said other officers. "This day is in the hands of God. Let us suffer whatever he lays upon us." It was put to the vote.

The members of the council had scarcely raised their hands in token of assent, when a great noise was heard around them. "The captain! the captain!" cried a soldier from the outposts who arrived in haste. "Silence, silence!" replied the ushers driving him back; "they are holding a council!"—"It is no longer time to hold a council," replied the soldier. "Conduct me immediately to the captain."....."Our sentinels are falling back," cried he with an agitated voice, as he arrived before Gödli. "The enemy is there—they are advancing

¹ Da, da mus min Kirchhof sin. (Bull. iii. 118.)

through the forest with all their forces and with great tumult." He had not ceased speaking before the sentinels, who were in truth retiring on all sides, ran up, and the army of the Five Cantons was soon seen climbing the slope of Ifelsberg in face of the Granges, and pointing their guns. The leaders of the Waldstettes were examining the position, and seeking to discover by what means their army could reach that of Zurich. The Zurichers were asking themselves the same question. The nature of the ground prevented the Waldstettes from passing below the convent, but they could arrive by another quarter. Ulrich Brüder, under-bailiff of Husen in the canton of Zurich, fixed his anxious look on the beech-wood. "It is thence that the enemy will fall upon us!" "Axes—axes!" immediately cried several voices: "let us cut down the trees!"¹ Gödli, the abbot, and several others were opposed to this: "If we stop up the wood, by throwing down the trees, we shall ourselves be unable to work our guns in that direction," said they.—"Well! at least let us place some arquebusiers in that quarter."—"We are already so small a number," replied the captain, "that it will be imprudent to divide the forces." Neither wisdom nor courage was to save Zurich. They once more invoked the help of God, and waited in expectation.

At one o'clock the Five Cantons fired the first gun: the ball passing over the convent fell below the Granges; a second passed over the line of battle; a third struck a hedge close to the ruins. The Zurichers, seeing the battle was begun, replied with courage; but the slowness and awkwardness with which the artillery was served in those days prevented any great loss being inflicted on either side. When the enemy perceived this, they ordered their advanced guard to descend from Ifelsberg and to reach the Granges through the meadow; and soon the whole army of the cantons advanced in this direction, but with difficulty and over bad roads. Some arquebusiers of Zurich came and announced the disorder of the cantons. "Brave Zurichers," cried Rudi Gallmann, "if we attack them now, it is all over with them." At these words some of the soldiers prepared to enter the wood on the left, to fall upon the

¹ Ettliche schritwend nach Achsen das man das Waldi verhallte. (Bull. iii. 118.)

disheartened Waldstettes. But Gödli perceiving this movement, cried out: "Where are you going?—do you not know that we have agreed not to separate?" He then ordered the skirmishers to be recalled, so that the wood remained entirely open to the enemy. They were satisfied with discharging a few random shots from time to time to prevent the cantons from establishing themselves there. The firing of the artillery continued until three o'clock, and announced far and wide, even to Bremgarten and Zurich, that the battle had begun.

In the meanwhile the great banner of Zurich and all those who surrounded it, among whom was Zwingli, came advancing in disorder towards the Albis. For a year past the gayety of the reformer had entirely disappeared: he was grave, melancholy, easily moved, having a weight on his heart that seemed to crush it. Often would he throw himself weeping at the feet of his Master, and seek in prayer the strength of which he stood in need. No one had ever observed in him any irritation; on the contrary, he had received with mildness the counsels that had been offered, and had remained tenderly attached to men whose convictions were not the same as his own. He was now advancing mournfully along the road to Cappel; and John Maaler of Winterthour, who was riding a few paces behind him, heard his groans and sighs, intermingled with fervent prayers. If any one spoke to him, he was found firm and strong in the peace that proceeds from faith; but he did not conceal his conviction that he should never see his family or church again. Thus advanced the forces of Zurich. A woful march! resembling rather a funeral procession than an army going to battle.

As they approached they saw express after express galloping along the road from Cappel, begging the Zurichers to hasten to the defence of their brothers.¹

At Adliswyl, having passed the bridge under which flow the impetuous waters of the Sihl, and traversed the village through the midst of women, children, and old men, who, standing before their cottages, looked with sadness on this disorderly troop, they began to ascend the Albis. They were about half-way from Cappel when the first cannon-shot was heard. They stop, they

¹ *Dan ein Manung uff die ander, von Cappel kamm.* (Ball. iii. 113.)

listen: a second, a third succeeds.....There is no longer any doubt. The glory, the very existence of the republic are endangered, and they are not present to defend it! The blood curdles in their veins. On a sudden they arouse, and each one begins to run to the support of his brothers. But the road over the Albis was much steeper than it is in our days. The badly harnessed artillery could not ascend it; the old men and citizens, little habituated to marching, and covered with weighty armour, advanced with difficulty: and yet they formed the greater portion of the troops. They were seen stopping, one after another, panting and exhausted, along the sides of the road near the thickets and ravines of the Albis, leaning against a beech or an ash tree, and looking with dispirited eyes to the summit of the mountain covered with thick pines.

They resumed their march, however; the horsemen and the most intrepid of the foot-soldiers hastened onwards, and having reached the "Beech Tree," on the top of the mountain, halted to take council.

What a prospect then extended before their eyes! Zurich, the lake and its smiling shores—those orchards, those fertile fields, those vine-clad hills, almost the whole of the canton. Alas! soon, perhaps, to be devastated by the forest-bands.

Scarcely had these noble-minded men begun to deliberate, when fresh messengers from Cappel appeared before them, exclaiming,—“Hasten forwards!” At these words many of the Zurichers prepared to gallop towards the enemy.¹ Toning, the captain of the arquebusiers, stopt them. “My good friends,” cried he to them, “against such great forces what can we do alone? Let us wait here until our people are assembled, and then let us fall upon the enemy with the whole army.” “Yes, if we had an army,” bitterly replied the captain-general, who, in despair of saving the republic, thought only of dying with glory; “but we have only a banner and no soldiers.” “How can we stay calmly upon these heights,” said Zwingli, “while we hear the shots that are fired at our fellow-citizens? In the name of God I will march towards my brother warriors,

¹ Uff rossen häftig ylttend zum augriff. (Bull. iii. 113.)

prepared to die in order to save them.”¹ “And I too,” added the aged banneret Schweitzer. “As for you,” continued he, turning with a contemptuous look towards Toning, “wait till you are a little recovered.” “I am quite as much refreshed as you,” replied Toning, the colour mantling on his face, “and you shall soon see whether I cannot fight.” All hastened their steps towards the field of battle.

The descent was rapid; they plunged into the woods, passed through the village of Husen, and at length arrived near the Granges. It was three o’clock when the banner crossed the narrow bridge that led thither; and there were so few soldiers round it that every one trembled as he beheld this venerated standard thus exposed to the attacks of so formidable an enemy. The army of the Cantons was at that moment deploying before the eyes of the new-comers. Zwingli gazed upon this terrible spectacle. Behold, then, these phalanxes of soldiers!—a few minutes more, and the labours of eleven years will be destroyed perhaps for ever!.....

A citizen of Zurich, one Leonard Bourkhard, who was ill-disposed towards the reformer, said to him in a harsh tone, “Well, Master Ulrich, what do you say about this business? Are the radishes salt enough?...who will eat them now?”² “I,” replied Zwingli, “and many a brave man who is here in the hands of God; for we are his in life and in death.” “And I too—I will help to eat them,” resumed Bourkhard immediately, ashamed of his brutality, “I will risk my life for them.” And he did so, and many others with him, adds the chronicle.

It was four o’clock; the sun was sinking rapidly; the Waldstettes did not advance, and the Zurichers began to think that the attack would be put off till the morrow. In fact, the chiefs of the Five Cantons seeing the great banner of Zurich arrive, the night near at hand, and the impossibility of crossing under the fire of the Zurichers the marsh and the ditch that separated the combatants, were looking for a place in which their troops might pass the night. “If at this moment any mediators had

¹ Ich will racht, in den namen Gotts, zu den biderben luten und willig mitt und under inen sterben. (Bull. iii. 123.)

² Sind die Ruben gesaltzen? wer will sie aussessen. (J. J. Hot. iii. 383.)

appeared," says Bullinger, "their proposals would have been accepted."

The soldiers, observing the hesitation of their chiefs, began to murmur loudly. "The big ones abandon us," said one. "The captains fear to bite the fox's tail," said another. "Not to attack them," cried they all, "is to ruin our cause." During this time a daring man was preparing the skilful manœuvre that was to decide the fate of the day. A warrior of Uri, John Jauch, formerly bailiff of Sargans, a good marksman and experienced soldier, having taken a few men with him, moved towards the right of the army of the Five Cantons, crept into the midst of the clump of beech-trees that, by forming a semi-circle to the east, unite the hill of Ifelsberg to that of the Granges,¹ found the wood empty, arrived to within a few paces of the Zurichers, and there, hidden behind the trees, remarked unperceived the smallness of their numbers, and their want of caution. Then, stealthily retiring, he went to the chiefs at the very moment the discontent was on the point of bursting out. "Now is the time to attack the enemy," cried he. "Dear gossip," replied Troguer, captain-in-chief of Uri, "you do not mean to say that we should set to work at so late an hour; besides, the men are preparing their quarters, and everybody knows what it cost our fathers at Naples and Marignan for having commenced the attack a little before night. And then it is Innocents' day, and our ancestors have never given battle on a feast-day."² "Don't think about the Innocents of the calendar," replied Jauch, "but let us rather remember the innocents that we have left in our cottages." Gaspard Gödli of Zurich, brother of the commander of the Granges, added his entreaties to those of the warrior of Uri. "We must either beat the Zurichers to-night," said he, "or be beaten by them to-morrow. Take your choice."

All was unavailing; the chiefs were inflexible, and the army prepared to take up its quarters. Upon this the warrior of Uri, understanding like his fellow-countryman Tell that great

¹ This wood no longer connects the two hills. The present pastor of Cappel told me that when first he went into that district the wood was much more extensive than it is at present.

² *Au einem solchen Tag Blut ze vergiessen.* (Tschudi, *Helv.* ii. 180.)

evils require great remedies, drew his sword and cried: "Let all true confederates follow me."¹ Then hastily leaping to his saddle, he spurred his horse into the forest;² and immediately arquebusiers, soldiers from the Adige, and many other warriors of the Five Cantons, especially from Unterwalden—in all about 300 men, rushed into the wood after him. At this sight Jauch no longer doubted of the victory of the Waldstettes. He dismounted and fell upon his knees, "for," says Tschudi, "he was a man who feared God." All his followers did the same, and together invoked the aid of God, of his holy mother, and of all the heavenly host. They then advanced; but soon the warrior of Uri, wishing to expose no one but himself, halted his troops, and glided from tree to tree to the verge of the wood. Observing that the enemy was as incautious as ever, he rejoined his arquebusiers, led them stealthily forward, and posted them silently behind the trees of the forest,³ enjoining them to take their aim so as not to miss their men. During this time the chiefs of the Five Cantons, foreseeing that this rash man was about to bring on the action, decided against their will, and collected their soldiers around the banners.

CHAPTER VIII.

Unforeseen Change—The whole Army advances—Universal Disorder—The Banneret's Death—The Banner in Danger—The Banner saved—Terrible Slaughter—Slaughter of the Pastors—Zwingli's last Words—Barbarity of the Victors—The Furnace of Trial—Zwingli's dying Moments—Day after the Battle—Homage and Outrage.

THE Zurichers, fearing that the enemy would seize upon the road that led to their capital, were then directing part of their troops and their guns to a low hill by which it was commanded. At the very moment that the invisible arquebusiers stationed among the beech-trees were taking their aim, this detachment passed near the little wood. The deepest silence prevailed in

¹ Welche redlicher Eidgnossen würt sind, die louffind uns nach. (Bull. iii. 125.)

² Sass ylendi wiederum uff sin Ross. (Tschudi, Helv. ii. 191.)

³ Zertheilt die Hagken hinter die Bäum im Wald in grosser Stille. (Ibid.)

this solitude: each one posted there picked out the man he desired to bring down, and Jauch exclaimed: "In the name of the Holy Trinity—of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost—of the Holy Mother of God, and of all the heavenly host—fire!" At the word the deadly balls issued from the wood, and a murderous carnage in the ranks of Zurich followed this terrible discharge. The battle, which had begun four hours ago, and which had never appeared to be a serious attack, now underwent an unforeseen change. The sword was not again to be returned to the scabbard until it had been bathed in torrents of blood. Those of the Zurichers who had not fallen at this first discharge, lay flat on the ground, so that the balls passed over their heads; but they soon sprang up, saying: "Shall we allow ourselves to be butchered? No! let us rather attack the enemy!" Lavater seized a lance, and rushing into the foremost rank, exclaimed: "Soldiers, uphold the honour of God and of our lords, and behave like brave men!" Zwingli, silent and collected, like nature before the bursting of the tempest, was there also halberd in hand. "Master Ulrich," said Bernard Sprungli, "speak to the people and encourage them. "Warriors!" said Zwingli, "fear nothing. If we are this day to be defeated, still our cause is good. Commend yourselves to God!"

The Zurichers quickly turned the artillery they were dragging to another quarter, and pointed it against the wood; but their bullets, instead of striking the enemy, only reached the top of the trees, and tore off a few branches that fell upon the skirmishers.¹

Rychmuth, the landamman of Schwytz, came up at a gallop to recall the volunteers; but seeing the battle begun, he ordered the whole army to advance. Immediately the five banners moved forward.

But already Jauch's skirmishers, rushing from among the trees, had fallen impetuously upon the Zurichers, charging with their long and pointed halberds. "Heretics! sacrilegists!" cried they, "we have you at last!"—"Man-sellers, idolaters, impious papists!" replied the Zurichers, "is it really you?"

¹ Denn das die Aest auf sie fielent. (Tschudi, p. 182.)

At first a shower of stones fell from both parties and wounded several; immediately they came to close quarters. The resistance of the Zurichers was terrible.¹ Each struck with the sword or with the halberd: at last the soldiers of the Five Cantons were driven back in disorder. The Zurichers advanced, but in so doing lost the advantage of their position, and got entangled in the marsh. Some Roman Catholic historians pretend that this flight of their troops was a stratagem to draw the Zurichers into the snare.²

In the mean time the army of the Five Cantons hastened through the wood. Burning with courage and with anger, they eagerly quickened their steps; from the midst of the beech-trees there resounded a confused and savage noise—a frightful murmur; the ground shook; one might have imagined that the forest was uttering a horrible roar, or that witches were holding their nocturnal revels in its dark recesses.³ In vain did the bravest of the Zurichers offer an intrepid resistance: the Waldstettes had the advantage in every quarter. “They are surrounding us,” cried some. “Our men are fleeing,” said others. A man from the canton of Zug, mingling with the Zurichers, and pretending to be of their party, exclaimed: “Fly, fly, brave Zurichers, you are betrayed!” Thus everything is against Zurich. Even the hand of Him who is the disposer of battles turned against this people. Thus was it also in times of old that God frequently chastised his own people of Israel by the Assyrian sword. A panic-terror seized upon the bravest, and the disorder spread everywhere with frightful rapidity.

In the meanwhile the aged Schweitzer had raised the great banner with a firm hand, and all the picked men of Zurich were drawn up around it; but soon their ranks were thinned. John Kampli, charged with the defence of the standard, having observed the small number of combatants that remained upon the field of battle, said to the banneret: “Let us lower the

¹ Der angriff war hart und währte der Widerstand ein gute Wyl. (Tschudi, p. 192.)

² Catholici autem, positis insidiis, retrocesserunt, fugam simulant. (Cochleus, Acta Luth. p. 214.)

³ Der Boden erzittert; und nit anders war, denn als ob der Wald lut bruechte. (Tschudi, p. 123.)

banner, my lord, and save it, for our people are flying shamefully."—"Warriors, remain firm," replied the aged banneret, whom no danger had ever shaken. The disorder augmented—the number of fugitives increased every minute; the old man stood fast, amazed and immovable as an aged oak beaten by a frightful hurricane. He received unflinchingly the blows that fell upon him, and alone resisted the terrible storm. Kampli seized him by the arm: "My lord," said he again, "lower the banner, or else we shall lose it: there is no more glory to be reaped here!" The banneret, who was already mortally wounded, exclaimed: "Alas! must the city of Zurich be so punished!" Then, dragged off by Kampli, who held him by the arm, he retreated as far as the ditch. The weight of years, and the wounds with which he was covered, did not permit him to cross it. He fell in the mire at the bottom, still holding the glorious standard whose folds dropped on the other bank.

The enemy ran up with loud shouts, being attracted by the colours of Zurich, as the bull by the gladiator's flag. Kampli seeing this, unhesitatingly leapt to the bottom of the ditch, and laid hold of the stiff and dying hands of his chief, in order to preserve the precious ensign, which they tightly grasped. But it was in vain; the hands of the aged Schweitzer would not loose the standard. "My lord banneret!" cried this faithful servant, "it is no longer in your power to defend it." The hands of the banneret, already stiffened in death, still refused; upon which Kampli violently tore away the sacred standard, leapt upon the other bank, and rushed with his treasure far from the steps of the enemy. The last Zurichers at this moment reached the ditch; they fell one after another upon the expiring banneret, and thus hastened his death.

Kampli, however, having received a wound from a gunshot, his march was retarded, and soon the Waldstettes surrounded him with their swords. The Zurichers, holding the banner in one hand, and his sword in the other, defended himself bravely. One of the Waldstettes caught hold of the staff—another seized the flag itself and tore it. Kampli with one blow of his sword cut down the former, and striking around him, called out: "To the rescue, brave Zurichers! save the honour and the

banner of our lords." The assailants increased in number, and the warrior was about to fall, when Adam Næff of Wollenwyd rushed up sword in hand, and the head of the Waldstette who had torn the colours rolled upon the plain, and his blood gushed out upon the flag of Zurich. Dumysen, member of the Smaller Council, supported Næff with his halberd, and both dealt such lusty blows, that they succeeded in disengaging the standard-bearer. He, although dangerously wounded, sprang forward, holding the blood-stained folds of the banner in one hand, which he carried off hastily, dragging the staff behind him. With fierce look and fiery eye, he thus passed, sword in hand, through the midst of friends and enemies: he crossed plains, woods, and marshes, everywhere leaving traces of his blood, which flowed from numerous wounds. Two of his enemies, one from Schwytz, the other from Zug—were particularly eager in his pursuit. "Heretic! villain!" cried they, "surrender and give us the banner."—"You shall have my life first," replied the Zuricher. Then the two hostile soldiers, who were embarrassed by their cuirasses, stopped a moment to take them off. Kammli took advantage of this to get in advance: he ran; Huber, Dumysen, and Dantzler of Naenikon were at his side. They all four thus arrived near Husen, half-way up the Albis. They had still to climb the steepest part of the mountain. Huber fell covered with wounds. Dumysen, the colonel-general, who had fought as a private soldier, almost reached the church of Husen, and there he dropt lifeless: and two of his sons, in the flower of youth, soon lay stretched on the battle-field that had drunk their father's blood. Kammli took a few steps farther; but halted ere long, exhausted and panting, near a hedge that he would have to clear, and discovered his two enemies and other Waldstettes running from all sides, like birds of prey, towards the wavering standard of Zurich. The strength of Kammli was sinking rapidly, his eyes grew dim, thick darkness surrounded him: a hand of lead fastened him to the ground. Then, mustering all his expiring strength, he flung the standard on the other side of the hedge, exclaiming: "Is there any brave Zuricher near me? Let him preserve the banner and the honour of our lords! As for me, I can do no

more!" Then casting a last look to heaven, he added: "May God be my helper!" He fell exhausted by this last effort. Dantzler, who came up, flung away his sword, sprung over the hedge, seized the banner, and cried, "With the aid of God, I will carry it off." He then rapidly climbed the Albis, and at last placed the ancient standard of Zurich in safety. God, on whom these warriors fixed all their hopes, had heard their prayers, but the noblest blood of the republic had been spilt.

The enemy were victorious at all points. The soldiers of the Five Cantons, and particularly those of Unterwalden, long hardened in the wars of the Milanese, showed themselves more merciless towards their confederates than they had ever been towards foreigners. At the beginning of the battle, Gödli had taken flight, and soon after he quitted Zurich for ever. Lavater, the captain-general, after having fought valiantly, had fallen into the ditch. He was dragged out by a soldier and escaped.

The most distinguished men of Zurich fell one after another under the blows of the Waldstettes.¹ Rudi Gallmann found the glorious tomb he had wished for, and his two brothers stretched beside him left their father's house desolate. Toning, captain of the arquebusiers, died for his country as he had foretold. All the pride of the population of Zurich, seven members of the Smaller Council, nineteen members of the Two Hundred, sixty-five citizens of the town, four hundred and seventeen from the rural districts: the father in the midst of his children,—the son surrounded by his brothers,—lay on the field.

Gerold Meyer of Knonau, son of Anna Zwingli, at that time twenty-two years of age, and already a member of the council of Two Hundred,—a husband and a father,—had rushed into the foremost ranks with all the impetuosity of youth. "Surrender, and your life shall be spared," cried some of the warriors of the Five Cantons, who desired to save him. "It is better for me to die with honour than to yield with disgrace," replied the son of Anna, and immediately struck by a mortal blow, he fell and expired not far from the castle of his ancestors.

¹ *Optimi et docti viri, quos necessitas traxerat in commune periculum patriæ et ecclesiæ veritatisque defensandæ, quam et suo sanguine redemerunt.* (Pell. Vit. MS. p. 6.)

The ministers were those who paid proportionally the greatest tribute on this bloody day. The sword that was at work on the heights of Cappel thirsted for their blood: twenty-five of them fell beneath its stroke. The Waldstettes trembled with rage whenever they discovered one of these heretical preachers, and sacrificed him with enthusiasm, as a chosen victim to the Virgin and the saints. There has, perhaps, never been any battle in which so many men of the Word of God have bitten the dust. - Almost everywhere the pastors had marched at the head of their flocks. One might have said that Cappel was an assembly of Christian churches rather than an army of Swiss companies. The Abbot Joner, receiving a mortal wound near the ditch, expired in sight of his own monastery. The people of Zug, in pursuit of the enemy, uttered a cry of anguish as they passed his body, remembering all the good he had done them.¹ Schmidt of Kussnacht, stationed on the field of battle in the midst of his parishioners, fell surrounded by forty of their bodies.² Geroldsek, John Haller, and many other pastors, at the head of their flocks, suddenly met in a terrible and unforeseen manner the Lord whom they had preached.

But the death of one individual far surpassed all others. Zwingli was at the post of danger, the helmet on his head, the sword hanging at his side, the battle-axe in his hand.³ Scarcely had the action begun, when, stooping to console a dying man, says J. J. Hottinger, a stone hurled by the vigorous arm of a Waldstette struck him on the head and closed his lips. Yet Zwingli arose, when two other blows which hit him successively on the leg,⁴ threw him down again. Twice more he stands up; but a fourth time he receives a thrust from a lance, he staggers, and sinking beneath so many wounds, falls on his knees. Does not the darkness that is spreading around him announce a still thicker darkness that is about to cover the Church? Zwingli turns away from such sad thoughts; once more he uplifts that

¹ Es klagtend inn insonders die Züger. (Bull. iii. 151.)

² Uff der Walstett ward er funden, under und by sinen Kussnachern. (Ibid. 147.)

³ The chaplains of the Swiss troops still wear a sword. Zwingli did not make use of his arms.

⁴ Ilatt auch in den Schenklen zween Stiche. (Tschudi, Helv. ii. 104.)

head which had been so bold, and gazing with calm eye upon the trickling blood, exclaims: "What matters this misfortune?"¹ They may indeed kill the body, but they cannot kill the soul!"² These were his last words.

He had scarcely uttered them ere he fell backwards. There, under a tree (Zwingli's Pear-tree), in a meadow, he remained lying on his back, with clasped hands, and eyes upturned to heaven.³

While the bravest were pursuing the scattered soldiers of Zurich, the stragglers of the Five Cantons had pounced like hungry ravens on the field of battle. Torch in hand, these wretches prowled among the dead, casting looks of irritation around them, and lighting up the features of their expiring victims by the dull glimmering of these funereal torches. They turned over the bodies of the wounded and the dead; they tortured and stripped them.⁴ If they found any who were still sensible, they cried out, "Call upon the saints and confess to our priests!" If the Zurichers, faithful to their creed, rejected these cruel invitations, these men, who were as cowardly as they were fanatical, pierced them with their lances, or dashed out their brains with the butt-ends of their arquebuses. The Roman Catholic historian, Salat of Lucerne, makes a boast of this. "They were left to die like infidel dogs, or were slain with the sword or the spear, that they might go so much the

¹ This has been already criticised in the public prints as conveying quite an erroneous idea of the Latin of Oswald Myconius, quoted in the author's foot note. It ought to have been translated: "Do you call this a mishap?" But the author no doubt meant, not as the English reader would suppose: "How great an evil is this?" but rather: "What harm is there here worth noticing?" The author in the above mistranslation has no doubt been misled by Ruchat, whose French rendering is still worse: *Helas! quel malheur est ceci?*

Although Zwingli thought his death but a small mishap, not such was the opinion even of Melancthon, who had so perseveringly and so bitterly opposed him. In writing to Bucer on the 8th of November, he says that he had already heard of the death of Zwingli, but now learnt from his letter all that had happened, adding that he lamented his death both on public and private grounds. See Corp. Ref. vol. ii. p. 552.—D. D. S.

² In genua prolapsus dixisse: "Ecquid hoc infortunii? Age! corpus quidem occidere possunt, animam non possunt." (Osw. Myconius, Vit. Zw.)

³ Was er nach lebend, lag an dem Ruggen und hat seine beide händ zamen gethan, wie die betenden, sach mit synem angen obsich in hymel. (Bull. iii. 136.)

⁴ Ein gross plünderen, ein ersuchen und usgiessen der todten und der wunden. (Ibid. 135.)

quicker to the devil, with whose help they had fought so desperately."¹ If any of the soldiers of the Five Cantons recognised a Züricher against whom they had any grudge, with dry eyes, disdainful mouth, and features changed by anger, they drew near the unhappy creature, writhing in the agonies of death, and said: "Well! has your heretical faith preserved you? Ah ha! it was pretty clearly seen to-day who had the true faith.....To-day we have dragged your Gospel in the mud, and you too, even you are covered with your own blood. God, the Virgin, and the saints have punished you." Scarcely had they uttered these words before they plunged their swords into their enemy's bosom. "Mass or death!" was their watch-word.

Thus triumphed the Waldstettes; but the pious Zürichers who expired on the field of battle called to mind that they had for God one who has said: "*If ye endure chastening, God dealeth with you as with sons; for what son is he whom the father chasteneth not?*"—"Though he slay me, yet will I trust in him." It is in the furnace of trial that the God of the Gospel conceals the pure gold of his most precious blessings. This punishment was necessary to turn aside the Church of Zurich from the "broad ways" of the world, and lead it back to the "narrow ways" of the Spirit and the life. In a political history, a defeat like that of Cappel would be styled a great misfortune; but in a history of the Church of Jesus Christ, such a blow, inflicted by the hand of the Father himself, ought rather to be called a great blessing.

Meanwhile Zwingli lay extended under the tree, near the road by which the mass of the people was passing. The shouts of the victors, the groans of the dying, those flickering torches borne from corpse to corpse, Zurich humbled, the cause of Reform lost,—all cried aloud to him that God punishes his servants when they have recourse to the arm of man. If the German reformer had been able to approach Zwingli at this solemn moment, and pronounce those oft-repeated words: "Christians fight not with sword and arquebuse, but with sufferings and

¹ Damit sie desto eher zum Teufel, damit sie mit allen vieren fechtend, geführt würdend. (Salat.)

with the cross,"¹ Zwingli would have stretched out his dying hand, and said, "Amen!"

Two of the soldiers who were prowling over the field of battle, having come near the reformer without recognising him, "Do you wish for a priest to confess yourself?" asked they. Zwingli, without speaking (for he had not strength), made signs in the negative. "If you cannot speak," replied the soldiers, "at least think in thy heart of the Mother of God, and call upon the saints!" Zwingli again shook his head, and kept his eyes still fixed on heaven.² Upon this the irritated soldiers began to curse him. "No doubt," said they, "you are one of the heretics of the city!" One of them, being curious to know who it was, stooped down and turned Zwingli's head in the direction of a fire that had been lighted near the spot.³ The soldier immediately let him fall to the ground. "I think," said he, surprised and amazed, "I think it is Zwingli!" At this moment Captain Fockinger of Unterwalden, a veteran and a pensioner, drew near: he had heard the last words of the soldier. "Zwingli!" exclaimed he; "that vile heretic Zwingli! that rascal, that traitor!" Then raising his sword, so long sold to the stranger, he struck the dying Christian on the throat, exclaiming in a violent passion, "Die, obstinate heretic!" Yielding under this last blow, the reformer gave up the ghost: he was doomed to perish by the sword of a mercenary. "Precious in the sight of the Lord is the death of his saints." The soldiers ran to other victims. All did not show the same barbarity. The night was cold; a thick hoar-frost covered the fields and the bodies of the dying. The Protestant historian, Bullinger, informs us that some Waldstettes gently raised the wounded in their arms, bound up their wounds, and carried them to the fires lighted on the field of battle. "Ah!" cried they, "why have the Swiss thus slaughtered one another!"

The main body of the army had remained on the field of battle near the standards. The soldiers conversed around the

¹ Christen sind nicht die für sich selbst mit dem Schwerdt oder Büchsen streiten, sondern mit dem Kreuz und Leyden. (Luth. Opp.)

² Und sach aber sich in Hymel. (Bull. iii. 136.)

³ Beym Fuwr besach. (Tschudi, Helv. ii. 194.)

fires, interrupted from time to time by the cries of the dying. During this time the chiefs assembled in the convent sent messengers to carry the news of their signal victory to the confederate cantons, and to the Roman Catholic powers of Germany.

At length the day appeared. The Waldstettes spread over the field of battle, running here and there, stopping, contemplating, struck with surprise at the sight of their most formidable enemies stretched lifeless on the plain; but sometimes also shedding tears as they gazed on corpses which reminded them of old and sacred ties of friendship. At length they reached the pear-tree under which Zwingli lay dead, and an immense crowd collected around it. His countenance still beamed with expression and with life. "He has the look," said Bartholomew Stocker of Zug, who had loved him, "he has the look of a living rather than of a dead man."¹ Such was he when he kindled the people by the fire of his eloquence." All eyes were fixed upon the corpse. John Schönbrunner, formerly canon of Zurich, who had retired to Zug at the epoch of the Reformation, could not restrain his tears: "Whatever may have been thy creed," said he, "I know, Zwingli, that thou hast been a loyal confederate! May thy soul rest with God!"

But the pensioners of the foreigner, on whom Zwingli had never ceased to make war, required that the body of the heretic should be dismembered, and a portion sent to each of the Five Cantons. "Peace be to the dead! and God alone be their judge!" exclaimed the avoyer Golder and the landamman Thoss of Zug. Cries of fury answered their appeal, and compelled them to retire. Immediately the drums beat to muster; the dead body was tried, and it was decreed that it should be quartered for treason against the confederation, and then burnt for heresy. The executioner of Lucerne carried out the sentence. Flames consumed Zwingli's disjointed members; the ashes of swine were mingled with his; and a lawless multitude rushing upon his remains flung them to the four winds of heaven.²

¹ Nicht einem Todten sondern einem Lebenden gleich. (Zwingli für das Volk von J. J. Hottinger.)

² Tschudi Helvet. ii. 195. "Cadaver Zwinglii.....in quatuor partes secatur, in ignem conjicitur, in cinerem resolvitur." (Myc. de Vit. Zw.)

Zwingli was dead. A great light had been extinguished in the Church of God. Mighty by the Word as were the other reformers, he had been more so than they in action; but this very power had been his weakness, and he had fallen under the weight of his own strength. Zwingli was not forty-eight years old when he died. If the might of God always accompanied the might of man, what would he not have done for the Reformation in Switzerland, and even in the empire! But he had wielded an arm that God had forbidden; the helmet had covered his head, and he had grasped the halberd. His more devoted friends were themselves astonished, and exclaimed: "We know not what to say!.....a bishop in arms!"¹ The bolt had furrowed the cloud, the blow had reached the reformer, and his body was no more than a handful of dust in the palm of a soldier.

CHAPTER IX.

Consternation in Zurich—Violence of the Populace—Grief and Distress—Zwingli is dead!—Funeral Oration—Army of Zurich—Another Reverse on the Goubel—Inactivity of the Bernese—Hopes and Plan of Charles V.—End of the War—Treaty of Peace.

FRIGHTFUL darkness hung over Zurich during the night that followed the afflicting day of Cappel. It was seven in the evening when the first news of the disaster arrived.....Vague but alarming reports spread at first with the rapidity of lightning. It was known that a terrible blow had been inflicted, but not of what kind; soon a few wounded men, who arrived from the field of battle, cleared up the frightful mystery. "Then," said Bullinger, whom we shall allow to speak, "there arose suddenly a loud and horrible cry of lamentation and tears, bewailing and groaning." The consternation was so much the greater because no one had expected such a disaster. "There is not enough for a breakfast," had said some haughty worldly

¹ Ego nihil certe apud me possum statuere, maxime de Episcopo in armis. (Zuickius Ecolampadio, 8th November 1531, Zurich MS.)

men; "With one blow we shall be masters of the *Five Chalets*," had said another; and an old soldier added with disdainful sneer, "We shall soon have scattered these five dunghills." The Christian portion, convinced that Zurich was fighting in a good cause, had not doubted that victory would be on the side of truth..... Thus their first stupefaction was succeeded by a violent outburst of rage. With blind fury the mob accused all their chiefs, and loaded with insults even those who had defended their country at the price of their blood. An immense crowd—agitated, pale, and bewildered, filled all the streets of the city. They met, they questioned, and replied; they questioned again, and the answer could not be heard, for the shouts of the people interrupted or drowned the voice of the speakers. The councillors who had remained in Zurich repaired in haste to the town-hall. The people, who had already assembled there in crowds, looked on with threatening eyes. Accusations of treason burst from every mouth, and the patricians were pointed out to the general indignation. They must have victims. "Before going to fight against the enemy on the frontiers," said the mob, "we should defend ourselves against those who are within our walls." Sorrow and fear excited the minds of all. That savage instinct of the populace, which in great calamities leads them, like a wild beast, to thirst for blood, was violently aroused. A hand from the midst of the crowd points out the council-hall, and a harsh and piercing voice exclaims: "Let us chop off the heads of some of the men who sit in these halls, and let their blood ascend to heaven, to beg for mercy in behalf of those whom they have slain."

But this fury is nothing in comparison with that which broke out against the ministers, against Zwingli, and all those Christians who were the cause (say they) of the ruin of the country. Fortunately the sword of the Waldstettes had withdrawn them from the rage of their fellow-citizens; nevertheless, there still remained some who could pay for the others. Leo Juda, whom Zwingli's death was about to raise to the head of religious affairs, had scarcely recovered from a serious illness; it was on him they rushed. They threatened, they pursued him; a few worthy citizens carried him off and hid him in their houses.

The rage of these madmen was not appeased: they continued shouting that atonement must be made for the slaughter at Cappel, by a still more frightful slaughter within the very walls of the city. But God placed a curb in the mouths of these infuriate beasts of prey, and subdued them.

On a sudden, grief succeeded to rage, and sobs choked the utterance of the most furious. All those whose relatives had marched to Cappel, imagined that they were among the number of the victims. Old men, women, and children, went forth in the darkness by the glimmering light of torches, with haggard eyes and hurried steps; and as soon as some wounded man arrived, they questioned him with trembling voice about those whom they were seeking. Some replied: "I saw him fall close by my side."—"He was surrounded by so many enemies," said others, "that there was no chance of safety for him."¹ At these words the distracted family dropt their torches, and filled the air with shrieks and groans.

Anna Zwingli had heard from her house the repeated discharges of artillery. As wife and mother, she had passed in expectation many long hours of anguish, offering fervent prayers to heaven. At length the most terrible accounts, one after another, burst upon her.

In the midst of those whose cries of despair re-echoed along the road to Cappel, was Oswald Myconius, who inquired with anxiety what had become of his friend. Soon he heard one of the unfortunate wretches who had escaped from the massacre, relating to those around him that Zwingli had fallen!²..... Zwingli is no more! Zwingli is dead! The cry was repeated: it ran through Zurich with the rapidity of lightning, and at length reached the unhappy widow. Anna fell on her knees. But the loss of her husband was not enough: God had inflicted other blows. Messengers following each other at short intervals announced to her the death of her son Gerold of Knonau, of her brother the bailiff of Reinhard, of her son-in-law Antony Wirz, of John Lutschi the husband of her dear sister, as well

¹ Dermassen umgäben mit Fygenden, dass kein Hoffnung der rettung uberig. (Bull. iii. 163.)

² Ut igitur mane videram exeuntem, ita sub noctem audio nuntium, pugnatum quidem acriter, tamen infeliciter, et Zwinglium nobis periisse. (Myc. Vit. Zw.)

as of all her most intimate friends. This woman remained alone—alone with her God; alone with her young children, who, as they saw her tears, wept also, and threw themselves disconsolate into their mother's arms.

On a sudden the alarm-bell rang. The council, distracted by the most contrary opinions, had at last resolved to summon all the citizens towards the Albis. But the sound of the tocsin re-echoing through the darkness, the lamentable stories of the wounded, and the distressful groans of bereaved families, still further increased the tumult. A numerous and disorderly troop of citizens rushed along the road to Cappel. Among them was the Valaisan, Thomas Plater. Here he met with a man that had but one hand,¹—there with others who supported their wounded and bleeding heads with both hands;—further still was a soldier whose bowels protruded from his body. In front of these unhappy creatures peasants were walking with lighted torches, for the night was very dark. Plater wished to return; but he could not, for sentinels placed on the bridge over the Sihl allowed persons to quit Zurich, but permitted no one to re-enter.

On the morrow the news of the disgraceful treatment of Zwingli's corpse aroused all the anger of Zurich; and his friends, uplifting their tear-bedimmed eyes, exclaimed, "These men may fall upon his body; they may kindle their piles, and brand his innocent life.....but he lives—this invincible hero lives in eternity, and leaves behind him an immortal monument of glory that no flames can destroy."² God, for whose honour he has laboured, even at the price of his blood, will make his memory eternal." "And I," adds Leo Juda, "I, upon whom he has heaped so many blessings, will endeavour, after so many others, to defend his renown and to extol his virtues." Thus Zurich consecrated to Zwingli a funeral oration of tears and sighs, of gratitude and cries of anguish. Never was there a funeral speech more eloquent!

Zurich rallied her forces. John Steiner had collected on the

¹ Ettlich kamen, hatten nur eine hand. (*Lebensbeschreibung Plateri*, p. 297.)

² Vivit adhuc, et æternum vivit fortissimus heros. (*Leonis Judæ exhort. ad Chr. Sect. Enchiridio Psalm. Zwinglii præmissa.*)

Albis some scattered fragments of the army for the defence of the pass: they bivouacked around their fires on the summit of the mountain, and all were in disorder. Plater, benumbed with cold (it is himself who gives us the account), had drawn off his boots to warm his feet at the watchfire. On a sudden an alarm was given, the troop was hastily drawn up, and, while Plater was getting ready, a trumpeter, who had escaped from the battle, seized his halberd. Plater took it back, and stationed himself in the ranks; before him stood the trumpeter, without hat or shoes, and armed with a long pole. Such was the army of Zürich.

The chief captain Lavater rejoined the army at daybreak. Gradually the allies came up; 1500 Grisons, under the orders of the captain-general Frey of Zürich, 1500 Thurgovians, 600 Tockenburgers, and other auxiliaries besides, soon formed an army of 12,000 men. All, even children, ran to arms. The council gave orders that these young folks¹ should be sent back to share in the domestic duties with the women.

Another reverse ere long augmented the desolation of the Reformed party. While the troops of Berne, Zürich, Basel, and Bienne, amounting to 24,000 men, were assembling at Bremgarten, the Five Cantons intrenched themselves at Baar, near Zug. But Zwingli was wanting to the Reformed army, and he would have been the only man capable of inspiring them with courage. A gust of wind having thrown down a few fir-trees in the forests where the Zürichers were encamped, and caused the death of some of their soldiers, they failed not to see in this the signal of fresh reverses.

Nevertheless, Frey called loudly for battle; but the Bernese commandant Diesbach refused. Upon this the Zürich captain set off in the night of the 23d October at the head of 4000 men of Zürich, Schaffhausen, Basel, and St. Gall; and, while the Bernese were sleeping quietly, he turned the Waldstettes, drove their outposts beyond the Sihl, and took his station on the heights that overlook the Goubel. His imprudent soldiers, believing victory to be certain, proudly waved their banners, and then sunk into a heavy sleep. The Waldstettes had ob-

¹ Jungen fasels, young brood. (Bull. Chr. iii. 176.)

served all. On the 24th October, at two in the morning, by a bright moonlight, they quitted their camp in profound silence, leaving their fires burning, and wearing white shirts over their dresses that they might recognise one another in the obscurity. Their watchword was "Mary, the mother of God." They glided stealthily into a pine forest, near which the Reformed troops were encamped. The men stationed at the advanced guard of the Zurichers having perceived the enemy, ran up to the fires to arouse their friends, but they had scarcely reached the third fire before the Waldstettes appeared, uttering a frightful shout.¹ "Har...Har...Har...Har!... Where are these impious heretics?Har...Har...Har...Har!" The army of the cities at first made a vigorous resistance, and many of the white shirts fell covered with blood; but this did not continue long. The bravest, with the valiant Frey at their head, having bitten the dust, the rout became general, and 800 men were left on the field of battle.

In the midst of these afflictions the Bernese remained stubborn and motionless. Francis Kolb, who, notwithstanding his advanced age, had accompanied the Bernese contingent as chaplain, reproached in a sermon the negligence and cowardice of his party. "Your ancestors," said he, "would have swam across the Rhine, and you—this little stream stops you! They went to battle for a word, and you, even the Gospel cannot move. For us it only remains to commit our cause to God." Many voices were raised against the imprudent old man, but others took up his defence; and the captain, James May, being as indignant as the aged chaplain at the delays of his fellow-citizens, drew his sword, and thrusting it into the folds of the Bernese banner, pricked the bear that was represented on it, and cried out in the presence of the whole army, "You knave, will you not show your claws?"² But the bear remained motionless.

The whole of the Reformation was compromised. Scarcely had Ferdinand received intelligence of the death of the arch-heretic Zwingli, and of the defeat at Cappel, than with an ex-

¹ Mit einem grossen grusamen geschrey. (Bull. iii. 201.)

² Bétz, Bétz, willst dan nicht kretzen! (Ibid. 215.)

clamation of joy, he forwarded these good news to his brother the emperor Charles V., saying, "this is the first of the victories destined to restore the faith." After the defeat at the Goubel, he wrote again, saying that if the emperor were not so near at hand, he would not hesitate, however weak he might be, to rush forward in person, sword in hand, to terminate so righteous an enterprise. "Remember," said he, "that you are the first prince in Christendom, and that you will never have a better opportunity of covering yourself with glory. Assist the cantons with your troops; the German sects will perish, when they are no longer supported by heretical Switzerland."¹—"The more I reflect," replied Charles, "the more I am pleased with your advice. The imperial dignity with which I am invested, the protection that I owe to Christendom and to public order, in a word, the safety of the house of Austria,—everything appeals to me!"

Already about two thousand Italian soldiers, sent by the pope and commanded by the Genoese De l'Isola, had unfolded their seven standards, and united near Zug with the army of the Five Cantons. Auxiliary troops, diplomatic negotiations, and even missionaries to convert the heretics, were not spared. The bishop of Veroli arrived in Switzerland in order to bring back the Lutherans to the Roman faith by means of his friends and of his money.² The Roman politicians hailed the victory at Cappel as the signal of the restoration of the papal authority, not only in Switzerland, but throughout the whole of Christendom.³ At last this presumptuous Reformation was about to be repressed. Instead of the great deliverance of which Zwingli had dreamt, the imperial eagle let loose by the papacy was about to pounce on all Europe, and strangle it in its talons. The cause of liberty had perished on the Albis.

But the hopes of the papists were vain: the cause of the Gospel, although humbled at this moment, was destined finally to gain a glorious victory. A cloud may hide the sun for a time;

¹ Que se perdo deslar i camino para remediar las quiebras de nuestra fè y ser Va. Md. Senor de Allemana. (Ferdinand to Charles V. 11th November 1531.)

² Con proposita di rimôver Lutheranî dalla loro mala opinione, con mezzo di alcuni suoi amici e con denari. (Report of Basadonna, Archbishop of Venice.)

³ Ranke, *Deutsche Geschichte*, iii. 867.

but the cloud passes and the sun reappears. Jesus Christ is always the same, and the gates of hell may triumph on the battle-field, but cannot prevail against his Church.

Nevertheless everything seemed advancing towards a grand catastrophe. The Tockenburgers made peace and retired. The Thurgovians followed them; and next the people of Gaster. The evangelical army was thus gradually disbanded. The severity of the season was joined to these dissensions. Continual storms of wind and rain drove the soldiers to their homes.

Upon this the Five Cantons with the undisciplined bands of the Italian general Isola threw themselves on the left bank of the lake of Zurich. The alarm-bell was rung on every side; the peasants retired in crowds into the city, with their weeping wives, their frightened children, and their cattle that filled the air with sullen lowings. A report too was circulated that the enemy intended laying siege to Zurich. The country-people in alarm declared that if the city refused to make terms, they would treat on their own account.

The peace party prevailed in the council; deputies were elected to negotiate. "Above all things, preserve the Gospel, and then our honour, as far as may be possible!" Such were their instructions. On the 16th November, the deputies from Zurich arrived in a meadow situated near the frontier, on the banks of the Sihl, in which the representatives of the Five Cantons awaited them. They proceeded to the deliberations. "In the name of the most honourable, holy, and divine Trinity," began the treaty, "Firstly, we the people of Zurich bind ourselves and agree to leave our trusty and well-beloved confederates of the Five Cantons, their well-beloved co-burgers of the Valais, and all their adherents lay and ecclesiastic, in their true and indubitable Christian faith,¹ renouncing all evil intention, wiles, and stratagems. And, on our side, we of the Five Cantons, agree to leave our confederates of Zurich and their allies in possession of their faith."² At the same time, Rapperschwyl, Gaster, Wesen, Bremgarten, Mellingen, and the common bailiwicks, were abandoned to the Five Cantons.

¹ By ihren wahren ungezwungenen christenlichen glauben. (Tschudi, p. 247.)

² By ihren Glauben. (Ibid.)

Zurich had preserved its faith; and that was all. The treaty having been read and approved of, the plenipotentiaries got off their horses, fell upon their knees, and called upon the name of God.¹ Then the new captain-general of the Zurichers, Escher, a hasty and eloquent old man, rising up, said as he turned towards the Waldstettes: "God be praised that I can again call you my well-beloved confederates!" and approaching them he shook hands successively with Golder, Hug, Troguer, Rychmuth, Marquart, Zellger, and Thoss, the terrible victors at Cappel. All eyes were filled with tears.² Each took with trembling hand the bottle suspended at his side, and offered a draught to one of the chiefs of the opposite party. Shortly after a similar treaty was concluded with Berne.

CHAPTER X.

Restoration of Popery at Bremgarten and Rapperschwyl—Priests and Monks everywhere—Sorrow of Ecolampadius—A tranquil Scene—Peaceful Death of Ecolampadius—Henry Bullinger at Zurich—Contrition and Exultation—The great Lesson—Conclusion.

THE restoration of Popery immediately commenced in Switzerland, and Rome showed herself everywhere proud, exacting, and ambitious.

After the battle of Cappel, the Romish minority at Glaris had resumed the upper hand. It marched with Schwytz against Wesen and the district of the Gaster. On the eve of the invasion, at midnight, twelve deputies came and threw themselves at the feet of the Schwytzer chiefs, who were satisfied with confiscating the national banners of these two districts, with suppressing their tribunals, annulling their ancient liberties, and condemning some to banishment, and others to pay a heavy fine. Next the mass, the altars, and images were everywhere re-established, and exist until the present day.³ Such was the pardon of Schwytz!

¹ Knuwet mencklich wider und bättet. (Bull. iii. 253.)

² Und luffend ihnen allen die Augen über. (Tschudi, p. 245.)

³ Es würdent mass, altär und gotzen vieder uff gericht. (Bull. iii. 277.)

It was especially on Bremgarten, Mellingen, and the free bailiwicks that the cantons proposed to inflict a terrible vengeance. Berne having recalled its army, Mutschli, the avoyer of Bremgarten, followed Diesbach as far as Arau. In vain did the former remind the Bernese that it was only according to the orders of Berne and Zurich that Bremgarten had blockaded the Five Cantons. "Bend to circumstances," replied the general. On this the wretched Mutschli, turning away from the pitiless Bernese, exclaimed, "The prophet Jeremiah has well said,—*Cursed be he that trusteth in man!*" The Swiss and Italian bands entered furiously into these flourishing districts brandishing their weapons, inflicting heavy fines on all the inhabitants, compelling the Gospel ministers to flee, and restoring everywhere at the point of the sword, mass, idols, and altars.

On the other side of the lake the misfortune was still greater. On the 18th November, while the Reformed of Rapperschwyl were sleeping peacefully in reliance on the treaties, an army from Schwytz silently passed the wooden bridge nearly 2000 feet long which crosses the lake, and was admitted into the city by the Romish party. On a sudden the Reformed awoke at the loud pealing of the bells, and the tumultuous voices of the Catholics: the greater part quitted the city. One of them, however, by name Michael Wohlgemuth, barricaded his house, placed arquebuses at every window, and repelled the attack. The exasperated enemy brought up some heavy pieces of artillery, besieged this extemporaneous citadel in regular form, and Wohlgemuth was soon taken and put to death in the midst of horrible tortures.

Nowhere had the struggle been more violent than at Soleure; the two parties were drawn up in battle-array on each side of the Aar, and the Romanists had already discharged one ball against the opposite bank, another was about to follow, when the avoyer Wenge, throwing himself on the mouth of the cannon, cried out earnestly: "Fellow-citizens, let there be no bloodshed, or else let me be your first victim!" The astonished multitude dropped their arms; but seventy evangelical families were obliged to emigrate, and Soleure returned under the papal yoke.

The deserted cells of St. Gall, Muri, Einsidlen, Wettingen, Rheinau, St. Catherine, Hermetschwyll and Guadenthall witnessed the triumphant return of Benedictines, Franciscans, Dominicans, and all the Romish militia; priests and monks, intoxicated with their victory, overran country and town, and prepared for new conquests.

The wind of adversity was blowing with fury: the evangelical churches fell one after another, like the pines in the forest whose fall before the battle of the Goubel had raised such gloomy presentiments. The Five Cantons, full of gratitude to the Virgin, made a solemn pilgrimage to her temple at Einsidlen. The chaplains celebrated anew their mysteries in this desolated sanctuary; the abbot, who had no monks, sent a number of youths into Swabia to be trained up in the rules of the order, and this famous chapel, which Zwingli's voice had converted into a sanctuary for the Word, became for Switzerland, what it has remained until this day, the centre of the power and of the intrigues of the Papacy.

But this was not enough. At the very time that these flourishing churches were falling to the ground, the Reform witnessed the extinction of its brightest lights. A blow from a stone had slain the energetic Zwingli on the field of battle, and the rebound reached the pacific *Æcolampadius* at Basel, in the midst of a life that was wholly evangelical. The death of his friend, the severe judgments with which they pursued his memory, the terror that had suddenly taken the place of the hopes he had entertained of the future—all these sorrows rent the heart of *Æcolampadius*, and soon his head and his life inclined sadly to the tomb. "Alas!" cried he, "that Zwingli, whom I have so long regarded as my right arm, has fallen under the blows of cruel enemies!"¹ He recovered, however, sufficient energy to defend the memory of his brother. "It was not," said he, "on the heads of the most guilty that the wrath of Pilate and the tower of Siloam fell. The judgment began in the house of God; our presumption has been punished; let our trust be placed now on the Lord alone, and

¹ *Zwinglium nostrum, quem pro manu altera nunc multo tempore habui.* (Zurich MS.)

this will be an inestimable gain." Oecolampadius declined the call of Zurich to take the place of Zwingli. "My post is here," said he, as he looked upon Basel.

He was not destined to hold it long. Illness fell upon him in addition to so many afflictions; the plague was in the city; a violent inflammation attacked him,¹ and ere long a tranquil scene succeeded the tumult of Cappel. A peaceful death calmed the agitated hearts of the faithful, and replaced by sweet and heavenly emotions the terror and distress with which a horrible disaster had filled them.

On hearing of the danger of Oecolampadius, all the city was plunged into mourning; a crowd of men of every age and of every rank rushed to his house. "Rejoice," said the reformer with a meek look, "I am going to a place of everlasting joy." He then commemorated the death of our Lord with his wife, his relations, and domestics, who shed floods of tears. "This supper," said the dying man, "is a sign of my real faith in Jesus Christ my Redeemer."

On the morrow he sent for his colleagues: "My brethren," said he, "the Lord is there; he calls me away. Oh! my brethren, what a black cloud is appearing on the horizon—what a tempest is approaching! Be steadfast: the Lord will preserve his own." He then held out his hand, and all these faithful ministers clasped it with veneration.

On the 23d November, he called his children around him, the eldest of whom was barely three years old. "Eusebius, Irene, Alethea," said he to them, as he took their little hands, "love God who is your Father." Their mother having promised for them, the children retired with the blessing of the dying servant of the Lord. The night that followed this scene was his last. All the pastors were around his bed: "What is the news?" asked Oecolampadius of a friend who came in. "Nothing," was the reply. "Well," said the faithful disciple of Jesus, "I will tell you something new." His friends awaited in astonishment. "In a short time I shall be with the Lord Jesus." One of his friends now asking him if he was incommoded by the

¹ Ater carbunculus quovis carbunculo in domo Dei splendidiorem perdidit. (J. J. Hottinger, iii. 634.)

light, he replied, putting his hand on his heart: "There is light enough here." The day began to break; he repeated in a feeble voice the 51st Psalm: *Have mercy upon me, O Lord, according to thy loving kindness.* Then remaining silent, as if he wished to recover strength, he said, "Lord Jesus, help me!" The ten pastors fell on their knees around his bed with uplifted hands; at this moment the sun rose, and darted his earliest rays on a scene of sorrow so great and so afflicting with which the Church of God was again stricken.¹

The death of this servant of the Lord was like his life, full of light and peace. Œcolampadius was in an especial degree the Christian spiritualist and biblical divine. The importance he attached to the study of the books of the Old Testament imprinted one of its most essential characters on the reformed theology.² Considered as a man of action, his moderation and meekness placed him in the second rank. Had he been able to exert more of this peaceful spirit over Zwingli, great misfortunes might perhaps have been avoided. But like all men of meek disposition, his peaceful character yielded too much to the energetic will of the minister of Zurich; and he thus renounced, in part at least, the legitimate influence that he might have exercised over the Reformer of Switzerland and of the Church.

Zwingli and Œcolampadius had fallen. There was a great void and great sorrow in the Church of Christ. Dissensions vanished before these two graves, and nothing could be seen but tears. Luther himself was moved. On receiving the news of these two deaths, he called to mind the days he had passed with Zwingli and Œcolampadius at Marburg; and the blow inflicted on him by their sudden decease was such, that many years after he said to Bullinger: "Their death filled me with such intense sorrow, that I was near dying myself."³

The youthful Henry Bullinger, threatened with the scaffold,

¹ De Joannis Œcolampadii obitu, per Simonem Grynæum. (Epp. Œcol. et Zwinglii, libri iv.)

² See his Commentaries on Isaiah (1525). 1st chapter; on Ezekiel (1527); Haggai, Zachariah, Malachi (1527); Daniel (1530); and the commentaries published after his death, with interpretations on Jeremiah, Ezekiel, Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, Jonah, and the 1st and 2d chapters of Micah.

³ De ejus morte dolorem concepi.....ita ut eorum casus me pene exanimaverit. (L. Epp. v. 112.)

had been compelled to flee from Bremgarten, his native town, with his aged father, his colleagues, and sixty of the principal inhabitants, who abandoned their houses to be pillaged by the Waldstettes.¹ Three days after this, he was preaching in the cathedral of Zurich: "No! Zwingli is not dead!" exclaimed Myconius; "or, like the phoenix, he has risen again from his ashes." Bullinger was unanimously chosen to succeed the great Reformer. He adopted Zwingli's orphan children, Wilhelm, Regula, and Ulrich, and endeavoured to supply the place of their father. This young man, scarcely twenty-eight years of age, and who presided forty years with wisdom and blessing over this church, was everywhere greeted as the apostle of Switzerland.²

Yet as the sea roars long after the violent tempest has subsided, so the people of Zurich were still in commotion. Many were agitated from on high. They came to themselves; they acknowledged their error; the weapons of their warfare had been carnal; they were now of a contrite and humble spirit; they arose and went to their Father and confessed their sin. In those days there was great mourning in Zurich. Some, however, stood up with pride, protested by the mouth of their ministers against the work of the diplomatists, and boldly stigmatized the shameful compact. "If the shepherds sleep, the dogs must bark," exclaimed Leo Juda in the cathedral of Zurich. "My duty is to give warning of the evil they are about to do to my Master's house."³

Nothing could equal the sorrow of this city, except the exultation of the Waldstettes. The noise of drums and fifes, the firing of guns, the ringing of bells, had long resounded on the banks of their lakes, and even to their highest valleys. Now the noise was less, but the effect greater. The Five Cantons, in close alliance with Friburg and Soleure, formed a perpetual league for the defence of the ancient Christian faith with the bishop of Sion and the tithings of the Valais; and henceforward carried their measures in the federal affairs with

¹ *Ne a quinque pagis aut obtruncarer aut comburerer.* (Bull. ad Myc. Novem-ber 1531.)

² *Haller ad Bulling.* 1536.

³ *Ich mus bellen.* (Bull. iii. 321.)

boldness. But a deep conviction was formed at that period in the hearts of the Swiss Reformed. "Faith comes from God," said they; "its success does not depend on the life or death of a man. Let our adversaries boast of our ruin, we will boast only in the Cross."¹—"God reigns," wrote Berne to Zurich, "and he will not permit the bark to founder." This conviction was of more avail than the victory of Cappel.

Thus the Reformation, that had deviated from the right path, was driven back by the very violence of the assault into its primitive course, having no other power than the Word of God. An inconceivable infatuation had taken possession of the friends of the Bible. They had forgotten that our warfare is not carnal; and had appealed to arms and to battle. But God reigns; he punishes the churches and the people who turn aside from his ways. We have taken a few stones, and piled them as a monument on the battle-field of Cappel, in order to remind the Church of the great lesson which this terrible catastrophe teaches.² As we bid farewell to this sad scene, we in-

¹ *Gloriantibus adversariis in ruinam, nos in cruce gloriemur.* (Ad Œcolamp. 29th November 1531. Zurich MS.)

² That the defeats of Cappel and Goubel were providential chastisements, no Christian mind can doubt; but the question is not so easily answered, what the sins were for which the men of Zurich were thus chastised. One thing, however, is very certain, that it could not have been, as our author alleges, for converting the spiritual warfare of the faith into a carnal warfare—for appealing, in the great controversy between the gospel and Rome, to the arbitration of the sword. If we consult Zschokke, we shall find that different motives influenced them in desiring war. "Though all," says he, "were bent on war, few were actuated by the same motive; some desired it out of an intemperate zeal for the new doctrines, conceiving that every sacrifice should be made for the support of their faith, and every effort used to extend it over the whole of Switzerland. Others were animated by the hope of conquest, and the acquisition of exclusive authority in the joint bailiages, by annihilating that of the Catholic cantons. A third party was eager for war, because they secretly hoped to see the Catholics triumphant; for numbers in Zurich had remained faithful to the creed of their fathers, either from conviction or hatred of the rigid austerity of the evangelical preachers, who denounced, without mercy, the licentious manners of the times, and inveighed bitterly against the venality of the great, and their acceptance of foreign pensions."—See *Popular History of Switzerland*; London, 1834, p. 194. Now all these unquestionably were sinful motives inciting to war, and as such may be supposed to have involved the whole in the chastisements that befel them. But Zschokke is quite a worldly historian, and was not likely even to comprehend the higher motives which may have influenced the government in so far as advised by Zwingli. If we would understand these motives we must go to Zwingli himself. Now we find that he seems never to have dreamt of using compulsion in religion, as a fanatical follower of Mahomet or of the Popedom would do; and it would be a monstrous falsification of history to say that he wanted Zurich to invade the Five Cantons, for the purpose of compelling their inhabitants to receive the gospel at the point of the sword. The author's moral lessons, in so far as based on that idea, are quite without a

scribe on these monumental stones, on the one side, these words from God's Book: "*Some trust in chariots, and some in horses : but we will remember the name of the Lord our God. They are brought down and fallen: but we are risen and stand upright.*" And on the other, this declaration of the Head of the Church: "*My kingdom is not of this world.*" If, from the ashes of the martyrs at Cappel, a voice could be heard, it would be in these very words of the Bible that these noble confessors would address, after three centuries, the Christians of our days. That the Church has no other king than Jesus Christ; that she

foundation. His own statements contradict his reasonings, for he has told us of Zwingli's pacific labours, and his considering that the Waldstettes' governments having not only imprisoned, tortured, and slain their own citizens who ventured to profess the gospel, but having even burnt a citizen of Zurich for no worse crime than being a minister of the gospel, had thus commenced the war. Nay, this ferocious policy they persisted in pursuing, and thought at the same time that they ought to continue to be treated as friends and confederates by those very cantons who had adopted the views so persecuted.

Here we see, in the first place, that the rule of conduct for the government of Zurich, was to be sought in those passages of scripture which define the office of governments, not of their subjects, precisely as in the case of a father seeking for scriptural guidance in regard to a refractory son, he would find that there was a modification of the general rule of mutual forbearance in his case. And, as has been shown in previous Notes, the moment the men of Zurich sought scriptural light in discharging the responsibility of the ordinance of God, called civil government, that moment they would find that they had a different task to discharge from that of simple Christians, not clothed with any such responsibility.

That the defeats suffered by Zurich were not intended to convey the lesson which the author deduces from them, namely, that civil governments, or, which is precisely the same thing, men exercising the office of civil government, are bound to cease being a terror to evil-doers the moment they become Christians, I conceive to be further proved by the fact, studiously slurred over by the author, that the defeat of Cappel was the result of a totally different policy from that advised by Zwingli. Surely *he* at least would have thought it strange to be told that the antichristian nature of his policy was to be proclaimed to all future generations, by a providential calamity befalling his country, after an obstinate and protracted *refusal* on its part to adopt that policy! Had his advice been taken; had Zurich and its allies marched two years before into the Waldstettes, and with the overwhelming force which the state of their armies after the defeat of Cappel showed they might have displayed previous to it, compelled the fanatical governments to permit the free preaching of the gospel, and to refrain from their cruelties against the Reformed, before the Italians and Austrians could have arrived; and had a like defeat taken place then, the author might with some consistency have said, "See how God chastises promoting the gospel by a resort to arms!" Even that, however, would have been a misrepresentation, since the battle would have been fought, not to force the gospel on the Waldstettes, but to force them to change an unjust and murderous course for a just and humane one. As matters actually went, the conclusion manifestly to be deduced from what may be called the providential history of the times, is this, that if a nation, instead of doing its duty at once in putting down injustice and barbarity by the punishment of the guilty, pursues the selfish policy of involving both guilty and innocent in a calamity which costs itself nothing, and if, in consequence, it comes to be attacked, it cannot wonder at its being deserted by the God of battles. Such seems to have been the profound conviction of the wise and godly Ulrich Zwingli.—D. D. S.

ought not to meddle with the policy of the world, derive from it her inspiration, and call for its swords, its prisons, its treasures; that she will conquer by the spiritual powers which God has deposited in her bosom, and, above all, by the reign of her adorable Head; that she must not expect upon earth thrones and mortal triumphs; but that her march resembles that of her King, from the manger to the cross, and from the cross to the crown:—such is the lesson to be read on the blood-stained page that has crept into our simple and evangelical narrative.¹

But if God teaches his people great lessons, he also gives them great deliverances. The bolt had fallen from heaven. The Reformation seemed to be little better than a lifeless body cumbering the ground, and whose dissevered limbs were about to be reduced to ashes. But God raises up the dead. New and more glorious destinies were awaiting the Gospel of Jesus Christ at the foot of the Alps. At the south-western extremity of Switzerland, in a great valley which the white giant of the mountains points out from afar; on the banks of the Leman lake, at the spot where the Rhone, clear and blue as the sky above it, rolls its majestic waters; on a small hill that the foot of Cæsar had once trod, and on which the steps of another conqueror, of a Gaul, of a Picardine,² were destined ere long to leave their ineffaceable and glorious traces, stood an ancient city, as yet covered with the dense shadows of Popery; but which God was about to raise to be a beacon to the Church, and a bulwark to Christendom.

¹ Zwingli's *Pear Tree* having perished, a rock has been placed over the spot where this illustrious reformer died; and on it are engraved suitable inscriptions, different, however, from those in the text.

² John Calvin of Noyon.

In closing these Notes, let me add, that since writing the note complaining of the effrontery of the editors of the "English Catholic Library," in putting forth, at this time of day, the old exploded absurdity, that Luther, by his own confession, had got his doctrines from the devil, I find that Bossuet, in his "Variations," had the audacity to put forth the same slander, and that it has been fully exposed by the Rev. John Scott, who speaks of its being circulated in a tract!—See Appendix iii. to Scott's Continuation of Milner, vol. i.—D. D. S.

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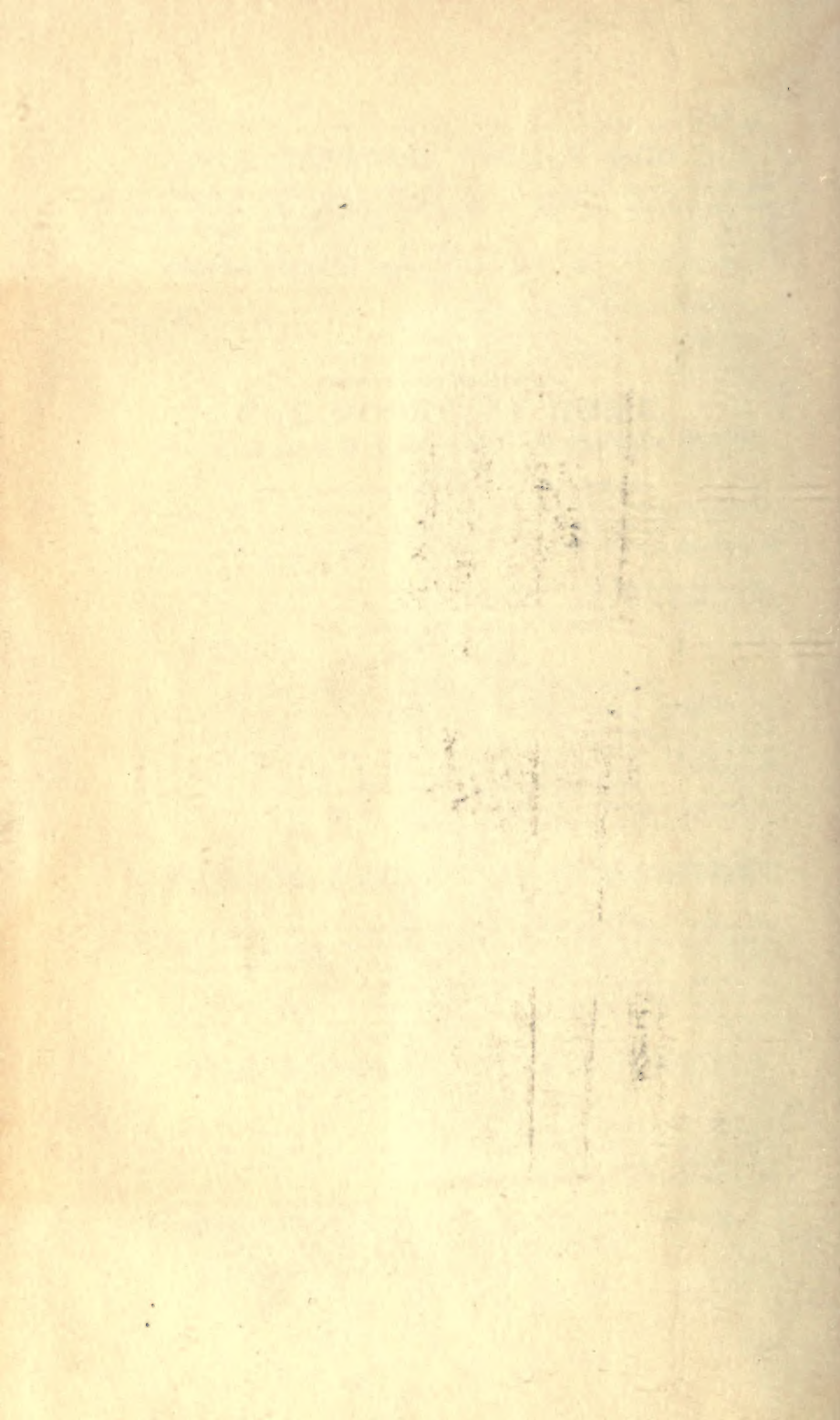
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